SAMUEL BOURNE AND INDIAN NATIVES
AESTHETICS, EXOTICISM, AND IMPERIALISM

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Samuel Bourne and Indian Natives
Aesthetics, exoticism, and imperialism

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Abstract

Samuel Bourne and Indian Natives: aesthetics, exoticism, and imperialism

Samuel Bourne (1834-1912), one of the most prestigious Victorian English commercial photographers to have worked in British India, is best known for his photographs of the Himalayas. Bourne's work features in general studies of photography of the period; his representations of the Indian landscape have been the object of studies and several exhibitions. Bourne was in India initially from 1863 to 1870 thereby establishing his career as a professional photographer. Soon after his arrival he started a business with the experienced photographer Charles Shepherd. Within a few years, the firm of Bourne & Shepherd became recognised as being a directing influence over British-Indian photography. The photographs were taken either in studio or on location, and included individual and group portraits of both the British and Indians, topographical images in which peoples were incidental, as well as a range of representations of Indian life, customs and types. These images were informed by, and in turn contributed to, an expanding body of photographic practice that mixed, to varying degrees, authenticity and aesthetic style.

Whilst Bourne's work was significant and influential in the representation of Indian peoples, no substantial study has been undertaken until now. The aim of this thesis is to redress this imbalance. The central focus highlights the specific character of the images portraying Indian people. This specificity was determined by a combination of technical and 'authorial' factors, by the audience to which they were addressed – ranging from the general public in Britain to the family circle of wealthy Indians – by commercial considerations, and by current and evolving notions of authority, race and gender. The first two chapters seek to frame Bourne's work by first examining the political and cultural context of photography in India during the mid-nineteenth century, then by focusing on the context of the photographer's own production. The following three chapters are concerned with the study of the photographs themselves regarding what they depict and the questions they raise such as gender, racial identities and imperialism. The last chapter is an attempt to assess the significance of these photographs by comparing them with the work of Lala Deen Dayal, and highlighting different perspectives on Bourne's work regarding British India and Western societies. Placed in the context of the development of photography as a medium of record and representation, this thesis aims to show that Bourne's work is a significant historical source for understanding British cultural presence in post-Mutiny India.

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XG
March 2009

Declaration

I declare that the work contained in this thesis has not been submitted for any other award and that it is all my own work.

Name: Xavier Guigan

Signature: 

Date: March 2009

"To collect Photographs is to collect the world"
[Susan Sontag, *On Photography* (1978), p.3]

"From the earliest days of the calotype, the curious tripod, with its mysterious chamber and mouth of brass, taught the natives of this country [India] that their conquerors were the inventors of other instruments beside the formidable guns of their artillery, which, though as suspicious perhaps in appearance, attained their objects with less noise and smoke."
[Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X (1863), p.268]

Introduction

Although there is still a considerable amount of scholarly debate as to its causes and consequences, the 'Mutiny' of 1857 – 1858, and its subsequent representations, undoubtedly changed British attitudes towards the Indian subcontinent. This, however, is not to say that sentiments were not already being transformed prior to the Mutiny. British colonial perceptions of 'otherness' and in particular of Indian peoples, were changing throughout the century, often displaying significant internal tensions. For instance a taste for the 'exotic' and 'spiritual' aspects of India developed alongside deep prejudices against the 'degenerate' and 'superstitious' Indians. In fact, although the Mutiny is often regarded as the real starting point of a new era of varied attitudes, it appears that the roots of these changes started earlier with Macaulay's politics of imposing the English language and British education of the 'natives' in the 1830s and the 'conquering' politics of Dalhousie in the 1840s – 1850s. It is therefore unsurprising that so much scholarly attention has been devoted to the Mutiny itself as well as these earlier developments. Yet astonishingly, the direct aftermath of the Mutiny in the 1860s and 1870s has not so far received the attention it deserves. This period is particularly important as it follows upon the India Act of 1858, which represented a new approach to British colonial rule. This new approach, as I shall argue, embodied a new vision of India and its peoples. The British were starting to see things in a new way, and photography played no small role in this development. One photographer in particular made a rather significant contribution: Samuel Bourne, a young British photographer who portrayed India in the 1860s with the help of his business partner Charles Shepherd. This photographer is central to the themes of imperialism and photography; he is one of the most important documenters of Indian life at a crucial stage in the transformation of attitudes to India. Moreover, he also produced voluminous writings about his experiences and the nature of photography in the subcontinent. In what follows I

aim to provide a fresh understanding of British attitudes towards India and its peoples during this critical period through a careful examination of Bourne's work.

Samuel Bourne (1834-1912) was a young English bank clerk when he decided to 'renounce' his Nottingham middle-class life to embark in 1863 upon a course of photographic activity in India which established him as the subcontinent's foremost camera artist of the period. The establishment of the young man's commercial firm with the experienced photographer Charles Shepherd was built on the success of their photographic depiction of the subcontinent. Bourne is generally acknowledged today as one of the most significant photographers who worked in India in the nineteenth century,[1] and his work is certainly one of the best examples of the complexity of imperialistic representation in modern times. In *Samuel Bourne: Images of India*, one of the first studies ever completed on Bourne, Arthur Ollman summed up the photographer's achievement as follows:

> Bourne's contribution to photography was extensive. A superb technician, his work survives today, almost 120 years [in 1983] later, in fine condition. (...) No one made more luminous and lustrous prints. His work predates the grand Western American landscape photographs by several years, and there is evidence that albums containing his work, along with that of others, were seen in California during the early 1870s. It is as a composer of photographs that Bourne's skill is dominant, however. His sense of organisation of the random environment is as varied, inventive and creative as that of anyone who ever used the medium. (...) He showed India to be ordered, lovely and manageable, actually taming the wilderness. Photographs such as these helped give the English the interest, desire and justification to hold India. While not necessarily the interest of Bourne, this result was inevitable, just as we own the moon today through photographic evidence.[2]

Scholars who have worked on Bourne have adopted two approaches to his oeuvre. Desmond, Sampson and Osborne[3] focus their analyses on Bourne's photographs of architectural and landscape subjects, deliberately neglecting his portraits of Indian people. They rightly state that these pictures were minor in the photographer's production, and were often devalued by him. Ollman and Ryan[4] point out that

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[1] Sophie Gordon, *The Imperial Gaze, the Photographs of Samuel Bourne (1863-1870)* (New York: 2000), p.1. This catalogue was the companion to the New York Exhibition of the same name at the Alkazi Collection of Photography in 2000.

[2] Arthur Ollman, *Samuel Bourne: Images of India*, p.21.

[3] See Ray Desmond's *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (1982), Gary Sampson's *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India* (unpublished, 1991), and Peter Osborne's *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (2000)

[4] See Arthur Ollman's *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* (1983) and James Ryan's *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (1997).

although they were not as numerous, these photographs, however, had a great commercial success and are very intriguing in term of their representation of Indian people at the time. However, since Ollman's short general investigation, no real account of that aspect of the photographer's work has been properly developed – Ryan's analysis of Bourne is part of a whole study on photography and the British Empire. Therefore this thesis aims to develop the second approach, and redress this balance by showing how these pictures had an impact on the visual construction of Victorian representation of Indian people in the 1860s – 1870s. It focuses on Bourne's commercial and artistic photographs of the indigenous population, produced during successive field trips he undertook during his seven year stay in India in the 1860s and the portraits taken by his firm. The key research questions it seeks to address are the following: what were the defining features of Bourne's photographic images of the Indian population? To whom were these images addressed? What were the commercial conditions in which they were produced? How do they relate to other aspects of Imperial discourse and ideology? At the time, they were thought to be a realistic portrayal of the world; but how far were they involved in the creation of that world?

From the 1850s photography became a 'tool' of the newly conceptualised 'media coverage' of the world. It was a time which created 'modern' representation. Coincidentally it was also a period of transition in the international relations between European nations and several countries around the world. In the later nineteenth century the British had a stronger incentive to represent their imperial role in foreign cultures, as their control over various Asian territories tightened. This was why in 1858, following the Sepoys' rebellion, the British government decided to establish a direct rule in India. Photography played an increasingly important role in this new configuration of imperial imagery. The concept of Britain's imperial 'mission' increasingly saturated the culture in which its imperial subjects and possessions were represented. The notion of 'imperialism' was fully involved in this culture and in its representation. However it is not unproblematic to identify and define the dimension of 'imperialistic' representation in British India. The growth of public consciousness of an imperial culture expanded in the nineteenth century through the spread of new media and art mediums. Colonial photography may be said to form part of the making of British India, since documentation was part of the logic of codification and control. Bourne himself was explicit about this, arguing

that photographs were more powerful weapons than guns for securing the empire. Throughout this period the depiction of British-Indian society echoed or mirrored the norms of British culture 'at home'. These echoes modelled the nature of India to the British in ways which defined the nature of the country under British control, why their presence was justified, and to what extent they could benefit from this colony. In this regard Victorian photographs of India are a mirror of imperial fantasies and of an imperialistic society. They deal with the complex concept of 'otherness' in the nineteenth century. Osborne states that for some British, India was "a continuation of England", while it was "a bazaar of novelties, a display of exotic attractions" for others.[5] I shall argue, in the light of Bourne's work, that his portrayal of India plays with motifs that correspond to both David Cannadine's theory of *domestication* and Thomas Metcalf's theories of *difference* and otherness in India. Cannadine insists that "the British Empire was not exclusively concerned with the creation of 'otherness' on the presumption that the imperial periphery was different from, and inferior to, the imperial metropolis (...) the British Empire was about the familiar and domestic, as well as the different and the exotic: indeed, it was in large part about the domestication of the exotic;"[6] while Metcalf argues that the British partly wanted to justify their rule over India by emphasising the qualities of enduring "difference".[7]

This thesis attempts to follow, apply and also debate some theoretical arguments which have been leading our knowledge of the British colonial culture and attitude in nineteenth-century India. Several points should be noted in order to explore why the understanding of colonial photography with the focus on Bourne's work on Indian people is developed in this study. Most important is the development and variation of the concept of 'Orientalism' since the seminal writings of Edward Said, particularly in the light of the work of McKenzie and Cannadine. This bears on the depiction of the governance and representation of the 'natives', its perspectives and its critics; the ideologies of the Raj and its visual culture; and historicizing photography in nineteenth-century India. Foucault's concept "power-knowledge", or

[5] Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (ed. Bell and Bain Ltd, Glasgow: 2000), pp.43-44.
[6] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), p.xix.
[7] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994).

"governmentality", is also important here. This expresses how dominance operates /functions through a wide range of control techniques, particularly through the forms of knowledge, and that visibility is the medium of power-knowledge, thus leading to Foucault's statement that "visibility is a trap".[8] Governmentality refers to the relationship between rationality and reality that articulates political knowledge. The reality in this case is embodied by the Indian people, while the rationality refers to the idea of control, but above all to a tactical colonial knowledge that seeks to achieve its own ends. The rationalisation of India involved first of all the systematisation of a population into categories and structures. No systematisation however is the fruit of 'neutral' knowledge but is claimed from the representation of a 'governed reality',[9] and in the case of post-Mutiny governance the function of 'politics of truth' contributed to not only the justification of the Western modern state's dominance but also to a sustainable regulation and intervention for nearly a century. Foucault poses, amongst other problems, two questions: "how to govern others" and "by whom will the people accept being governed." To these he answers first by stating the characteristic of the sixteenth century that lies

> "at the crossroads of two processes: the one which, shattering the structures of feudalism, leads to the establishment of the great territorial, administrative and colonial states; and that totally different movement which [...] raises the issue of how one must be spiritually ruled and led on this earth in order to achieve eternal salvation."[10]

While Foucault then develops the theory of an economic system based on the welfare of the population in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Western countries, the governance of mid-nineteenth-century colonial India by the British combined characteristics from previous periods with those from modern times. Instead of "shattering the structures of feudalism," it reinforced ideas of neo-feudalism in order to govern, and modern sciences as the replacement of spirituality in order to establish and justify colonial rule. These neo-feudal and scientific structures were organised around political economy and apparatuses of security and

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[8] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1975, 1977), p.200. See also chapter 4 'Power/knowledge' in Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (New York: Routledge, 2005, c2003).

[9] See Thomas Lemke, 'Foucault, Governmentality, and Critique', *Rethinking Marxism*, Vol. 14, 3 (Sept. 2002), pp. 49-64.

[10] Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality', in *The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality*, ed. Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), pp. 87-88.

discipline. However those structures were not only buttressed by law, in addition other 'arrangements' ascertained sovereignty on native populations. After the Mutiny and the failure of the recognition of certain political and social bills, the colonial power created a system that was not based on the sole imposition of law on colonised Indians, rather the disposition of tactics played a crucial role in this new system.[11] By taking the meaning of liberalism in governmental thought as a critique of state reason and thus advocating an 'economic government' – "a government, in other words, that economizes on the use of resources and effort to achieve its ends"[12] – it was through elements of the colonial culture and society that the structure of colonial governmentality emerged. This exercise of tactical rule worked around the reasons and goals, justifications and ambitions, means and ends aiming at shaping and policing the structures of a 'new' Raj. Therefore, as this thesis shall prove with the work of Bourne, the political rationality of liberalism in India developed through the representation of an apparent conflicting opposition between the idea of a static social 'order' – the Indian population – and the idea of social 'ordering' as a fluid and open activity – the British developments viewed as a "process of *internationalisation* of governmentality in the nineteenth century."[13] As discussed later in this study, this modern colonial governmentality took several shapes in India, some of which have been discussed in the last few years by Inden, Cannadine, Cohn, Metcalf and Maxwell in the understanding of how historical knowledge, architectural surveys, modern colonial cities, colonial exhibitions, honours given to local princes, were key factors in the rule of the Indian subcontinent and its people in the nineteenth century.[14] Pinney, Swartz, Ryan,

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[11] Ibid., pp. 94-95. See also David Scott, 'Colonial Governmentality', *Social Text*, No. 43 (Autumn, 1995), pp. 202-203.

[12] Colin Gordon, 'Introduction', in Michel Foucault, *Power (essential works of Foucault 1954-1984)*, ed. by James D. Faubion, Vol. 3 (London: Penguin Books, 2002), pp.xxvii-xxviii.

[13] Patrick Joyce, *The Rule of Freedom, Liberalism and the Modern City* (New York: Verso, 2003), p.240. This latter concept has been developed within the context of liberal urban governance in 'Introduction', pp. 1-19, and 'Chapter 6 – Modern Freedom: Comparisons and Conclusion', pp. 240-258.

[14] See Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, c1990); Bernard S. Cohen, 'Representing authority of tradition in Victorian India', chapter 5 in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16th edition 2008, c1983); Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995) and *An Imperial Vision: Indian Architecture and Britain's Raj* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1989); David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002); and Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the "Native" and the Making of European Identities* (London: Leicester University Press, 2000).

Edwards, Osborne, Sampson and Hight extend this concept to photography by explaining how photographs contributed to what Said called 'imaginative geography' – by which he meant how the 'Orient' was constructed by Westerners as an ensemble of complex and sometimes conflicting ideas and representations – and shaped "our perceptions of place".[15]

Said's *Orientalism*, assisted by Foucault's principles on historical exposition of power and control, applied to nineteenth-century institutions, asserts that the Orient has been created by the Occident – the 'West' as the opposite to the 'East' – by the medium of a distinct discourse. The construction of this discourse is based on a 'knowledge' created by a mass of writers, artists, travellers, and so on, who participated in the exercise of power. Although Said's theory has been decisive in the studies of imperial / colonial history, it has also been widely criticised for its lack of accuracy on some historical elements and for a description of the colonised as an only passive object under the supremacy of the coloniser.[16] This indeed discharges the native of any control and response; the Saidian model is thus accused of being too binary. It cannot however be totally dismissed as it has generated in the last thirty years an open discussion with a proliferation of theses and writings on the perception and creation of the colonial and post-colonial world. Said's ideas are certainly suggestive, but also not unproblematic, in the interpretation of aspects of Bourne's images that are discussed in the following chapters. Sometimes they imply a created discourse of 'difference' which implies that they may fit under the Saidian model of 'Orientalism'. According to Metcalf in *Ideologies of the Raj* this 'creation of difference' also implied a form of identity. British commentary on India depicted India's nineteenth-century present as the equivalent of Britain's ancient and mediaeval past (primitive tribes and feudal monarchies). However, Metcalf notes

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[15] Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the Social Life of Indian Photographs* (Ed. Reaktion Book, London: 1997) and 'Classification and Fantasy in the Photographic Construction of Caste and Tribe', *Visual Anthropology*, vol.3, nos. 2-3 (Harwood Academic Publishers: New York & London, July 1990), pp.259-288; Joan M. Schwartz and James R. Ryan, *Picturing Place, Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006, c2003), p.6. See also Joan M. Schwartz, "The Geography Lesson: Photographs and the Construction of Imaginative Geographies", *Journal of Historical Geography,* XXII, (1996), pp.16-45; Gary D. Sampson and Eleanor M. Hight (eds.), *Colonialist Photography, Imag(in)ing race and place* (London: Routledge, 2002); James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion, 1997); Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (ed. Bell and Bain Ltd, Glasgow: 2000); and Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992).

[16] See Sadik Jalal Al-'Azm, 'Orientalism and Orientalism in Reverse', *Khamsin*, 8, 1981, pp.5-26; Michael Richardson, 'Enough Said', *Abthropology Today*, 6, 4, August 1990, pp. 16-19; and Bernard Lewis, *Islam and the West* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1993), chapter 6.

that "the 'feudal' view of princely India did not go wholly unchallenged;"[17] and Inden in *Imagining India* argues that our understanding of India has been distorted by the preoccupations of nineteenth and early twentieth-century colonisers, thinkers, artists and scholars who portrayed India as a living fossil. For instance the Indian village was modelled as 'ancient' – a relic of the primal Indo-European (Aryan) cultures from which modern Europe itself had developed. The "village in Europe had all but disappeared as it became a 'modern' society; India, however, was still an 'ancient' society; the ancient Aryan village still survived there."[18] In other words India linked Europe in ways which other cultures did not. It was both alien and intimate. This paradox of identity and difference will be explored further in this thesis which will apply to Bourne's work the paradigms deployed in post-Saidian literature – from McKenzie to Cannadine, C. Hall to N. Thomas, Bhabha to S. Hall, Hight and Sampson to Karlekar – in order to examine the complexity of the 'imperial gaze'.[19]

In *Culture and Imperialism* Said emphasises difference over commonality in Imperialist culture. He writes that "throughout the exchange between Europeans and their 'others' that began systematically half a millennium ago, the one idea that has scarcely varied is that there is an 'us' and a 'them', each quite settled, clear, unassailably self-evident."[20] Nonetheless not everyone accepts this clear cut division, and nuances can be highlighted. Homi Bhabha thus talks about the ambivalence of colonial discourse which challenges the Foucauldian concept of power/knowledge. In *The Location of Culture* he argues that the colonial cultural experience is more complex than an oversimplified and rigid division between the ruler and the ruled, the active and the passive. Bhabha, like Said, mainly confines himself to the field of literary criticism, and often lacks detailed historical evidence. However, he highlights the importance of *representation* in the creation of colonial culture.

It is the aim of this thesis to develop these analyses and to explore the intersection of the visual and textual in Bourne's colonial representation of Indian

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[17] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*, p. 74.
[18] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1990-2000), p. 132.
[19] The 'imperial gaze' is an expression which has been recurrently used in the last decade by scholars who have written on British colonial photography to express the historical involvement between photography and imperialism.
[20] Edward S. Said, *Culture and Imperialism* (London: Chatto and Windus Ltd, 1993, c1978), p. xxviii.

people, and this has to be done theoretically by following the steps of Said and Bhabha, but also historically – McKenzie, Cannadine – and culturally – Hall, Thomas, Karlekar. Since the early nineties, discussion of representation has been at the heart of the debate regarding the British Empire. Historians such as McKenzie, Cannadine, Bayly, Moore, Washbrook, Auerbach and Metcalf have worked on how representation through the arts, architectural ornaments, honours and popular culture affected the British perception of its colonies, while cultural and visual theorists and historians such as Thomas, Edwards, Osborne, Pinney, Ryan and Maxwell have tried to develop in parallel the importance of the emergence of anthropology and photography. In *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* Cannadine emphasises two propositions, that the history of the British empire is inseparable from the history of Britain itself, and that the British committed themselves from 1850 up to 1950 to reproduce in their colonies the same sort of hierarchical society that existed in Britain. The term 'Ornamentalism' describes how this hierarchy was made visible and obvious. Cannadine explains the importance of the 'Honours' given to 'natives' from the higher ranks which were modelled on the ones given to the British officials. For instance – as we shall see in the following chapters – Bourne's firm portrayed the Begum of Bhopal wearing the insignia and robes of a knight grand commander of the Order of the Star of India, an honour she obtained thanks to her help during the Indian Mutiny. Bourne himself also portrayed two Lepchas (natives from Sikkim); these portraits do not resemble the Begum's and yet they appear 'majestic'.[21] It is this opposition and diversity in the portraiture of Indian people and nevertheless a sort of link between them that this thesis explicates.

This brings us to the problem of the relationship between the literature on Bourne's photography and cultural theory. In the context of nineteenth-century imperial / colonial history, the study of photography has been experiencing for the last thirty years a change in its relationship with the discipline. From the late 1970s colonial photography started to be appreciated as an important element of representing the British colonies in the mid-nineteenth century. At that time Bourne started to be

[21] Arthur Ollman in *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* ((California: The Friends of Photography (no33), 1983, p.20) explains that Bourne's portraiture of these natives could be compared to a royal family portrait.

included in a series of anthologies, and the first monographic contribution on the study of his life and work was published by Ollman (1983).[22]

Bourne's photographical work has been either the central subject or amongst the principal subjects of several publications. He is often referenced in collective exhibition catalogues and anthologies on photography in nineteenth-century India (which are indicated below) where his pictures and comments from articles are often established as an indication of his success and influence at the time in the industry. There are also specific exhibition catalogues on his work such as Taylor's *Samuel Bourne, 1834-1912, photographic views in India* (1980), Williams's *Samuel Bourne: In Search of the Picturesque* (1981) and Gordon's *The Imperial Gaze, the Photographs of Samuel Bourne (1863-1870)* (2000), which give useful information on the photographer and his work alongside the photographs which were displayed at the exhibitions. Besides these are a series of articles, three monographs and an unpublished PhD dissertation which discuss either Bourne's life and production as a biographical example of a Victorian photographer in India or on some specific aspects of his work. Amongst the biographical studies on Bourne's stay in India, Ollman's *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* and Pohlmann's *Samuel Bourne: Sieben Jahre Indien Photographien Und Reiseberichte 1863-1870*[23] are both informative and form a good general base of knowledge on the photographer, they also have some interesting additional elements of pictorial analysis. Alongside are two short articles, one by Sampson – 'The Success of Samuel Bourne in India', *History of Photography* 16:4 (1992) – and one by Sprague – 'Samuel Bourne: Photographer of India in the 1860s', *British Journal of Photography*, Jan. 14 (1977) – which give a succinct and wide-ranging description of the photographer and his work. Nevertheless the most in-depth studies which have been done on Bourne are those focusing on his experience in the Himalayas, with a specific investigation of his landscape and architecture photography. In the several anthologies of photography in India, this is how the photographer is mainly remembered and why he is considered central to the history of the art.

In analysis and interpretation of this aspect of his work, the unpublished PhD dissertation of Sampson – *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British*

[22] Arthur Ollman, *Samuel Bourne: Images of India.*

[23] *Samuel Bourne: Sieben Jahre Indien Photographien Und Reiseberichte 1863-1870* can be translated as 'Samuel Bourne: seven years of Indian photography and travel reports, 1863-1870'.

Landscape Photography in India (1991) – has been until now the most thoroughly undertaken and realised study on the subject. Sampson's dissertation is a thorough account of Bourne's travels in India, documenting his movements and identifying the locations of his landscape photography. As stated above, Sampson is exclusively concerned with landscape and with its relationship to traditions of the picturesque, a subject he also explores in his later essays. He never links this to the portraiture of the Indian population which is central to this study. In addition to this is the editorial work of Rayner's *Photographic Journeys in the Himalayas - Samuel Bourne* (2004) and Ollman's concise article 'Samuel Bourne: The Himalayan Images 1863-69' *Creative Camera* (1983), which was published at the same time as his biographical examination, form together the most detailed surveys and reviews. Finally, Turner's 'Samuel Bourne's English Photographs' *Creative Camera* 226 (1983) and Heathcote's 'Samuel Bourne of Nottingham' *History of Photography* 6:2 (1982) both highlight Bourne's ventures as an amateur photographer in England before he went to India.

In parallel to these specific studies focusing on Bourne, his work has been studied as part of a number of publications that examine colonial photography.[24] Two sorts of work can be distinguished, the ones that survey historical perspective and information and those exploring the cultural theories and impacts of the photographs. With a particular emphasis in the early 1980s and then late 1990s – early 2000s, publications have aimed at elaborating a chronology with a list of important photographic productions and an anthology of subject-related works. These 'Histories of Travel Photography' and 'Photography in India' include Thomas's *History of Photography, India 1840-1980* (1981), which divides with the same organisation throughout the whole study his 'History' into four phases – 1840s to 1880s, 1880s to 1920s, 1920s to 1953, and 1953 and after – this work is narrative and succinct; Hershkowitz's *The British Photographer Abroad, The First Thirty Years* (1980); and Fabian and Adam's *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (1983),

[24] It should be noted here that general encyclopaedias and historical publications on photography often include a short biography on Samuel Bourne. The photographer is thus referred in Lenman's *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (2005), Gernsheim's *The Rise of Photography, 1850-1880: the Age of Collodion*, The History of Photography, vol. II (1988), Haworth-Booth's *The Museum & The Photograph, Collecting Photography at the Victoria and Albert Museum 1853-1900* (1998), Marien's *Photography: A Cultural History* (2002), Lemagny and Rouillé's *A History of Photography: Social and Cultural Perspectives* (1987), and Guillemot's *Dictionnaire Mondial de la Photographie* (2001).

which investigates different parts of the world in the nineteenth century through distinctive photographers – Samuel Bourne is at the centre of the discussion of the chapter about India. Ray Desmond produced several seminal publications in the field. Although his works are sometimes anecdotal he is still regarded by many in the area as shaping our knowledge of photography in nineteenth-century India. Amongst his major works the most influential are *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (1982), *Simla: A Hill Station in British India* (with the collaboration of Pat Barr, 1978), and 'Nineteenth Century Indian Photographers in India', *History of Photography* 1 (1977).[25] Nevertheless Desmond's analysis of the British attitude can be criticised for superficial description of photographs and travel accounts. Within this first group of works a collection of catalogues, which were produced alongside exhibitions, have also gathered information on colonial photography. Some of them are more complete than others, and all follow the same historical scheme and approach to the subject. Here several works are worth noting: Worswick and Embree's *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911* (1976) and Dehejia's *India through the Lens, Photography 1840-1911* (2000). Another specialist who has also published several catalogues and articles on the field is John Falconer, Curator of Photographs at the Oriental and India Office Collections – newly called 'the Asia, Pacific & Africa Collections' (APAC) – at the British Library. In his catalogues Falconer follows the scheme of what has been called here the 'Histories of Photography in India' with *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* (2001) and *A Shifting Focus: Photography in India 1850-1900* (with the collaboration of Rogers, Sharma, and Gray, 1995). At the beginning of 'photographical exploration of the world', British photography emerged in parallel to French colonial photography. These two countries produced most of the pictures representing the world and possessed the largest colonial empires in the second half of the nineteenth century. Consequently French scholars have also been publishing studies on French colonial photography but also on nineteenth-century India – see for instance Maurel's *L'Exotisme Colonial* (1980), Lefébure's *Explorateurs*

[25] Two articles published around the same time as Desmond's and dealing with the same subject can also be cited here, Thomas's 'The First Four Decades of Photography in India' *History of Photography* (1979) and Maharaj's 'Photography in India at the Photographer's Gallery' *Creative Camera* (1982).

Photographes, Territoires inconnus 1850-1930 (2003) and Martin's *d'un regard l'Autre, photographies XIXe siècle* (2006).[26]

Alongside this general literature on photography in colonial India, some important studies have been undertaken to analyse the structures and ideologies behind the pictures. This group has started to flourish in the early 1990s, and aims at establishing the problematic connection of colonial photographic representation with the cultural, political, social, and economic pattern of the British Empire. Ryan's *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (1997) is perhaps amongst the most achieved examinations of the importance of photographic accounts as significant instruments of intervention and confrontation in the creation of an imperial culture. In conjunction with Ryan's study, Pinney's *Camera Indica: the Social Life of Indian Photographs* (1997) is an essential exploration of the evolving function of photographic portraiture from colonial up to post-colonial and contemporary India; while Karlekar's *Re-visioning the Past, Early Photography in Bengal 1875-1915* (2005) focuses on a more specific aspect by exploring the practice of colonialism and the construction of the nineteenth-century growing urban Bengali middle-class society, particularly regarding its intelligentsia and Bengali women. Both collaborative works edited by Edwards – *Anthropology and Photography: 1860-1920* (1992) – and Hight and Sampson – *Colonialist Photography, Imag(in)ing race and place* (2002) – draw attention to the way photography was used for either anthropological surveys, or political and cultural strategies, in the creation of both the British and French colonial empires. Another group of works discusses the interconnection between photography, travelling and anthropology; Maxwell's *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the "Native" and the Making of European Identities* (2000), Osborne's *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (2000), and Thomas's *Colonialism's Culture: Anthropology, Travel and Government* (1994)[27] study the impact of

[26] Although many of these publications refer to other studies in the field of photography in colonial India – see the interesting first two chapters of Karlekar's *Re-visioning the Past, Early Photography in Bengal 1875-1915* (2005) – only one article to my knowledge has been published regarding its 'historiography'. Gordon's article 'Uncovering India: Studies of Nineteenth-Century Indian Photography' (*History of Photography*, 2004) divides the studies of colonial photography in India into four categories: Early and Classic Studies, Anthropology and Popular Visual Culture and Imperial Ideologies and Recent Publications.

[27] Here can also be included Banta and Curtis's *From Site to Sight: Anthropology, Photography, and the Power of Imagery* (1986) and the edited publication of Singh & DasGupta's *A Portrayal of People, Essays on Visual Anthropology in India* (1987).

colonial photography on the western public by focusing on how travelling was perceived, and social and 'primitive' identities were portrayed. They aim at demonstrating in a post-colonial theoretical context that colonialism's culture was the making of 'discontinuities' mainly influenced by the diversity of social, economical and political schemas. Some of these publications discuss Bourne's impact on British Indian photography, however with the exception of some studies such as Ryan's *Picturing Empire* they often follow either Desmond's traditional approach, which is very much focused on the photographer's writing rather than the pictures themselves (see for instance Osborne's *Travelling Light*) or – what has become conventional since the 1990s – the examination of his work on landscape and architecture. By focusing specifically on Bourne's images of the Indian peoples, analysed in the light of contemporary scholarship on colonial photography, the present thesis aims to fill an important gap in existing literature.

The key primary sources for this research are Bourne's photographs themselves. From approximately four thousand pictures taken by Bourne himself and by Bourne & Shepherd's firm, two hundred fifty photographs have been selected for this study.[28] This selection has been made on the grounds of the photographs including Indian and British characters. They therefore form a varied approach in portraying Indian people; this base gathers studio and group portraits, scenes of village and city lives, and pictures where Indians are elements of scenery.[29] The original articles written by Bourne constitute another fundamental basis in order to understand Bourne's personality and his pictorial work. His major writings appeared in the *British Journal of Photography* and *The Photographic News*: 'On Some of the

[28] The biggest range of Bourne's pictures can be found under the India Office Select Materials at the British Library at London (the rest of them are owned by either private collectors or other institutes). I also examined closely the album titled *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (made by Bourne & Shepherd's firm in 1876) since it contains both pictures and contemporaneous comments, written alongside the images. This work has never been republished and is little known.

[29] As part of my research I travelled to India where I was able to locate more pictures conserved at the National Library at Kolkata (Calcutta), identify the location of Bourne's studio, and of many of the places he photographed, along with the ethnic groups he identified, most notably the Nepalese and Bengalese living in Darjeeling or the Todas still existing in the Nilgiri Hills – and the important cities such as the holy city of Varanasi (Benares) upon the Ganges. In order to make complete my photographic record, I asked to copy some pictures at Kolkata. While the British Library provides reproduction services, the National Library at Kolkata does not have such services. I was only allowed to photograph ten pictures. Sadly, since the lighting was bad my copies are blurred. I have however included them in the catalogue because of their uniqueness and their significance.

Requisites Necessary for the Production of a Good Photograph' (1860); 'Photography in the East' (1863); 'Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas' (1864); 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts' (1866-67); 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas' (1869-70).[30] Bourne & Shepherd's firm worked both in the studio and on location; their work included individual and group portraits of both British and Indian personages, topographical images in which figures were incidental, and a range of representations of Indian life, customs and types. These images were informed by, and in turn contributed to, an expanding body of photographic practice that combined, in different degrees, 'veracity' and aesthetic style. The specific character of each image was determined by a combination of technical and 'authorial' factors, by the audience to which it was addressed – ranging from the general public in Britain to the family circle of wealthy Indians, by commercial considerations linked to costs of production, sales and competition, and by current and evolving notions of authority, social status, race and gender. The unravelling of these different elements constitutes the core of this research. Bourne's output is here subjected to a close analysis in terms of style and subject matter, in order to establish its general character and the different genres of photographic representation into which it fell. It is compared with other current practice, both in Europe and India, to determine influence and distinctiveness. The circumstances of production are also examined, the markets for which different images were intended, and 'the photographic discourse' of these representations are analysed in terms of the concepts of racial identity, gender roles, power and civilisation that they articulate.

Roland Barthes and Peter Metcalf[31] have highlighted that photography might seem to show 'reality' and present 'truth' – but its interpretation is very complex and, as any historical source, leads to different theories and approaches. Behind the pictures, there is the life and concepts of the photographer, but also the background of a society. The Victorians who saw Bourne's work saw it through their own culture, their imagination, and their knowledge of India; and most of the time it reinforced their own preconceptions. Worswick writes, at the end of the introduction of *The*

[30] These articles can be found in Appendix C in Volume Three.
[31] Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* [La Chambre Claire (Paris : Editions du Seuil, 1980)] (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982) and Peter Metcalf, *They Lie, We Lie, Getting on with Anthropology* (London: Routledge, 2002).

Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911, that "Portrait photography did not interest Bourne, and he used people only to indicate scale."[32] When one compares the photographer's production of portraits with his scenery and landscape photographs, it appears that Worswick's assertion is not totally justified. The majority of studies on Bourne focus on his work on 'landscape', neglecting his and his firm's work on Indian people. A minority of the studies quote these portraits and ethnographical photographs but never carry out a deep analysis of them. It moreover appears that it is to neglect the real impact of the Victorian visual depiction of the 'Other' by omitting the importance of the commercial and historic success of some of Bourne's portraits such as *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., photo 1.1.3.), and his very interesting work on *Rustic scenes*,[33] without forgetting the massive production of his firm's portraits.[34] These photographs are as remarkable as Bourne's landscape pictures, since they deal with the significance of decisive subjects of the time: imperialism and the representation of otherness. Concerning the claim that "he used people only to indicate scale", it might be correct to think that Bourne included Indians in some of his pictures, particularly landscape or architectural photographs, for scale reasons but also as elements of aesthetics for the scenery. Also, despite an 'artistic' portraiture of the second half of the nineteenth-century Indian society, Bourne's work, as a whole, perfectly accords with what Bhabha names "ambivalence" in his theories on colonialism. In *The Location of Culture*, Bhabha indeed highlights the fact that "it is the force of ambivalence that gives the colonial stereotype its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed."[35] It was by using stereotypes and normalisation through the 'image of otherness' that an 'establishment of truth' was introduced in the production of colonial discourse. It is very probable that Samuel Bourne photographed Indian natives in the genuine belief that he was portraying the 'reality', but he always did so from a 'dominant' perspective. Bourne's work

[32] C. Worswick and A. Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911* (London, 1976), p.10.
[33] See Photo 2.1.7 to Photo 2.1.12. in Volume Two.
[34] See section Photo 1.6. in Volume Two.
[35] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.95.

induces and is part of a typical scheme of representation of second half of nineteenth-century imperialism and Orientalism, but it also involves ethnographic surveys and artistic features, that emphasise graciousness and beauty to the people or scenes he portrayed. As we shall see, these betray a strange mixture of attraction and repugnance, fascination and incomprehension, scientific claims and imagination.

Few studies involve photography as the main medium of the analysis of British imperialism. Therefore the structure of this thesis will focus first on a specific and detailed context, to produce a precise and developed analysis of Bourne's photographs. The cataloguing and close study of Bourne's work has brought out the wide number of discursive domains within which these photographs can be seen to function. Comprehensive analysis requires the consideration of different fields such as religion, the caste system, race theories, ethnology and gender perspectives, and imperial governmentality. Consequently this thesis attempts to combine all these aspects in a developed examination that aims at improving knowledge of Bourne's work and more generally of imperial photography as major subject of historical investigation.

In order to assess and place Bourne's work into the scope of photography in India, Chapter One shall first set the political environment and attitudes and the construction of a cultural visibility of British India in the mid-nineteenth century, leading then to a survey of the development of photography in the subcontinent. Within this frame several themes will be discussed: photography as an element of governmentality, the impact and representation of the Mutiny, and different subjects as sources of visualisation of India. Chapter Two will examine the account of Bourne's life and work as a photographer in India. The condition of his work will be studied through his aims when he left England, his experience before going, and the evolution of his production in India. His lifestyle as a coloniser with servants, his stay in Simla – the summer residence of Indian government – and his partnership with the experienced photographer Charles Shepherd as well as his expeditions in the Himalayas, Calcutta and South India will be developed. The wet-plate collodion process that Bourne used was not easy to work, nor was the equipment he needed easy to transport. How Bourne tackled those difficulties will be explained in this chapter. Finally, commercial aspects and prospects of Bourne's pictures will be exposed through a study of his buyers and his public. Bourne's pictures of Indian

people can be divided into categories, and Chapter Three will detail the different groups and individuals portrayed. The number of portraits is significant and they essentially depict representatives of the upper-class such as maharajahs. However, there were some lower-class and middle-class figures, portrayed as representatives of professions or as examples of ethnicity. 'Scenes' and 'group images' are more infrequent but they are, nevertheless, important, because they articulate meanings arising from aesthetic traditions concerning the picturesque and the depiction of communities. Finally, topographical pictures are numerous; even when landscapes are portrayed, local people are often present to anchor the scene in its cultural, exotic and aesthetic context. Then socio-professional groups, the caste system and religions will be analysed to understand which groups of Indian people were pictured, their representation in the society, without neglecting the importance of Bourne's pictures of tribes (Todas) and Ethnic groups (Tibetans). Examination of these groups will bring light to what was of interest to Bourne and the wider Victorian public. The following two chapters will focus on specific themes which are recurrent in Bourne's portraitures. Chapter Four will discuss how the genders were used as elements of orientalism. Indian women and men were considered alien and exotic, but varied sentiments were found. For instance, the Sepoys [Indian troops] were appreciated for their fierce warrior qualities, but were also deemed dangerous and latently barbaric, potentially given to uncontrolled explosions of violence. Another example is how some women were looked at for the magnificence of their dresses, while the Nautch women – Kashmiri dancers – who were very attractive, were often considered as prostitutes. Chapter Five will deal with a subject that fascinated and puzzled Westerners at the time: the visibility of differences. Racial and social hierarchy was not a novelty in the nineteenth century but evolutionary models became increasingly significant later in the century. Theories about differences could be used either to justify a Western superiority and, therefore, the right to rule the others; or to understand the appeal of exoticism. Racial differences were also very clearly articulated in photographs in which both Indians and British figures were portrayed. Sometimes, they could be represented on an equal footing – as with maharajahs – and some other times, the British would be represented with an implication of superiority.

To close this project, a comparison between Bourne and the Indian photographer Lala Deen Dayal will be developed. The early history of photography

in India demonstrates native Indian interest towards this new art, but active Indian commercial photographers were rare. Raja Lala Deen Dayal was the court photographer to the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, and took an important number of pictures of Anglo-Indian life. Thus Bourne and Dayal's careers were different yet had similarities both in a commercial way, in an aesthetic interest, and in the appeal that came from the public. Both photographers met with considerable success, their respective depiction of India however do not always identify the same norms, and therefore Dayal's work highlights the singularity of Bourne's significance in the visual construction of British India.

Chapter One: Photography and British attitudes to the Raj, 1840s-1870s

The proliferation of varieties of travel representation in the nineteenth century was closely linked to the development of British policy, notably in India. These texts, which depicted other territories, other peoples and British colonial rule, promoted the increasing interest of the British public with regard to the Indian Empire and helped to consolidate an era of cultural and political imperialism. Photography was a new medium conveying an apparent 'truth' through visual representation, and as such played an important role in this colonial 'discourse'. It generated images which powerfully conveyed a description of an imagined native 'feudal' society[1] encountering the 'modernity' of Western society; images which cannot be dissociated from their makers and the audiences that they were targeting.

Samuel Bourne arrived in India five years after the end of the 'Mutiny'.[2] This was an era of new order traumatised by the rebellion and witnessing a slow transformation of the British attitude to the subcontinent and its peoples. His work helps us to evaluate the two decades which followed the Mutiny. As he acknowledged himself, Bourne was part of a society in transition where he was not the only one of his kind.[3] It can be argued that it was partly because Bourne belonged to a group of emerging British photographers that his work became an important part of the colonial discourse. This chapter examines the development of photography in India, in connection with the political, cultural and ideological context, from its emergence on the subcontinent – the two decades previous to

[1] See theory on the creation and use of the image of feudality in Indian villages by the British in Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, c1990).
[2] Throughout this thesis the word 'Mutiny' is used rather than 'Rebellion'. It is now, rightly so, a convention to use the latter since its meaning is less a denial to Indian people's history. However here it is the former which is used, only because it was then, in the nineteenth century, commonly used by the Victorians when describing and representing this event. See in this chapter the section titled 'The Indian Mutiny and its photographical representation'.
[3] S. Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP*, X, 1863.

Bourne's arrival – to the 1870s when Bourne & Shepherd's firm was flourishing. It treats, in order: the historical and ideological context of governance in India; sites where India was made visible to the British public through photography; and the particularity of the institutionalisation of photography in the country. It concludes with a discussion of key aspects and themes in photographic practice: the features of 'governmental' photography, the impact of the Indian Mutiny and its photographical representation, and finally the different photographic approaches to interpreting India.

From liberalism to direct rule

The early nineteenth century witnessed the beginning of a change of attitude towards the British colonies. The impact of the independence of the United States in the late eighteenth century as well as the growth of liberal industrial ideologies in Britain led to debate about the idea of freedom and progress in the colonies. These lay behind the 'progressive' rhetoric of empire, which began to justify imperialism as a necessary stage for the liberation of very people who were under imperial control. As we shall see this paradox runs through Bourne's work. Mainly from the 1830s – at the same time as the Slavery Abolition Act (1833) – a wave of reforms reached India. The purpose of these reforms was closely connected to the ideals of liberalism. Metcalf explains in *Ideologies of the Raj* how free traders, Utilitarians and evangelicals exploited the motives of liberalism to 'civilise' the Indian people. It was through the concept of "a hierarchical classification of all societies"[4] that both father – James – and son – John Stuart – Mill justified the need to reform Indian society through the law. James Mill's view, expressed in his *History of British India*, was that India never had a high state of civilisation, and that it epitomised superstition and administrative inefficiency. To progress it required the adoption of Utilitarian principles. John Stuart Mill took a more nuanced view. He considered India to have been one of the 'Oriental' societies which had developed relative sophistication in ancient times but were now stagnant. India thus needed a 'paternal

[4] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p.31.

despotism', a system aimed at controlling its government and administration but not the economic and intellectual freedoms of its citizens.

In part because of this, India became in the nineteenth century a sort of laboratory where ideas, social and cultural experiment could be explored.[5] In the 1830s and 1840s social and religious reforms – such as the abolition of the practice of suttee[6] – alongside the development of technologies and transports – such as the railway – were widespread. Education as well as the spread of the English language was often at the heart of this 'modernisation'. Thomas Babington Macaulay in the 1830s became the spokesman of these politics.[7] He was partly behind the concept that it was the Western duty to spread civilisation through law and education alongside trade and the imposition of superior codes of behaviour on native inhabitants.[8] Furthermore there followed from this a belief in "systematic colonisation,"[9] which meant the wish to create new societies abroad copying the English-European civilization system. In India this system reached its climax in the 1840s and 1850s with Dalhousie and his policy of annexation, which applied the theory of 'lapse', which allowed the East India Company to appropriate territory based on the supposed inability of some Indian princes to rule properly their states.[10]

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[5] See D.A. Wasbrook, 'India, 1818-1860: The Two Faces of Colonialism' in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. III 'The Nineteenth Century' (editor-in-chief, Wm. Roger Louis, assistant editor, Alaine Low; Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), pp. 395-421.

[6] The practice of suttee – or sati – consisted of Hindu widows who threw themselves to the funeral fire where their late husband was incinerated. It was discredited for its 'savagery' and as an 'archaic' system that had been created to avoid problems with the sons' inheritance. In 1829 Lord William Bentinck as governor-general outlawed this practice.

[7] See Thomas Babington Macaulay, 'Speech in Parliament on the Government of India Bill, 10 July 1833', pp. 716-18, and 'Minute of 2 February 1835 on Indian Education', pp.721-24, 179, in *Macaulay, Prose and Poetry,* selected by G.M. Young (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1957).

[8] Lawrence James, *The Rise and Fall of the British Empire* (London: Abacus, 1994), p.184.

[9] Peter Burroughs, 'Imperial Institutions and the Government of Empire', in *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. III "The Nineteenth Century" (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.172. The theory of 'systematic colonisation' was originally used by Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the early 1830s to help economic development, which was justified alongside the aim at civilising.

[10] One of the chief processes of this seizure of the Indian administration and the annexation of several Indian states was the result of Dalhousie's (as governor-general from 1848 to 1856) policy of using the doctrines of the 'Fault' and 'Supremacy'. In essence these doctrines gave the right to the Company to annex and rule the princely states when the rajas, maharajas or any sort of princes could not have a first male-child as successor or if the Company judged the prince as a 'debauched' or 'depraved' sovereign. Dalhousie first used those in 1848 against the Raja of Satara, and as a result had the direct control of this state and its income; within the following eight years Dalhousie exploited those doctrines conquering without leading any wars many states; this period came to an end with the annexation of Oudh in February 1856, which led the King Wajid Ali to build an army against the British.

In order to change a system which was thought to be unsatisfactory the British government gradually took control of a colonial administration and started to collect the revenue of the occupied territories through the East India Company.[11] In consequence, although the first half of the nineteenth century witnessed the fight over the abolition of slavery within the British Empire and the spread of new ideas about bringing modernity and freedom in some colonies, it also contradictorily appeared to be from the 1830s and onward on the path to bring a political and cultural imperialism in India under the features of liberalism but also economic and political protectionism.

Through the first half of the nineteenth century Great Britain succeeded in supplanting most of the Portuguese and French settlements, it became 'the paramount power' in India; but it is with the end of the Mutiny that direct British rule was officially proclaimed. After the events of 1857-1858 the construction of the British 'Raj' continued and its prosperity rose until the twentieth century; Indian soldiers and princes became, for the most part, loyal subjects of the British Crown. Except for a few French and Portuguese trading posts, India was divided between territories under direct British regulation and the Princely states, which were with their faithful and docile princes indirectly under the British rule. In fact, the British were in possession of the large Indian subcontinent. The India Act (1858) guided through the Commons by the Conservative Administration of Lord Derby,[12] which came after the abolition of the East India Company and the exile of Emperor Bahadur Shah Zafar II (after the execution of most of his family thus liquidating the Mughal Empire), established official British rule. This act remained unchanged until 1909. It claimed to continue the social work that was undertaken under the East India Company with the guarantee of a greater sensitivity to the feelings of its subjects. India would now be considered as a real official part of the Empire; consequently, it was claimed, all its subjects would be regarded with more respect and attention as specified in the Queen's 'Proclamation to the princes, chiefs and

[11] Not to forget in parallel the so-called 'Great Game' [the term seems to have been invented by Captain Arthur Connolly in 1842 while he was serving in Central Asia, but it became worldly known through Rudyard Kipling's novel *Kim* (1901) – see Harlow and Carter, *Imperialism & Orientalism, A Documentary Sourcebook* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 1999), p.184] between Britain and Russia in Afghanistan (1839-42 and 1878-80), the Crimean War (1853-56), and the Opium Wars between Britain and China (1839-42 and 1856-60) which also justified the British hegemony over India to protect the mother country from European and Asian colonial powers.

[12] After the creation of the Bill, Lord Derby also became the first Secretary of State for India.

people of India' of November 1858, which decreed the temper and goals of the new state. The proclamation was made known to the Indian people as a whole by being read aloud, in various languages, in all main cities and towns:

> We desire no extension of our present territorial possessions ... we shall respect the rights, dignity, and honour of native princes as our own ... we declare it to be our royal will and pleasure that none be in any wise favoured, none molested or disquieted, by reason of their religious faith or observances, but that all shall alike enjoy the equal and impartial protection of the law ... And it is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever race or creed, be freely and impartially admitted to office in our service ...
>
> When, by the blessing of Providence, internal tranquillity shall be restored, it is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement, and to administer the government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us, and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people.[13]

This rhetoric, however, glosses over many political, economic and ideological problems. The paradox of the liberal model was supplemented by the issue of race, which became increasingly important in the following decade. As Lawrence James has pointed out, this is why "in a statement which could have been made at any time during the past fifty years and would be repeated, in various forms, for the next fifty, the *Edinburgh Review* reminded its readers [volume CVII – 1858] that it was 'the glorious destiny of England to govern, to civilise, to educate and to improve the innumerable tribes and races whom Providence had placed beneath her sceptre'."[14] As David Cannadine has highlighted, the new governance of India relied heavily on the principle, and the imagery, of traditional hierarchy, presided over, and guaranteed by the British monarch.[15] In *Statue of the Queen Bombay* (Photo 3.2.5.) Bourne created a powerful image of the new state of affairs. This photograph shows an imposing sculpture representing Victoria sitting on her regal chair within the frame of a neo-gothic church temple. Outside the fences forming a circle to protect the statue are six Indian people whose backs are to us as they face the 'imposing' Queen. Indeed the Queen's 'providence' was made not only present in the act and

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[13] Queen Victoria's Proclamation, 1 Nov. 1858, in C.H. Philips (ed.), *The Evolution of India and Pakistan, 1858 to 1947: Select Documents* (London, 1962), pp. 10-11.
[14] Lawrence James, *Raj The Making of British India* (London: Abacus, 1997), p.294.
[15] Cannadine, David, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

new form of administration but also visible to her new subjects through numerous images, such as her effigy on rupee coins, and monuments of this kind throughout India. With the India Act, a new political system and hierarchy was created. Two sources of executive power were established, the Secretary of State for India – member of the Prime Minister's Cabinet and head of the India Office – who answered to Parliament, and the Viceroy – major personality of the 'Raj' – who supervised everyday administration and law-making from Calcutta. The Viceroy presided over a sort of cabinet, including the heads of the Indian departments of states such as finance, along with advisers, including Indian princes. This new system was very tightly organised with the constitution of a specific classification of state servants – a large bureaucracy. Under the Viceroy was a layered pyramid of Indian government, with its hierarchy of presidency and provincial governors, collectors, commissioners, deputy commissioners, assistant commissioners, (etc.) and a horde of Indian clerks. This hierarchy is now often compared to what the British understood of the Hindu caste system, and was introduced in order to control the Indian subjects more efficiently.[16] Subsequently because of this organisation made through the Indian Act, British India became the most heavily ruled area of the British Empire, creating a strong link between British India and the parallel development of administration in Britain itself.

Nevertheless what the Queen's proclamation engendered was more than just what could have been a mere colonial administrative structure, it created a statement of Imperial principle, one that re-oriented British policy in a fundamental way. A new way of governing was established, based on two divergent principles, the first acknowledging the multi-structured indigenous culture, society and religion existing in India while the second expressed the 'responsibility' of a 'modern western' government to develop social and material progress. Cohn explains that the proclamation was culturally leading towards "one [theory of rule] which sought to maintain India as a feudal order, and the other looking towards changes which would inevitably lead to the destruction of this feudal order."[17] Cohn and Metcalf both highlight that during the 1860s and 1870s the British developed the argument

[16] See Ronald Inden, Ronald, *Imagining India*, Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* and David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire.*

[17] Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 16th edition 2008, c1983), p166.

that the sociological structure of Indian communities was based on a similar system to Early Modern European feudalism, where the local aristocracy had been under the influence of diverse outsider sovereigns. The new British system was thus developing what had existed previously in Europe under the feudal system of 'homage' to superior external rulers. While a Mughal emperor was governing India less than a century before the Mutiny, Queen Victoria was going to play a similar role. She represented "an authoritative centre for both societies"[18] and her delegate, the Viceroy, was one of the strongest political and cultural symbols of this system. As 'Governor General' he was politically responsible before the parliament, and as 'Viceroy' he was the representative of the monarchy linking the Queen to the princes and to the people of India. But the second part of the Queen's Proclamation also drew attention to the new system promoting 'modernity' on the Indian subcontinent. This was going to be undertaken through the building of modern cities, new means of transport, the supply of new inventions, new administration and new systems of work. This concept of interlinking a social feudal system to the appliance of western modernity, where the colonisers were in charge, instigating a change from early nineteenth-century liberalism to a late nineteenth-century Tory ideology. The period of Bourne's presence and main production and business in India (1860s-1870s), was shortly after the establishment of direct British rule, and it is important to realise that his work culturally portrayed this dual system. The Bourne & Shepherd firm's portraits of princes and Indian individuals, Bourne's photographs of 'native' sceneries and groups, his pictures of the 'past' by recording monuments and ancient architectural edifices, all of this framed and represented the concept of 'tradition' and 'hierarchy'; while his depiction of western-type cities, churches, means of transports and public works linked this to the 'modernity' of the British influence.

Charles Canning, 1st Earl Canning succeeded the controversial Marquess of Dalhousie in 1856 and governed through the events of the Indian Mutiny. He was also the first Viceroy of India when the Act was proclaimed, and continued to govern until his death in 1862. Canning is an important character of the time since he was the statesman who led the early phase of the transition in India, and who was

[18] Ibid, p.167.

also highly esteemed by his contemporaries. Thomas highlights the fact that he was "impressed with the exotic settings in India, as well as the diverse ethnic types and cultures in the country."[19] Bourne's time in India was hence a period of political settlement and changes; safer than the late 1850s, certainly, nonetheless not a fully secured time. The 'Aftermath' of the Mutiny was, until the Great War, a time often described as the 'heyday' of the British *Raj*. It was certainly the period that led to the 'new imperialism' or 'modern imperialism' at the end of the century.[20] The introduction of the Indian Act of 1858 is evidently a key aspect and a trigger to the mechanism of Victorian India, but it was also accompanied by a modern colonial culture which led to the following fifty-year period being perceived by contemporaries as the 'Splendour' of the *Raj*.

This colonial culture involved the representation, through various means, of the Indian people, and also, at the opposite, of the representation of the lives of the British in India, *The Ruling Caste*.[21] Historians and theorists, such as Cohn, Metcalf and more recently Cannadine, explain that the colonial ideology that followed the Queen's Proclamation became settled because of a constant wish to make the system *spectacular* to both the Indian population and the British society. Canning was the first Viceroy to tour through North India to mark the new relationship; he was followed a few years later by Prince Albert Edward who also toured India. The pinnacle of such manifestation came with the succession of durbars and the imperial assemblage of 1877.[22] The construction of the cultural visibility of the post-Mutiny system in the 1860s and 1870s was crucial to establish the colonial administration and policies. Photography by means of its fast and growing success and propagation through India but also in Britain was at the centre of the creation of such visibility,

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[19] G. Thomas, *History of Photography, India 1840-1980* (Andhra Pradesh: Andhra Pradesh State Akademi of Photography, 1981), p.13. See also Ray Desmond, *Photography in India during 19th Century* (London, 1974).

[20] See 'Modern imperialism, 1870-1914: general aspects' in H. L. Wesseling, *The European Colonial Empires, 1815-1919* (Harlow: Pearson, 2004); and E. H. H. Green, 'The Political Economy of Empire, 1880-1914' in Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. III "The Nineteenth Century" (editor-in-chief, Wm. Roger Louis, assistant editor, Alaine Low; Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999).

[21] *The Ruling Caste, Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (2005) is the title of David Gilmour's book which describes the different groups and lives of the British people in nineteenth-century India.

[22] Cohn theorised the essence of this event as the "formalization and representation of the ritual idiom" [Bernard S. Cohn, 'Representing Authority in Victorian India' in E. Hobsbawm and T. Ranger (eds.), *The Invention of Tradition*, p179].

and this thesis argues that Bourne's own production was amongst the main catalysts in this process.

The creation of a cultural 'visibility'

In recent decades the 'archetype' of the importance and impact of the Empire on both British and 'colonised' populations has been challenged; Andrew Porter explains that it is "ultimately impossible to answer with either precision or confidence" the significance of the Empire to nineteenth-century peoples.[23] Historians have reached "contradictory conclusions": while John M. MacKenzie states the importance of the British Empire in art and culture, and its dissemination to the Victorian public, Bernard Porter questions whether the British people knew much about and were involved with the Empire.[24] This thesis argues not only that through visual representation the British were powerfully aware of the Indian Empire, but also that their perception was significantly influenced by the new medium of photography.

During the first half of the nineteenth century the ordinary Victorian Englishmen and women appeared to have already some knowledge about India through popular writings[25] and histories, paintings and engravings, theatre

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[23] Andrew Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire*, Vol. III "The Nineteenth Century" (editor-in-chief, Wm. Roger Louis, assistant editor, Alaine Low; Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Oxford University Press, 1999), p.4. *The Oxford History of the British Empire* can be regarded as a reference edition in the shape of all the recent controversies and studies regarding the British Empire. All contributors are amongst the best established scholars on the question.

[24] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995) and Bernard Porter, *The absent-minded imperialists* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006).

[25] Amongst the most influential and successful travel writers in 1830s-1850s India, officers, explorers and missionaries were the most read. The publication of officers' military experience and adventures such as Alexander Burnes's *Travels into Bokhara* (1834) brought fascination and excitation for the invasion and settlement of the British. Explorers' diaries and novels such as Richard Francis Burton's *Scinde; or, the Unhappy Valley* (1851) were famous for their description of natives' lives and the shrouded in mystery accounts of their discovery of old palaces, hidden temples, etc. Philip Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* (1839), which became "the most influential novel about India published by an English writer prior to Rudyard Kipling's *Kim* (1901)" (Patrick Brantlinger in his introduction to Philip Meadows Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998, c.1839), p.vii.), is also one of the best examples of the romanticised representation of a group of assassins who were considered at the time as a threat by the British. More than twenty years later, once this group had been hunted down by the British, Bourne would continue to display this imagery

performances,[26] and Indian personalities. It was a period of change of attitude in the approach towards the Indian population, its representation, and the politics towards the subcontinent as well as the ideologies behind these changes. As we have already noted, James Mill's *The History of British India*, which was published in 1817, re-edited several times,[27] and 'acknowledged' as a historical reference for more than a century, was one of the several examples[28] which were at the origin of the "Utilitarian reductionism and pre-Darwinian evolutionism, and altogether a prime example of imperial knowledge."[29] For Javed Majeed, James Mill's *History* was engaged with and embodied a period of change, it was "an attempt to define an idiom for the British empire as a whole which would replace the dominant conservative one."[30] The public also had the opportunity to form impressions of India and Indians through the presence of Indian personalities in Britain. Ram Mohan Roy (1772-1833) is a good example. One of the fathers of the Bengal Renaissance, Roy agitated most of his life for reforming the Hindu religion and Indian society. During his stay in England from 1831 to 1833 he became well known to the British population; many paintings and representation of him were made, he often appeared in the newspapers, and after his death a statue of him was erected on College Green at Bristol and a sumptuous tomb with epitaph was built in the same city. Roy's Vedantic ideals were comparable to versions of Deism and Unitarianism, which, as we shall see were to be central to Bourne's own vision. Roy's fame was linked to his reformist view of Indian society mixing western ideas of progress with Indian tradition.[31]

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in *Groups of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.). The parallel between Taylor's *Confessions of a Thug* and Bourne's *Groups of Native Thugs* is discussed in Chapter 4. Also it is interesting to note that the Oxford edition (1998) chose Bourne's photograph to be the cover illustration.

[26] For instance, Tipu Sultan of Mysore was brought on stage in a series of performances from 1792 to 1838. See John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, pp.181-182.

[27] In 1997 Routledge would even re-edit this massive and controversial work.

[28] In the following chapters, we will also discuss Edward Henry Nolan's *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East* (1860, two volumes), Charles Henry Eden's *Indian, Historical and Descriptive* (1876), and William Edward Hartpole Lecky's *History of European Morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869).

[29] In *Imagining India*, p.45, Ronald Inden refers to Eric Stokes's *The English Utilitarians and India* (1959), J. W. Burrow's *Evolution and Society* (1970) and Raghavan Iyer's *Utilitarianism and All That: The Political Theory of British Imperialism* (1983).

[30] Javed Majeed, *Ungoverned Imaginings, James Mill's* The History of British India *and Orientalism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1992), p.8.

[31] Concerning Ram Mohan Roy see K. A. Ballhatchet, 'Raja Ram Roy's visit to England', *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London*, Vol.20, No. 1/3, Studies in Honour of Sir Ralph Turner, Director of the School of Oriental and African Studies, 1937-57. (1957), pp. 69-71; C. A. Bayly, 'Rammohan Roy and the advent of constitutional liberalism in India, 1800—30',

Nonetheless the Great Exhibition of 1851 and the popularisation of museums and galleries in the second half of the nineteenth century brought a new dimension to the visual representation of India to the general British public. The Great Exhibition displayed stands for the British colonies, dominions, and dependencies, and the centrepiece of this imperial display was the 'British Possessions in Asia' section principally with the contributions of the East India Company. They showed examples of imperial spoils such as the Bengali ivory carving, and magnificent pieces of Indian culture such as stuffed elephants, howdah, jewellery, etc. – see Illustration 1, Vol. 3. In his popular *Illustrated Exhibitor* (1851) John Cassell enthused:

> India, the glorious glowing land, the gorgeous and the beautiful; India, the golden prize contended for by Alexander of old, and acknowledged in our day as the brightest jewel in Victoria's crown; India, the romantic, the fervid, the dreamy country of the rising sun; India the far-off, the strange, the wonderful, the original, the true, the brave, the conquered; India, how nobly does she show in the palace devoted to the industrial products of the world![32]

Anne Maxwell explains that it was because of a growing interest from the public in the concept of 'race' that colonized people were displayed. They were organised into a hierarchy which could have been compared with the classification of botanical and zoological specimens.[33] The above extract shows how already by the early 1850s the Utilitarian perceptions were slowly being replaced by Tory use of the Indian past to create an image of the exotic (a mystery to be explored) rather than simply the chaotic (in need of reform).

The Great Exhibition of 1851 was also one of the first and most significant events which attracted people to photography in the mid-nineteenth century. As well as displaying foreign cultures, the Exhibition celebrated the achievements of modern science and technology - photography brought these two aspects of the enterprise

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Modern Intellectual History, 4, 1 (2007), pp. 25–41; Bruce Carlisle Robertson, *Raja Rammohan Ray: the Father of Modern India* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1995); and S. R. Sharma, *Life and Works of Raja Rammohun* (Delhi: Book Enclave, 2003).

[32] Quoted by Lara Kriegel in her essay 'Narrating the subcontinent in 1851: India at the Crystal Palace', published in Louise Purbrick's (ed.) *The Great Exhibition of 1851, New interdisciplinary essays* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2001), p.146.

[33] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the "Native" and the Making of European Identities* (Leicester University Press, London: 2000), p.2.

together, photographs were indeed used in the displays of the exhibition.[34] Slowly through the following decades photography became even more fashionable. Through the creation of a new trade around the production of portraits – thanks to the emergence of the easiness, accessibility and cheapness of the collodion process – photography really started to be accessed by the general public. This process was easier to manipulate than the first photographic processes such as the daguerreotype, and it was possible to get several copies from a single shot, which was much more profitable for commercial photographers. The collodion process also attracted a large number of amateurs who could participate and enjoy taking pictures, which also contributed to developing an interest in photography from a fraction of the public. Because of a large demand for instruction, several institutions started teaching this new "fashionable hobby,"[35] and several photographic societies were founded in London and in the provinces. The commercial aspect of this new patent was rising too, and it became the first step towards commercial photography exhibitions and a wealthy market. From the mid 1850s this market touched different areas, including domains such as architecture, landscapes, city interest, countryside interest, topography, scenery, ethnology, portraits, even eroticism and pornography, and pictures from the wide world – civilised and 'non-civilised'.[36] When he turned from enthusiastic amateur to professional in the early 1860s, Bourne chose to represent the world of the 'Others'; his choice came within a wave of well-established photographic studios in the major cities – in India and Europe – in order to participate in a flourishing trade of tourist views of the country and peoples of India.[37] In the decades following the Great Exhibition, international exhibitions such as in France (Paris – 1855, 1867 and 1878), Great Britain (London – 1862, and 1871-73) and the United States (Philadelphia – 1876) continued and developed the practices of display it had pioneered, including the representation of foreign cultures and the fruits of Empire. Although the main aim of these exhibitions was to

[34] *The Golden Age of British Photography 1839-1900*, ed. Mark Haworth-Booth (Millerton, N.Y., in association with London: Victorian and Albert Museum, 1984) and Richard R. Brettell, et al., *Paper and Light: The Calotype in France and Great Britain, 1839-1870* (Boston: David R. Godine and London: Kudos and Godine, 1984), pp. 35-37 deal with the importance of the Great Exhibition.

[35] Helmut Gernsheim, *The Rise of Photography, 1850-1880: the Age of Collodion*, The History of Photography, vol. II (London: Thames & Hudson, 1988), pp.19-34.

[36] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2002), Chapter Three 'The Expanding Domain (1854-1880)'.

[37] John Falconer, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* (The British Library, London: 2001), p.9.

encourage international trade, they also undeniably played an important part in "diffusing the ideology of progress and the early forms of mass consumerism among the denizens of the west."[38] Photography played an ever increasing role both in these exhibiting practices and in their recording and dissemination.

Beside temporary exhibitions, the construction of the visibility of India in Britain drew on the existence of the India Museum, which in its collections had splendid examples of Indian art and culture.[39] The history of the India Museum followed the evolution of the Victorians' interest in India throughout the nineteenth century. Although it was created in 1801, it was in 1858 – at the end of the Mutiny – that the Museum had a second birth when it was directly administered along with the Library by the newly formed India Office. There was a real attraction to newly archaeological, photographical and ethnological sciences; and throughout its existence the museum compiled an extensive and comprehensive collection of manufactured art crafts, drawings of the Indian flora and fauna, archaeological and photographical works.[40] The photographic collection came from different sources. One of these was the survey *The People of India* discussed below. In addition, photographs were gathered from diverse exhibitions; for instance after the London International Exhibition of 1862,[41] where the first major photographs about India were exhibited, these pictures were kept and displayed at the Museum.[42] The pictures displayed at the exhibition were essentially ethnographical photographs in which the public could discover the different Indian races and customs. In general, the origin of the photographs displayed at the India Museum were from surveys ordered by governments or societies in the frame of the preservation of Indian architecture and with the intention of taking a census of and analysing the different

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[38] Anne Maxwell, *Colonial Photography and Exhibitions: Representations of the "Native" and the Making of European Identities*, p.1.

[39] Ray Desmond, *The India Museum (1801-1879)* (London: India Office Library and Records, 1982), p.192. Collections still possessed by existing museums such as the Victoria and Albert Museum.

[40] Lectures were also given, often linked with the India Office, about many aspects of Indian politics and customs. Amongst some of the most memorable ones were Hyde Clarke's 'Colonization, defence and railways in our Indian Empire' (1857), Sir H.B.E. Brere's 'The Means of Ascertaining Public Opinion in India' (1871), J Forbes Watson's 'On the establishment in connection with the India Museum and Library of an Indian Institute for lecture, enquiry, and teaching' (1875). The latter expressed Watson's – curator of the India Museum from 1858 to 1879 – vision to co-ordinate the activities of the Museum and the Library with the educational functions of an Indian institute.

[41] Bourne participated in the London International Exhibition of 1862 by exhibiting his pictures of the Lake District. One might wonder if it was at this exhibition that Bourne became more aware of the emergence of photography in India.

[42] At that time, it was the India Museum which had the role of cataloguing and archiving documents concerning India. After the museum's closure, it was done at the India Office.

tribes and Indian populations.[43] In fact it appears that the museum was principally of interest to scientists and the general public rapidly lost interest. However the main reasons for the closure of the museum in 1879 seemed to be that the collections were too diverse and confusingly gathered to justify being kept in the same place, and they were then dispersed within other institutions[44] where they became the basis of significant and influential collections of Indian imagery.

Colonial and travel photography had the same kind of success as photographs taken in Britain, and it was not rare to find both sorts of pictures in the same museums and exhibitions. Since photography in the mid-nineteenth century had this ambiguity of either being artistic or having a documentary purpose – and some photographers were arguing that the medium could be both – from the 1860s galleries started to promote both aspects. Beside temporary exhibitions, traditional art galleries, natural history and 'native' artefact museums, some museums started to build collections of photographs. What was new and revolutionary was that these photographs were gathered either under a theme or because of the photographer's skills and uniqueness. Certainly the most significant example of such establishments was the South Kensington Museum (later the Victoria & Albert Museum). Following the success of the Great Exhibition of 1851, the museum was officially opened in 1852. From its creation, the South Kensington Museum was associated with photography; it became one of the first institutions to integrate photographs into its collections. In the mid-1860s, at the same time as the museum was the first to buy and exhibit prints from Julia Margaret Cameron, it also focused on acquiring photographs which showed non-European countries – it was a way of "Collecting the World."[45] In the 1860s the museum acquired a wide collection from British photographers based overseas such as Bourne & Shepherd[46] and Linnaeus Tripe from India, and pictures from the tour made by Francis Bedford in the Near East

[43] See in this chapter the section on *People of India.*

[44] The institutions were the British Museum, the Indian Museum in Calcutta, the Indian Institute in Oxford, the Science and Art Museum in Dublin, the Philosophical Society of Scarborough, the Maidstone Museum and the South Kensington Museum. See Ray Desmond, *The India Museum (1801-1879)* (London: India Office Library and Records, 1982), p.179.

[45] "Collecting the World" was Section 4 of an exhibition in 1998 devoted to the photographs collected by the Victoria and Albert Museum from 1853 to 1900.

[46] See more details p. 78.

with the Prince of Wales.[47] Because of their presence on a large-scale and in different venues, these photographic collections in museum and temporary exhibitions had a significant impact on the representation and visualisation of the Indian empire.[48]

Development of photography in India[49]

In the mid-nineteenth century the rhetoric of Western domestication of the world through a cultural and visual appropriation of foreign scenes and their populations enabled travel photography to develop rapidly. Bourne commented on this in a lecture to the Nottingham Photographic Society in 1860:

> It (photography) has copied for the antiquarian and the linguist – with a precision no hand can imitate – the inscriptions and hieroglyphics that cover the rocks, temples, and monuments of Egypt. It has brought to our own fireside pictures from every land ... the sacred spots of Palestine, Galilee, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Calvary; the crumbling monuments and broken columns of Egyptian temples; the squalid-looking inhabitants and cities of China; - in fact, the grand features and general appearance of nearly every country are almost as familiar to us as though we had actually visited them.[50]

Very shortly after its discovery photography reached the Indian subcontinent. Although there is evidence of registered professional studios of photography such as in Calcutta, no Daguerreotype pictures from the 1840s have survived.[51] Yet from the late 1840s early 1850s the emergence of a growing body of amateur and professional photographers made India as advanced as Europe and the U.S.A. It is

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[47] Mark Haworth-Booth and Anne McCauley, *The Museum & The Photograph, Collecting Photography at the Victoria and Albert Museum 1853-1900* (Williamstown, Massachusetts: Sterling and Francine Clark Art Institute, 1998), p.19.

[48] In 'The South Kensington Museum and the colonial project' [Tim Barringer and Tom Flynn (eds.), *Colonialism and the Object: Empire, Material Culture and the Museum* (London: Routledge, 1998)], Barringer emphasised the significance of the Museum building and the objects it contained in the cultural formation of the "symbolic geographies of the British capital, the nation and the empire" (p.27).

[49] All the photographs mentioned in this chapter – excluding Bourne & Shepherd's production – can be found in Volume Three.

[50] Samuel Bourne, 'On Some of the Requisites Necessary for the Production of a Good Photograph', *Photographic News* (April 5, 1860), p.371.

[51] Falconer, Rogers, Sharma, and Gray, *A Shifting Focus: Photography in India 1850-1900* (London: The British Council, 1995), p.10.

however in its use that divergences appeared. Although studios rapidly developed in Indian cities, it was first through the army that photography started being known to the British public. In a number of cases officers developed an interest in the medium and photographed peoples and landscapes during their free time; it also frequently occurred that the government commissioned them to record the different features of countries they were campaigning in. Throughout the three following decades photography in India took two directions, 'governmental' photographic schemes on the one hand and independent amateur and professional enterprises on the other hand. However it appears that several themes were common to both the official and the private and commercial photographic work. In order to fully apprehend the implications of photography in mid-nineteenth-century British India, the context of photographic productions needs to be closely linked with cultural and political agendas that had an obvious impact on reading of the pictures. After establishing the projects undertaken under governmental photographical surveys and the major commercial studios and firms of the period, the rest of this chapter considers the representation of the Mutiny and the other subjects photographically portrayed from the 1850s to the 1870s.

The emergence of photography in India saw the appearance of both amateur and commercial photographers who often shared the same objectives, principally surveying the country and its people, and recording its archaeological and architectural past. What nonetheless sometimes distinguished them was the artistic value of their subjects and certainly the targeted audience.

Amateurs

While in Britain amateur photographers were often "scientists, doctors, professor, lawyers, clergymen, publishers, as well as artists, (...) all kinds made up part of the culture of the wealthy and educated of the time",[52] amateurs in India were mainly army officers. It was actually they who expanded the discipline in the 1850s by recording the places they were campaigning in. Soon two groups were informally

[52] Becky Simmons, 'Amateur photographers, Camera Clubs, and societies', in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography* (New York: Routledge, 2008), vol. 1, p.32.

formed; those who used their free time to explore an unknown country with their camera, and those who were recognised to have particular skills by their superiors and were employed to officially conduct photographical official surveys. These photographers were amongst the elite of the Army, because of their education and their merits but also by belonging to the class of 'well-born gentlemen'.[53] This imperial enterprise – based on recording countries, monuments and peoples – and its attendant social life was not only the province of the army officers: the word 'Sahib' itself evolved to become also associated with British gentlemen outside the army. Bourne, as example of a non-officer, was at the heart of this imperial 'cultural mission'.

Amongst the amateur photographers of that period, several individuals achieved fame by exhibiting their photographs in societies' exhibitions and by participating in important publications or surveys. In *Victorian India in Focus*, Ray Desmond highlights that "Officers and surgeons were among the first to take up photography in India."[54] Major-General Linnaeus Tripe (1822 – 1902) and colonels Thomas Biggs (1822 – 1905) and Willoughby Wallace Hooper (1837 – 1912) were originally amateurs, who seconded from military duties, became officially involved in the production of photographic records. Tripe, who had already a successful military career by the late 1840s, was amongst the first photographers who pictured India in the 1850s. From the mid-1850s, the Bombay government undertook to use photography in order to help the British government through first the East India Company and then – after the Mutiny – the India Office to record and catalogue the monuments and works of art of India (cave paintings, antiquities, temples and palaces, etc.). With this aim, the British Army consented to make some of its officers official photographers for the government, and this is how Tripe started his photographical career. His first assignment was in Burma were he took hundreds of pictures of temples, monasteries and views of city buildings. It is believed that they were the first photographs ever taken in Burma, and they were displayed and

[53] Although the social behaviour of the Sahibs throughout the nineteenth century changed, in the mid-century they benefited from a reputation of knowledgeable men experiencing both the rudeness of various parts of the subcontinent and the games and social events that displayed upper-class Victorian etiquette. See David Gilmour, *The Ruling Caste, Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (London: John Murray Publishers, 2005); and Richard Holmes, *Sahib: the British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005).

[54] Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (London: 1982), p.2.

published at the Madras Photographic Society in 1857. Apart his photographic trip to Burma, Tripe mainly photographed South India, which resulted in the publication of six albums: *Photographic Views of Indian Scenery: Madura, Tanjore and Trivady, Ryakotta, Seringham, Poodoocottah and Trichinopoly.* As with many photographers from that time, Tripe's pictures only portrayed temples, forts and other buildings; there were almost no Indian people on the photographs. His career as a photographer ended with the Indian Mutiny, certainly because of the military events – although these took place in the North of the country – and the financial problems caused by the revolt.[55] Tripe is considered as one of the first and major early photographers who pictured Indian architecture with success. He used panoramas, careful viewpoints, and he made very good use of lighting to emphasise the dramatic aspect of his pictures. His work was displayed in several exhibitions and had also an 'official' role for the British in the record of the Indian heritage. The aim of his photographical work was primarily – as considered at the time – a documentary record. He had the "ambition to practice photography for some really useful purpose."[56] Appointed by the East India Company in the mid-1850s as Government Photographer in Bombay, Thomas Biggs also produced a series of photographs depicting architectural and archaeological sites. He was then recalled to military duties before coming back to photography in the 1860s when he continued photographing architectural views in West India. His work was published in Philip Meadows Taylor and James Fergusson's *Architecture in Dharwar and Mysore* (London, 1866) and *Architecture at Beejapoor* (London, 1866), and in T. C. Hope and James Fergusson's *Architecture at Ahmedabad* (London, 1866). Whereas Biggs was commissioned to record architecture, Willoughby Wallace Hooper was seconded in early 1860s from military duties to record ethnographic portraits in the Central Provinces; his work then appeared in John Forbes Watson and John Williams Kaye's *The People of India* (London, 1868-75). In the 1870s, he became famous for his depiction of tiger hunting and also, towards the end of the decade, of victims of the Madras Famine; in the mid-1880s he recorded as Provost-Marshal the campaign in Burma.

[55] Tripe continued his military career in India, and when he retired to Devonport in 1875, he had reached the grade of Major-General.

[56] 'Tripe to Chief Secretary, Madras Government, I September 1856' used by John Falconer in *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900*, p.18.

Melville Clarke (1834 – 1878), William Croker (1825 – 1871), Robert Gill (1804 – 1875), Eugene Clutterbuck Impey (1830 – 1904) and Captain Allan Newton Scott (1824 – 1870) were other members of the Indian Army who became skilled photographers. Although their work was not commissioned for specific surveys, they succeeded in getting it known through publishing, such as Gill's photographic record of the Ajanta Caves, their frescoes and other archaeological sites in Western India in James Fergusson's *The rock-cut temples of India* (London, 1864) and *One hundred stereoscopic illustrations of architecture and natural history in Western India* (London, 1864) and in exhibiting. Impey regularly displayed his views of the major cities of North India at the exhibitions of the Bengal Photographic Society, and Scott frequently showed his work on South India at the Madras Photographic Society and also exhibited at the London International Exhibition of 1862. These career soldiers and officers first used photography as an occupation while they were in campaigns or resting in cities. They became diligent amateurs who made the pattern of photography in India progress by recording the country and by participating in discussion and debate through the emergence of photographic societies.

Finally amongst the amateur photographers there were also a few civil servants. Philip Henry Egerton (1824 – 1893) was a member of the Bengal Civil Service, and while he was Deputy Commissioner for Kangra in West Himalayas in the 1860s he published his photographic *Journal of a Tour through Spiti to the Frontier of Chinese Tibet* (London, 1864). Also it was amongst surgeons that a few amateur photographers excelled such as John Murray (1809 – 1898) and Sir Benjamin Simpson (1831 – 1923) who both belonged to the Indian Medical Service. Murray produced works on cholera and medical topography but it was principally his fine photographic work on Mughal architecture and topographical views of the North-West Provinces that allowed him to be published in the late 1850s in Britain – *Agra and its vicinity* (London, 1858) and in J. T. Boileau's *Picturesque views in the North West Provinces of India* (London, 1859). It was with eighty portraits of racial types of northern India that Simpson gained recognition, and he was awarded a gold medal at the London International Exhibition of 1862 for his photographic work. He then continued his ethnographic study throughout the 1860s, and eventually took part in the publication of J. F. Watson and J. W. Kaye's *People of India* (London,

1868 – 1875) and in Edward Tuite Dalton's *Descriptive ethnology of Bengal* (Calcutta, 1872).

Professional studios

The emergence of professional photographers and studios coincided with technological advances – when exposure times were reduced sufficiently, portraiture became practically possible and photographic studios proliferated. To that extent professional photographers in Britain and India were not dissimilar, and it was through the development of portrait photography from the late 1850s that the number of commercial firms increased in India. However, while in Britain very few of them survived for long because of strong competition, many studios in India saw an amazing longevity – John Burke's studios at Murree and Peshawar and then in Lahore were active from 1861 until 1903, and Bourne & Shepherd's firm as well as Lala Deen Dayal's studios remain still active to the present day. This can be explained first by the high demand for portraits from British colonials and wealthy Indians in a very vast country where, although photography expanded rapidly, so did the potential market. Secondly commercial firms diversified their products. In parallel to portraiture, photographs of landscapes and outdoor scenes were collected in albums and sold to British residents, tourists, and branches in Britain. From the mid-nineteenth century tourism developed in the world, particularly in North Africa, the Middle-East, the Pacific and in Asia. Although it grew faster in regions which were closer to Europe such as Algeria, Egypt and the Holy Land, the opening of the Suez Canal in 1869 gave new facilities to tourists travelling to India.[57] Tourism in India was quickly associated with the commerce of photographs which constituted the base of the construction of 'material and visual' souvenirs. Urry argues that what forms a tourist appeal to a place is 'the collection of signs', signs that create the stereotypes of a place or a population and then attract tourists to visit this place.[58] Both Ramamurthy and Cherry explain that photography helped in the nineteenth-century imperial context to exploit a 'commercial world', mainly via the

[57] See Part III, 'Colonial Encounters' in J. M. Schwartz and J. R. Ryan, *Picturing Place, Photography and the Geographical Imagination* (London, New York: I. B. Tauris, 2006, c2003).
[58] See Chapter 1, 'The Tourist Gaze' in John Urry, *The Tourist Gaze* (London: SAGE Publications, 2nd edition 2002), pp. 1-15.

development of the tourist image-sign of the 'exotic Other'.[59] In the case of India commercial photographers sold travel pictures to a British middle-class that was collecting 'the world at home'.[60] In *Jakko and the Monkeys* (Photo 1.1.14.) Bourne exploits the coexistence of wild and exotic animals with the Himalayan population, while in *Hill Coolies* (Photo 1.2.2.) and *Nepalese Coolies* (Photo 1.5.1.) he shows the exotic team who serve the Westerner travellers – exotic features are here underlined by the coolies' techniques for carrying goods and human beings, and by their customs (clothes, hair and beard).

Also the markets widened with the arrival of the carte-de-visite from the mid-1850s; this cheaper and easier process helped to develop a market for photographic portraiture 'miniatures'. As Bourne mentioned in 'Photography in the East' (*BJP*, X, 1863), photographic studios were numerous on Chowringhee Road – one of the main avenues in Calcutta – and this was the case in all big cities and colonial settlements. Nonetheless history passed over all these small studios which specialised in portraits and targeted a not-too-wealthy clientele, respectively not producing high-standard quality photographs or provision of service. Those professional studios which made a name for themselves were usually leading their business in a two-fold activity.[61] While commercial outdoor pictures across the subcontinent were the firms' trademark and what constituted their prestige, a portrait studio accompanied by a selling point was the day-to-day heart of their commerce. In the late 1850s – early 1860s two main businesses were set up, Henderson & Johnson in Bombay and Shepherd & Robertson in Agra and Simla. William Henderson arrived in India in the early 1840s first as a clerk in the Bombay Civil Service, he was in the mid-1850s an early member of the Bombay Photographic Society. It was in 1858 that he entered in a professional photographic business partnership with William Johnson, who happened to have also served in the Bombay

[59] Deborah Cherry, 'Algeria In and Out of the Frame: Visuality and Cultural Tourism on the Nineteenth Century', in D. Crouch and N. Lübbren (eds.), *Visual Culture and Tourism* (Oxford: Berg, 2003), pp. 41-58; and Anandi Ramamurthy, 'Tourism, Fashion and 'the Other'' in Liz Wells (ed.), *Photography: A Critical Introduction* (London: Routledge, 2004 (third edition)), pp.223-234.

[60] See Chapter 3, 'Worlds in a house: the consumption of travel photography in the Victorian middle-class home' in Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 52-68.

[61] Osborne recalls that commercial travel photography was partly "governed by clients' expectations", who expected to find impartial accuracy given by the medium, the 'splendour' of the exotic and an interest in the sacred. Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*, p.19.

Civil Service and also was a member of the Bombay Photographic Society. Johnson owned a studio from the early 1850s when the pair went in partnership; it was together that they produced *The Indian Amateurs' Photographic Album* which ran for thirty-six issues (1856 – 58) and became well-know across the subcontinent.[62] Johnson is also remembered for the publication of *The oriental races and tribes, residents and visitors of Bombay* (London, 1863-65). Charles Shepherd was already a professional photographer since the second half of the 1850s when he created a partnership with James Robertson (1813 – 1888) in 1862, who previously was working with Felice Beato (1825 – 1907)[63] on photography in the Middle East in the mid-1850s. The pair produced a collection of topographical and ethnographical photographs of Northern India, some of them appearing later in *People of India* (1868 – 75).

However these professional studios lasted for only a few years, and it was with the 1860s that solid commercial studios expanded. Shepherd & Robertson dissolved only to form Bourne & Shepherd in 1863,[64] and then two other commercial photographers became active during that period, John Burke (1843 – 1900) and Edmund David Lyon (1825 – 1891). Burke started his career in 1861 in the Northern Provinces where he was commissioned several projects, one of his works was then published in H. H. Cole's *Illustrations of ancient buildings in Kashmir* (London, 1869). In the 1870s he formed a partnership with William Baker and recorded for the army the Second Afghan War (1878-79). From the 1880s he opened other studios around the subcontinent and his son, William, continued what became a family business. Before going to India Lyon served in the British Army and was settled in Dublin. It was in the second half of the 1860s that Lyon opened his studio in Ootacamund where he produced a series of views of the Nilgiris, these latter were exhibited at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867. Towards the end of the decade he photographed archaeological and architectural antiquities in South and then West India respectively patronised by the Madras and Bombay governments.

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[62] G. Thomas, *History of Photography, India 1840-1980*, p.8.
[63] Felice Beato's career is detailed in this chapter under the section about the Mutiny.
[64] Bourne & Shepherd's partnership is fully detailed in Chapter two.

Photographic societies

Amateur and professional photographers gathered in what rapidly emerged in both Britain and at the same time India, that is to say photographic societies. Britain saw from as early as the 1840s the organisation of clubs and societies where meetings were regularly held to discuss the new research on the pattern – scientific and technical concerns – and the development of artistic skills – where "photographers created genre scenes, landscapes, and still lifes, borrowing from accepted traditions in painting and printmaking to make similar subjects and compositions."[65] As we shall see in chapter two, Bourne belonged to such societies first in Nottingham before intervening in one of the major Indian ones, the Bengal Photographic Society.[66]

The principal three societies in India were all established in the mid-1850s. The Bombay Photographic Society, created in 1854 – only a year after the formation of the London Society – acted as the first founded society before being followed two years later by the Bengal Photographic Society (in Calcutta) and the Madras Photographic Society. These societies had nothing to envy in their British counterparts since they had their journals, libraries, meeting rooms as well as facilities to import photographic material and equipment for their members.[67] These societies were places of meetings, research and exhibitions from amateurs and commercial photographers, being often a sort of 'pre-selective' scene before bigger projects such as publications and European and American exhibitions. For instance, Scott's photographic work won the first prize at the Madras Photographic Society Exhibition of 1861 before displaying some of his production at the London International Exhibition of 1862.[68] W. Johnson was one of the founder members of the Bombay Photographic Society, and with his partner W. Henderson they published *The Indian Amateurs' Photographic Album*, which was one of the main

[65] Becky Simmons, 'Amateur photographers, Camera Clubs, and societies', in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, vol. 1, p.33.
[66] See Bourne's 'Photography in the East' (*BJP*, X, 1863) and 'Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas' (*BJP*, XI, 1864). Bourne refers several times in his writings how common it was to get the "papers" in Calcutta, and how flourishing was the Anglo-Indian society over there – he also mentioned the publication in the daily newspapers of meetings of and an interest in the photographic societies.
[67] See Ray Desmond, 'Nineteenth Century Indian Photographers in India', *History of Photography* 1 no. 4 (1977): 313-317, and Malavika Karlekar, *Re-visioning the Past, Early Photography in Bengal 1875-1915* (New Delhi: OUP, 2005), p.45.
[68] John Falconer, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900*, p.140.

attractions to the society.[69] Although very few left trace of their work, it also appears that from their establishments Indians – mostly intellectuals – joined the British as members of these societies. Some were even elected as founding members of the Council of the photographic societies.[70] Karlekar has recently challenged the underestimation of the Indian participation in photography in the nineteenth century, and expressed the view that "the early years of commercial photography saw a collaboration between European and Indian specialists with European studios hiring Indian assistants and vice versa."[71] This was then a unique position in an imperial system where exclusion and inclusion were often generated. As a result it appears that India was certainly in the 1850s – 1860s a thriving place where photography was produced, discussed and appreciated, but also a cultural marker of differences.[72]

Other locations of photographic exoticisms

Although India was amongst the few places outside the Western world to have a fast developing interest in photography, it was nonetheless not the only country which attracted British photographers. The Middle East, North Africa, China and Japan were also amongst the areas that caught the attention of professionals. What they had in common with most of the British photographers in India and certainly with Bourne was their taste for reporting on camera the 'exotic' and little known world regions where their prints feature "delicate detail (...) which a human hand cannot obtain."[73] At the same period when Bourne developed his photographic talent, two other professional photographer-explorers were becoming famous for their records, Frith in Egypt and the Holy Land and Thomson in China.

When Bourne was in India, Francis Frith (1822 – 1898) had already been a couple of years earlier in Egypt and the Middle East. Frith was amongst the British travel photographers whose work may be seen as part of a "discourse on imperial

[69] Bourne was a prominent member of the Bengal Photographic Society – as detailed in Chapter two.
[70] Vidya Dehejia, 'Fixing a Shadow' in Vidya Dehejia (ed.), *India through the Lens, Photography 1840-1911* (Ahmedabad & Prestel Verlag, Munich, London & New York: Freer Gallery of Art & Arthur M. Sackler Gallery, 2000), p.15.
[71] Karlekar, Malavika, *Re-visioning the Past, Early Photography in Bengal 1875-1915* (New Delhi: OUP, 2005), p.64.
[72] A comparison between Indian and British photography is developed in Chapter six.
[73] Francis Frith, 'The Art of Photography', *The Art Journal*, n°5 (London, 1859).

geographical exploration."[74] Frith toured Egypt, Sinai and Palestine between 1856 and 1860. He mainly photographed monuments and landscape, and like Bourne, considered himself both as an artist and scientist. Frith was a devout Christian and had a great interest in the places where the Bible accounts were set. Through his travels, he became one of the finest landscape photographers of the nineteenth century, as is also said of Bourne. In fact, both photographers had much in common. For instance, in *The Pyramids of Girgeh, Egypt* (Photo 5.1.) Frith pictured the pyramids from a perspective where the three monuments are lined symmetrically and are placed at the centre of the focus which forms a sense of perfection. In the foreground three men and an animal – a horse or a donkey – seem resting in the immensity of the desert. The use here of monumental constructions from an ancient civilisation compared to the small-scaled contemporary indigenous population is similarly found in some of Bourne's photographs such as *Interior of the Motee Musjid, Agra, the centre aisle* (Photo 3.1.46.) and *The Eastern Temple in Trichinopoly* (Photo 3.1.48.). Although Frith photographed some indigenous sceneries, see *View of Girgeh, Upper Egypt* (Photo 5.2.) – he nevertheless focused less on people's habitat than Bourne did – he also portrayed some cities such as Cairo, see *Cairo – from the East* (Photo 5.3). In Frith's *The Ezbekeeyeh, Cairo* (Photo 5.4.) the oblique angle draws attention to one side of the street where the buildings are emphasised, and once again there are motionless indigenous characters in the front; similar techniques focusing on buildings are found in Bourne's *Old Court House street looking north, Calcutta* (Photo 2.1.4.). In addition like Bourne, Frith created a successful photographic firm where he employed several photographers, and his business survived for over a hundred years. Frith was very keen on marketing, he engaged two thousand shops across England to sell his photographs which was a great financial success. His focus was also not only on commercial purposes but on results from artistic skills. He was one of the first members of photographic societies in England – in 1853 he was one of the founders of the Liverpool Photographic Society. The photographer was well-known for his own views on photography from an article 'The Art of Photography' that he wrote

[74] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion, 1997), p.45.

in *The Art Journal* in 1859.[75] This aspect of his theory had found critics, not in his time, but a few decades afterwards. As a contemporary photographer-theorist of Bourne, Frith is a good example of how traveller-commercial-photographers reacted to their own work and photography in general. There are several albums which compiled the works of Bourne and Frith in the same publication.[76] The similarities of both photographers' works coincide with the tourist aspects of their architectural and scenery production where they displayed appealing and already well-known exotic places such as *Sphinx* (Photo 5.6.) and *Taj Mahal, Agra* (Photo 3.1.73.).

John Thomson's life (1837 – 1921) is less well documented than Frith's. Apart from the fact that he was born in Edinburgh and studied chemistry at the university there, not much is known about him. He went first to Asia, visiting Malaya and Indochina in 1862 before going back briefly to England in 1866. During his first trip he produced an album of photographs titled *The Antiquity of Cambodia*, which he published while he was in England. During that same stay he also became a member of the Royal Geographic Society. Between 1868 and 1872 Thomson did his second trip to Asia and went to China where he travelled all around the country where he constituted his famous collection of photographic portraits of Chinese people. Back in England he published his *Illustrations of China and Its People* (1873-74) before issuing the first photographic book documenting social problems in England, *Street Life in London* (1877-78).[77] From then Thomson only worked as a portrait photographer in aristocratic Mayfair, but his prestige as one of the best portraitists of the Chinese people stayed alive and he published in 1898 a book of recollections titled *Through China with a Camera.* It is perhaps in the singularity of the way Thomson portrayed Chinese people that his work can be compared to Bourne's own production; not as comparable techniques and expressions but in both

[75] In this article, the photographer does not deny the documentary aspect of the process, which is to him an essential characteristic, but he also explains that photography is a pictorial art. However, the photograph-print becomes a piece of art only if the photographer has artistic skills, if he/she is an artist himself/herself. Photography follows the rules of art, that is to say the rules of composition. Therefore in order to produce good pictures, the photographer has to be keen on the subject, certainly, but also has to be methodical. Not everyone is an artist, so not everyone is a good photographer. Also, following a typical concept of the mid-nineteenth century, Frith expresses that one of the essential features of photography is its "truthfulness." [Quotation from Francis Frith's 'The Art of Photography', *The Art Journal*, n°5 (London, 1859) collected in Gaiger, J., Harrison, C., Wood, P. (eds.), *Art in Theory, 1815-1900, an Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), p.664].

[76] There are several albums (OIOC) which compiled the works of Bourne and Frith in the same publication.

[77] Rainer Fabian and Hans-Christian Adam, *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (New York: Vendome Press, 1983), p. 348.

photographers' own artistic constructions of the representation of 'exotic' sceneries and characters. Thomson's *Male Heads, Chinese and Mongolian* (Photo 5.7.) portrays impassive Chinese faces, young and old, in order to catalogue a racial 'type', which could also be found in Indian racial 'types' in *People of India*, but also in some of Bourne & Shepherd's production – see *Sir Hira Singh Raja of Nabha* (Photo 1.6.5.) and *Sir Drigbijai Singh, Maharaja of Balrampur* (Photo 1.6.6.). However his *Street Groups, Kiu-Kiang* (Photo 5.8.) appears to picture a more 'natural' scene highlighting street activities which can be compared in its scenic purpose to Bourne's *Group of Bhutias and Nepalese* (Photo 1.1.6.).

Categories and Themes in Indian Photography at mid century

The political and cultural nature of the period of the Mutiny and the two decades that followed engendered specific traits in photographic practice, both in relation to official initiatives and commercial trends. In both cases photography interacted with the emergent trends in imperial ideology as the British consolidated their hold on the country after the traumatic events of 1857. In particular, it is worth highlighting 'governmental' photography, specific images of and relating to the Mutiny, and the general visualisation of Indian people and the subcontinent in this period, all of which figure in Bourne's output.

'Governmental' photography

As observed previously, a large number of photographs produced in mid-nineteenth-century India came from a governmental body, whether their origins were from the army itself or commissioned by administrative or political offices. It was the desire to obtain clear knowledge of British India that had motivated the initial use of photography, and the medium continued to participate in shaping the political, ideological and cultural interpretation of the colony. Foucault's concept of "governmentality" – expressing how governmental rule is exercised through a wide range of control techniques, particularly through forms of knowledge is relevant

here. For Foucault, visibility is the condition of power-knowledge. Hence his statement that "visibility is a trap",[78] since to remain invisible is to operate outside the discursive field of governmentality. In the photography of mid-nineteenth-century India, the concept of governmentality may be applied to the way that knowledge of the country, of its past, of its infrastructures, and of its peoples was managed. To what extent the concept of photographic governmentality was only the fruit of an organised political administration, is disputable. There was also the demand of Western clients to obtain 'views' of the exotic subcontinent. As Peter Osborne has observed, explicitly 'governmental' photography "formed part of the pratico-symbolic management of the vast subcontinent which demanded the classifying, recording, census-taking, mapping, displaying and licensing of everything, so rendering it knowable, imaginable and controllable by means of European systems and on British terms."[79] The extent to which this concept of 'governmentality' can be applied to Bourne's work – made for private patrons and the commercial market – will be examined in the following chapters. The following section considers how governmentality was manifest in photography as an explicit aspect of British rule and its systems of military and social 'ordering'.

As we have seen, it was through the military that photography started to develop in India, not only as tool to record campaigns and wars but also in order to survey the country and people of the subcontinent and explore politically sensitive regions. The camera was also rapidly used as a tool to record 'instantaneous' moments. Certainly the first big event which was photographed in India was the Indian Mutiny in 1857-1858. Felice Beato, in partnership with James Robertson (and then Charles Shepherd), took pictures of key places and scenes shortly after the Mutiny. Although articles and accounts describing what happened were traumatising for the Victorians, photographical prints could undeniably give a more 'real' image of what occurred. Thus, from the 1860s, photographers took pictures of many military camps, officers and captains, and memorials in order to show their concern for the memory of the Mutiny but also to indicate and certainly reassure the British people

[78] Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish, the Birth of the Prison* (New York: Pantheon, 1975, 1977), p.200. See also chapter 4 'Power/knowledge' in Sara Mills, *Michel Foucault* (New York: Routledge, 2005, c2003).
[79] Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*, pp.39-40.

that India was then 'under control'; in the following decades, Lucknow and Cawnpore were attractive places for photographers. Consequently commercial photographers and servicemen such as Captains T. Bigg and M. Clarke recorded the activities of the British army; for instance during the second Anglo-Afghan War in 1878-1879 the firm Bourne & Shepherd sent one of their photographers, Benjamin Simpson – who previously was a military surgeon, to record the scenes.[80] Some became 'famous' or 'infamous' for their photographical 'extremism', such as Hooper, who asked a firing squad to synchronise the order to shoot with his own camera shutter to capture the exact moment of the execution of dacoits in Burma in 1885.[81]

Photography was also adopted by the military to portray the technological advances – such as bridges, railways and modern seaports – brought by the British in India; to record the landscape and the different populations living on the subcontinent and their habitats. This was meant to provide strategic knowledge of the population to govern, the means of communication and the geography to understand since, besides being economically valuable, India was considered politically and militarily of importance as a potential field of war – to 'pacify' the natives and to defend strategic positions against China and Russia. Not only the government was interested in recording railways and public works, for instance Bourne also produced some very emblematic pictures of British 'modernity' such as *The railway bridge across the Jumna at Allahabad* (Photo 3.1.29.) and *Reversing station on the Bhore Ghat Incline* (Photo 3.2.2.). Several Royal Engineers – such as John Spiller (Assistant Chemist to the War Department and Photographer to the Royal Military Repository) and Captain John Donnelly – wrote articles and gave lectures about the need of photography as an instrumental military tool. Ryan explains that during a lecture Donnelly gave in London in 1860 where he exhibited photographs taken in Asia Minor, Panama, India, Singapore, China and Russia, he argued that "photographs of a country gave a most truthful and accurate idea of it," insisting on their use for military operations.[82]

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[80] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, p.76.
[81] Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records*, p.65.
[82] Captain John Donnelly, 'On Photography and Its Application to Military Purposes', *BJP*, VII (1860), pp. 178-179. See James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, pp.78-79.

Apart from military aims, photography was also used to help in 'ordering' the society. Both police and medical photography emerged in parallel, sometimes being intrinsically linked. Police pictures of criminals were only produced on an experimental basis in Europe and the USA in the 1850s – 1860s; it was only from the 1870s that authorities in many countries increasingly took pictures of delinquents, and it was not until the end of the nineteenth century that the principle of automatically archiving portraits of serious offenders was widely accepted. It was also from the 1870s that appeared first in Italy and England research led by scientists and medical doctors on 'criminal physiognomy'. Measurements and photographs were taken, compared and studied in order "to prove that criminal tendencies were hereditary and that they could be identified from particular physical tendencies."[83] However in India, because of the determination to record the different types of populations, it appears that from the 1850s photography also started to be exploited for medical and police purposes, earlier than in the West.

Tagg in *The Burden of Representation*[84] employs the concept of power as intrinsic to photography from its early days in its influence on the concept of representing 'reality'. Drawing some of his conclusions from Foucault's work he explains that as instrument or object of legal practices, photography played more than just a mode of illustration but an actual role in the process of modern social regulation. Pinney, who has intensively analysed how photography influenced the construction of the classification of the Indian society under British rule, applies Tagg's theory of social regulation in a colonial context and its novelty in British India. One of his examples to give evidence of anthropometry as a tool of colonial imagination and power is Dr Norman Chevers's *A Manual of Medical Jurisprudence for India including the Outline of a History of Crime against the Person in India* (Calcutta, 1870, first edition 1856). The character of the 'lower class of the natives' was for Chevers difficult to investigate, and therefore to his question of 'What is Truth?' in this domain he thought of finding the solution in systematic jurisprudence. In 1856, as the Secretary to the Medical Board in Calcutta, he made

[83] Robin Lenman (ed.), *The Oxford Companion to the Photograph* (Oxford: O.U.P., 2005), p.509, pp.507-510; see also Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, pp.224-228.
[84] John Tagg, *Burden of Representation: Essays on Photographies and Histories* (London: Macmillan, 1988).

the remark that photography was already and would be even further in the future an essential tool to identify bodies and anticipate an alleged dysfunction in Indian lower classes. He also noted that by that time the police force was already employing photography to trace old offenders and identify victims – see Chevers's *Photograph by means of which the victim of "Amherst Street Murder" was identified* (Photo 5.9.)[85] and also *Portraits of Indian convicts from the Punjab, cat.69* (photographer unknown, Photo 5.10.). Also from the 1860s a campaign in Lucknow was conducted to encourage prostitutes to keep certificates with photographs, where the presence or absence of venereal disease was inscribed. Pinney uses the example of Chevers to expand Tagg's claim that the state used photography in order to obtain data on and control urban populations. He stresses that photography in India came to be developed in "new spaces of power and knowledge" in which it recorded individuals to be used by the state to create generalities.[86] It can be argued that the studio portraits taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd and the different group pictures taken by Bourne as he travelled through India, followed persistent patterns in their depiction of the indigenous population and that it was because of this particular way of representing and its constant recurrence that these portraitures contributed to the 'conventionalisation' of Indian peoples. However it is important to note that in some specific cases Bourne's pictures have a signification which goes further than just creating a convention.

The Mutiny and its photographical representation

The Indian Mutiny was a decisive event in the history of British India; it was the end of the East India Company and the proclamation of British Rule – the beginning of a new and strong imperialism. The revolt was also a traumatising moment that was decisive in the development of the British perception of India afterwards. At the time of the events and particularly after the submission of the 'rebels', the wish of both the authorities and the general public to know what happened increased.

[85] Photograph reproduced in Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the Social Life of Indian Photographs*, p.23.
[86] Ibid., pp.20-24. See also Bourne's *Groups of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.).

Visually, photography participated in nourishing this need and in showing the political and cultural changes generated from the Mutiny.[87]

The Mutiny was not only directly reported to Britain through newspapers and magazines,[88] but also through the visual interpretation of the events and the rescue of some British settlers.[89] The end of the Mutiny did not stop its narration in Britain, which on the contrary continued to expand through the publication of memoirs and novels[90] and also the production of visual materials and photographs. The creation of its commemoration and remembrance was influential in the perception and rule of

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[87] J. R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion Books Ltd, 1997), p.47.

[88] The Mutiny was related day-to-day throughout newspapers, which had a strong and abrupt impact on Victorians who were shocked by the horror of the revolt against British people. Sir William Howard Russell, considered to be the "greatest correspondent of the nineteenth century – and the father of war reporting" (Dennis Griffiths (ed.), *The Encyclopedia of the British Press, 1422-1992* (New York: St Martin's Press Inc., 1992), p.501), was one of the major narrators of the 'Mutiny' in the press. He covered for *The Times* all the main war-events from the 1850s to the 1870s: Schleswig-Holstein in 1850, the Crimea War in 1854-56, the Indian Mutiny in 1857-58, the Italian campaign in 1859, the American Civil War in 1861-64, the Danish War in 1864, the Prussian-Austrian war in 1866, the Franco-German war in 1870 and the South African war in 1879-80. He was a personal friend of General Sir Colin Campbell – whom he knew from the Crimea – and while he was in India during the Mutiny, he was attached to the army freeing Lucknow. He investigated the rumours concerning the atrocities committed against British women which were conveyed in a period which witnessed hysteria. But Russell could not find real evidence to support these accounts. Although he often received gratitude from soldiers for his articles, and was knighted in 1895 for his services to journalism, his portraiture of the British presence in India in the late 1850s was controversial and "Russell was savagely attacked in the Anglo-Indian press" (Indira Ghose (ed.) and Peter J. Kitson (general editor), 'India', vol. 3, *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation, 1835-1910* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), p.292). It remains that *The Times* would later "declare that Russell's Letters covering the Indian Mutiny were the best work he had ever done" (Griffiths, 1992, p.501).

[89] Some of the main oriental painting with regard to India in the mid-nineteenth century focused on battles and events, and the Indian Mutiny was not an exception to this genre. The representation of the event was very dramatised and romanticised revealing more a feeling than a piece of reality; good examples of this are Henry Nelson O'Neil's *Eastward, Ho!* (1857 – Illustration 2) and *Home Again* (1859 – Illustration 3) or also a famous engraving title of the time *Sepoy Indian troops dividing the spoils after their mutiny against British rule* (1859 – Illustration 4).

[90] From the 1850s and onward, literature from British India saw the proliferation of memsahibs' diaries. The memsahibs – the female sahibs, European settlers in India – were the wives of clergymen, diplomats and businessmen. These women, who followed their husbands or relatives, were not always clement to the Indians, and were often feeling 'homesick'. They experienced a different life than women in Britain, nonetheless often tried to recreate their own culture in the subcontinent. Many of the memsahibs kept a long correspondence with their family and friends in Britain. Their letters and diaries became an attractive market, and were thus published to reveal their experience. Amongst famous letters and diaries, which described the British experience during the Mutiny, were those written by G. Harris and R.M. Coopland (1858-59). Also two other books had a great success, Fanny Parks's *Wanderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque* (1850) and Emily Eden's *Up the Country* (1866); both books describe what their authors encountered (monuments, cuisine, etc.) but also often picture with irony the Anglo-Indian society. Indira Ghose explains that Eden detects "the weaknesses of a society of predominantly middle-class origins with pretensions to an aristocracy in the Indian context; she unmercifully exposes petty snobbery toward Indians and Eurasians" (Indira Ghose (ed.) and Peter J. Kitson (general editor), 'India', vol. 3, in *Nineteenth-Century Travels, Explorations and Empires: Writings from the Era of Imperial Consolidation, 1835-1910* (London: Pickering & Chatto, 2003), p.339).

the subcontinent after 1858. Bayly explains that both at the time and in the following decades, the British visual representation of the Mutiny only showed their own perspective and that they highlighted the acts of violence perpetrated by the seditious Sepoys against British women and children. He concludes that "Indian 'bestiality' and the treachery of the once loyal natives [were] taken as proof of their low degree of humanity, and emerging racial stereotypes were hardened."[91] The visual representation of the Mutiny took varied forms, and besides the more traditional depictions, photography assisted in portraying the area of the events and mostly in constructing its 'memorialisation'. With the examination of the consequences of the destruction of Delhi and its neighbourhood, Lahiri argues that the construction over that area of a 'memorialised landscape' helped the British to shape the remembrance of the 'victorious' and the 'conquered'. Photographs of this landscape were taken and either sold to tourists or sent to Britain; they participated in the manufacture of "ideological statements, where the monuments, and epigraphs inscribed on them, contributed to the construction of one of the archetypal myths of British India, that of sacrifice and bravery 'selflessly' displayed for a large cause."[92] The depiction of these landscape and statue memorials became fashionable from the 1870s, but one can trace the origins of this as early as the 1860s with Bourne who was amongst the first photographers to record them, as in, for instance, *Memorial Garden, Cawnpore* (Photo 3.1.4.). Bourne's photographs of Cawnpore reveal a wish to represent places where a national trauma was set while soothing the same trauma by the depiction of purity and tranquillity.

These pictures were part of a tourist market which developed around war photography. While Roger Fenton had used the same non-violent method of showing the impact of the Crimean War, Felice Beato chose to accentuate the opposite by showing corpses and the violence of the Mutiny and especially its reprisals. In contrast with what has been discussed previously with military photography, war photography in the 1850s had for its only aim to depict the impact of troops fighting and their destructive consequences. As it has also been seen, at the time there was a general insistence that photography was a true reflection of reality.

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[91] C. A. Bayly (ed.), *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1947* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990), p.137.

[92] Nayanjot Lahiri, 'Commemorating and Remembering 1857: The Revolt in Delhi and Its Afterlife', *World Archaeology*, Vol. 35, No. 1, The Social Commemoration of Warfare. (June, 2003), p.43, pp.35-60.

Nonetheless mid-nineteenth-century war photography could not have been more manipulated. Because of the limits of technology – luminosity conditions had to be ultimate, problems with the exposure time, etc. – the photographers had to stage the war scenes.[93] Apart from the photographs of posed scenes of soldiers at the end of the Mexican-American War (1836-1848) and the wartime environment – soldiers, artillery and ruins – pictured by John McCosh during the Second Sikh War in India (1848-49) and the Second Burma War (1852), it was during the Crimean War (1853-56) that Roger Fenton realised the first photographic war documentary.[94]

It was however with the portraiture of the Indian Mutiny that war photography became more dramatic, particularly with the recording of the dead on the battle fields by Felice Beato (1825 – 1907). Beato's first genuine experience of photography was in Paris in the early 1850s where he bought his first lens, but his career started when he travelled to the Middle East where he stayed for four years (1853-57). As Robertson and Fenton, Beato recorded the end of the Crimean War; furthermore as an explorer-photographer, he toured in the Orient his whole life: Middle East (1853-57), India (1858-59), China (1860-61), Japan (1864-1885), Korea (1871), the Sudan (1886) and Burma (1889-1906);[95] and his photographical work gives an extraordinary and wide picture of the East in the second-half of the nineteenth century. Apart from his pictures of Japan and China, Beato is certainly

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[93] See Debra Gibney, 'War Photography', in John Hannavy (ed.), *Encyclopedia of Nineteenth-Century Photography*, vol. 2, pp.1467-1471.

[94] Russell, who came to report on the Crimean War for *The Times*, soon accused the government of mal-administrating the war. In order to respond to his attacks Government officials approached Thomas Agnew – director of the Manchester publishing company – with the intention of instigating a photographic expedition to the Crimea. Hannavy emphasises that "the pictures (...) had to conform to strict official requirements (and in return) the photographer would be given privileges and access to anyone and anywhere he wished"; the idea was to give the government "the political prestige gained from a series of photographs aimed at discrediting Russell's accusations." [John Hannavy, *The Camera goes to War, Photographs from the Crimean War 1854-56* (Edinburgh: Scottish Art Council, 1974), p.11-15] Roger Fenton (1819 – 1869), who had already planned to go to Crimea before being hired by Agnew, produced over 337 images of the war during 1855. Although he experienced the horrors of the war, which are transcribed in the letters he sent to England, his photographs only show the heroic portraits of soldiers – *Captain Halford* (Photo 5.11.) – and positive scenes of life in the camps – *Lt. Col. Hallewell, his days' work over* (Photo 5.12.). It seems that he had to follow the strict instructions of "No Dead Bodies", and therefore the only negative perception of the war can be found in photographs such as *Valley of the Shadow of Death* (Photo 5.13.) where Fenton portrays the desolated landscape of the valley after the Russians had attacked the British Light Brigade only leaving the road with cannonballs. His work was published alongside James Robertson's production, who happened to have been in Crimea at around the same time. Also Agnew sold some prints to the *Illustrated London News* on the condition that the nature of the photographs was kept in the engravings.

[95] Dates recorded by John Falconer in *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900*, p.137.

most known for his work on India. He indeed recorded the 'aftermath of the Mutiny', especially in Cawnpore, Lucknow and Delhi – he was on his way to the subcontinent to take pictures of the revolt but by the time he arrived the British were controlling the 'rebels'. He thus photographed, just four months after the massacre of Secundra Bagh, a small group of Indians next to the ruins and bodies of 'mutineers' – *Interior of the Sikanderbagh after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Regiment. First Attack of Sir Colin Campbell in November 1857, Lucknow* (Photo 5.14.). The dramatisation of his work was certainly deliberate and had a considerable impact on the British and Indian public, in particular his famous portrait of *The Hanging of Two Rebels* (Photo 5.15.). Although Beato took photographs of Indian people, his interest was mainly centred on the army, the Mutiny, and the dead rebels – as in *The Ruins of Sammy House Surrounded by Scattered Bones of Sepoys Killed in Action* (Photo 5.16.) – rather than the portraiture of Indian society after the events. Beato therefore went to many places where the events took place and took at least five hundred pictures of the military scenes and buildings.[96] Bourne's and Beato's visual accounts of the Mutiny are very different; while Beato portrayed the ruthless repression over the Sepoys, Bourne depicted a peaceful and controlled aftermath.[97]

Visualising India: landscape, architecture, and its people

In the mid-nineteenth century, India was photographically portrayed from diverse perspectives. There was an aim of discovering and recording an 'other' world but photography also participated in the creation of Said's concept of 'imaginative geography'. The different angles were however not always well defined, and sometimes were even crisscrossing. Shortly after the discovery of photography from the 1840s-1850s many photographers travelled in order to take pictures of unknown places, or if already described by novelists and painters, not shown throughout the 'reality hunter': the camera. Photography and exploration thus became strongly

[96] For a more detailed analysis of Beato's photographs on the Mutiny see Zahid Chaudhary, 'Phantasmagoric Aesthetics: Colonial violence and the management of perception', *Cultural Critique*, 59, Winter 2005, Regents of the University of Minnesota: 63-119.

[97] Bourne's representation of the Mutiny is developed in chapters III and IV. After India, Beato went to China where he documented the Anglo-Chinese War. Around the same time, the London dealer Henry Hering published a catalogue of over three hundreds of his Indian and Chinese photographs.

linked. Samuel Bourne was one of these photographers who were the first to take pictures of difficult spots to reach as when he shot *The Manirung Pass, elevation 18,600 ft.* (Photo 3.1.52.) in the East Himalayas in 1866. Exploring this "darkness"[98] was obviously not easy, and photographer-explorers had to surmount great difficulties. Nevertheless, when the photographs were shot, they guaranteed them success. British and other westerners were enthusiastic about discovering 'reality' throughout photographic prints of the rest of the world, especially their 'conquered' lands. Geographical surveys in the Himalayas, ethnographical surveys – the biggest one in the nineteenth century being *People of India* – and political surveys such as the 'Survey of India', which used the medium as a surveying technique to facilitate mapping the area, hence proliferated.[99] India was in addition a place where photography could progress; photographers – from the inheritance of previous artists – used the different climates, lights, etc. to improve their techniques and their art.

'Views' were one of the favourite art subjects in the eighteenth and nineteenth century depicting Europe as well as the rest of the world. Photography continued this tradition in adding a new dimension that the pencil and the brush could not provide: the 'true perfection' of the photographic representation. Architecture became one of the first topics that generated great interest. Archaeologists greeted this new discovery as a fantastic medium to record the beauty of the past without the 'imprecision' of the artist's hand. Until the 1850s, in India this recording was left to some enthusiast amateurs who made collections of their drawings first, and then their photographs.[100] From 1847, the Governor-General was charged from London

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[98] Term used by Ryan to describe to describe how empire photographers searched to discover the unknown world.

[99] James Waterhouse, Assistant Surveyor General on the Survey, was in charge of the photozincographic branch and provided in 1870 at Calcutta the *Report on the Cartographic Applications of Photography as used in the Topographical Departments of the Principal States in Central Europe, with Notes on the European and Indian Surveys.*

[100] The Orientalists were well-known in European galleries, and "the extraordinarily buoyant market of the nineteenth-century stimulated excess production," which involved "extremes of admiration" to this group of artists (John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, p.44). However it seems that British photography in India in the mid-nineteenth century was more blossoming than British painting, yet some similar subjects were found between both artistic domains. One dealt with the feeling of the Orient; it was often portrayed through the eroticism of half- or totally-naked Indian women – it mixed features from the Classical Rome and the Indian art of dancing – such as William Carpenter's *Nautch Girls in Kashmir* (1854 – Illustration 8) – a theme which was also photographed by Bourne. Also architecture and specific scenes such as the tiger hunt were displayed; it was the portraits of maharajas which had the widest production but it nearly totally disappeared with the emergence of portrait photographs, which was particularly appreciated amongst the princes. Numerous paintings and drawings such as the sketchbooks of William Simpson (from 1859 to 1862)

to start a programme of listing historical monuments. It aimed at composing "a general, comprehensive, uniform, and effective plan of operations based on scientific principles" with as "the great object, the preservation and illustration of the Monuments of India."[101] Although this enormous enterprise faded, it gave a new impulse to record architecture and archaeological subjects with the increase of photography. Nearly every photographer who worked in India took architectural pictures, but a few can be highlighted for the quality of their photographic work. For instance, the two officers Biggs and Tripe photographed in the same period – the 1850s – architectural sites, particularly religious ones such as temples, caves, tombs, etc. but also beautiful inhabited locations such as maharaja's palaces – see Biggs's *Mosque of Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur* (Photo 5.18.) and Tripe's *The Puthu Mundapum, Madura* (Photo 5.19.) and *Entrance to the Temple of Minakshi in the Great Pagoda* (Photo 5.20.). Later, in 1876, in his *History of Indian and eastern architecture* James Fergusson emphasised the importance of photographic works for History: "for the purpose of such a work as this (...) photography has probably done more than anything that has been written."[102] Nevertheless his point of view was specifically focused on photography as documentation only – as the majority of scholars of the nineteenth century admitted – and not as a matter of aesthetics, as found in landscape and genre paintings, and which had reached a large public. Fergusson was a pioneering surveyor and scholar of Indian architecture who provided many drawings, sketches and engravings on monuments. He then worked with several photographers to publish their prints alongside his work. His main concern was to record historical monuments in order to aid the preservation and restoration of some perishing structures.[103] John Murray's *Street scene in Muttra,*

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are a good example of this appeal. The Victorians could see Indian subjects at the Royal Academy, predominantly portraits of maharajahs and nabobs, ruins and famous buildings, and dance scenes. Frederick Christian Lewis, often referred to as 'Indian' Lewis to distinguish him from his famous brother who depicted Egypt and was praised by Ruskin as a leading Pre-Raphaelite. 'Indian' Lewis arrived in India about 1840 and remained there for many years, he specialised in oriental scenes. *Halt at the Sanctuary of Ganesh* (1855 – Illustration 9) is a typical example of his work, it follows the over-elaborate Hindu style and depicts a scene of Indian life with romantic features. See C. A. Bayly (ed.), *The Raj: India and the British, 1600-1947* (London: National Portrait Gallery, 1990) and Hermione de Almeida and George H. Gilpin, *Indian Renaissance: British Romantic Art and the Prospect of India* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2005).

[101] Public Despatches to Bengal, no.1 of 1847, 27 January 1847, IOR/L/P&J/3/1021 quoted by John Falconer in *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* (The British Library, London: 2001), p.16.

[102] James Fergusson, *History of Indian and eastern architecture* (London, 1876), preface.

[103] See Tapati Guha-Thakurta's 'The Compulsions of Visual Representation in Colonial India' which is dedicated to Fergusson's work, in Maria Antonella Pelizzari (ed.), *Traces of India: Photography,*

with the Jami Masjid in the background (Photo 5.21.), Edmund Lyon's *Right-hand section of Arjuna's Penance, Mamallapuram* (Photo 5.22.) and Eugene Impey's *Chhatri at Rajgarh, Rajasthan* (Photo 5.23.) are illustrations of high-quality works recording Indian views and monuments. Bourne also accomplished hundreds of well produced landscape and architectural views such as *Sculpture on the Façade of the Temple at Trichinopoly* (Photo 3.1.49.), *Hindu Temple, Gwalior* (Photo 3.1.56.) and *The Monastery at Ki, Spiti* (Photo 3.1.61.).[104]

Photography was also used to record historical events such as the journey in India of HRH the Prince of Wales in 1875-1876,[105] and to witness certain 'noble' leisure activities such as hunting. Hunting was even more than just a past-time, Ryan notes that "the colonial hunter was one of the most striking figures of the Victorian and Edwardian imperial landscape."[106] Killing a wild animal was considered as a sport and a scientific quest, but was above all a way of showing the dominance of the 'conquerors', the British. The master-photographers in this domain were Colonel W.W. Hooper and V. S. G. Western from the 1850s to the 1880s who 'artistically' photographed the jungle and its dangerous animals that were killed such as in the impressive series of *Tiger Shooting* in 1870 – for instance *Bagged* (Photo 5.24.).[107]

From the end of the 1850s – particularly after the Mutiny – picturing the 'Natives' spread out all around India. The first ethnographical photographs appeared in William Johnson's *The oriental races and tribes, residents and visitors of Bombay*

Architecture, and the Politics of Representation, 1850-1900 (Montréal, New Haven: Canadian Centre for Architecture, Yale Center for British Art, 2003), pp.108-139.

[104] Samuel Bourne's landscape photographs have been studied in several studies such as Arthur Ollman's *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* and Gary Sampson's dissertation.

[105] See below Chapters II and III.

[106] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, p.99.

[107] In the second-half of the nineteenth century the *Illustrated London News* and *The Graphic* started to use photographs as inspiration to create their engravings. Celebrations such as the Prince of Wales's Tour to India in 1876 as well as social problems such as the famine in India were engraved (see Illustration 5, 6 & 7). (Leonard De Vries (compiled by), *History as Hot News, 1865-1897, The late Nineteenth Century world as seen through the eyes of* The Illustrated London News *and* The Graphic (London: John Murray, 1973), pp.71-74). These illustrations shared the same topics as photographic albums such as tiger shooting – The Prince of Wales Tiger-shooting: The Critical Moment from the *Illustrated London News* (8 January 1876) – and campaigning – "the Royal Engineers' photographs, which were later also deployed by the *Illustrated London News* as a basis for engravings, with their focus on the organized military forces on the one hand and the empty imposing landscapes on the other, similarly represent the art of campaigning as one of subduing the natural world." (James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*, p.94).

made in the mid-1850s and published in the mid-1860s. This work consists of a montage of portraits added to landscapes in the background, which brings a sort of surreal feature to these photographs. Although Johnson aimed at producing artistic pictures, he also wanted to record a varied group of natives – see *Ghur-Baree (Householding) Gosaees* (Photo 5.25.). He sought to highlight differences and example of 'types' by identifying specific features which constituted the uniqueness of a group such as costumes and material artefacts – for example in *Beni-Israel Teachers, Bombay* (Photo 5.30.) – contrasting with *The People of India* which was more concerned with the study of individuals and types.

Certainly the main compilation of a photographic survey of racial types in the nineteenth century was *The People of India*, which was realised (and published) from 1856-1868 to 1875. This investigation originally began with Lord Canning's private collection, and became after the Mutiny an official project instigated by the Political and Secret Department of the India Office. Canning thought that his private collection should be made public and pursued as a survey to record "the more remarkable tribes to be found in India".[108] The India Office consequently sent a memorandum to all the provincial administrations to launch the project by encouraging officers who were "capable of practicing photography" to portray natives. Alongside their work, they would have to supply "a brief written description of the tribe represented, their origin, physical characteristics and general habits."[109] This colossal work published in eight volumes with a total of nearly five hundred photographs and edited by Sir John William Kaye and Dr John Forbes Watson – the latter being the Director of the India Museum in London from 1858 to 1879 – had as its purpose to "fairly represent the different varieties of the Indian Races."[110] In fact, it had firstly the political aim of knowing better the people that the British government had to rule through the construction of colonial authority, in order to avoid a second Mutiny; secondly it had a scientific and anthropological intention of obtaining a knowledge of non-western civilisations, and classifying 'races'.

[108] Canning was interested in the development of photography in India and wanted these 'exotic settings' to be recorded, initially for his personal interest. He therefore encouraged both military and civilians to photographically portray Indian life and culture. After Canning's death, following viceroys who ruled in the 1860s-1870s all continued to encourage the development of photography particularly in the army.

[109] Circular sent by Sir Edward Clive Bayley, Officiating Foreign Secretary, to the Secretary to the Government of Bengal, dated June 17th 1861.

[110] J. Forbes Watson & J. W. Kaye, *The People of India: A Series of Photographic Illustrations, with Descriptive Letterpress, of the Races and Tribes of Hindustan* (London, 1868-1875), I, preface.

Following the circular, primarily officers were hired mainly because they were given a modest commission for their work in comparison to the fees professional photographers would have requested. The principal officer-photographers of the project were Captain Taylor, Colonel Hooper, John Murray, Benjamin Simpson and Major-General James Waterhouse, who was one of the most prolific contributors to the project. An exception was however made with the commission to the commercial firm of Charles Shepherd & James Robertson to supply some prints; this was due to extra needs particularly before the publishing. It was an anthropological and political project which concluded as a sort of cultural 'voyeurism', a visual sign of control in an occupied country. Many portraits of natives are set in the context of their occupation or customs – Waterhouse's *Bheels of the Vindhyan Range, Malwah, Central India* (Photo 5.26.) – some others are of anthropological types with individuals frontally photographed – Simpson's *Mishmi, Hill Tribe, Assam* (Photo 5.27.) – and finally there are also a few 'native' scenes which came nearly all from Shepherd & Robertson's production – *Hindu Rajput group at Delhi* (Photo 5.28.). *The People of India* is a large documentation which is frequently repetitive. It was successful in using anthropometric models as indices of scientific quantification, but it was limited regarding the cultural aspects of India. There was an imperialistic aspect to the production of the photographs and the constitution of the albums, and there were different sorts of prejudices. Pinney explains that "at certain points (...) the transition from evangelical prejudice to an administrative relativism is clearly apparent."[111] He takes the example of different tribes to explain that the comments underneath the pictures first despise some ethnic groups by using "moral pre-occupations of the company days" but then indicate another style of language showing their political loyalty and utility. For instance, the baniyas – itinerant grain merchants – who were accused of having low moral values and were famous for cheating and controlling villages because they were money lenders, acted positively for the British as useful people who contributed to the maintenance of the general trade of India – see *Bunnea, Hindoo Tradesman* (photographer unknown, Photo 5.29.). The main significance of *The People of India* therefore is intrinsically linked in the ways it constructed knowledge of 'racial'

[111] Christopher Pinney, 'Classification and Fantasy in the Photographic Construction of Caste and Tribe', *Visual Anthropology*, vol.3, nos. 2-3 (Harwood Academic Publishers: New York & London, July 1990), pp. 259-288, p.263.

types in a frame that could be used by the colonial authority.[112] It created a visual and ideological identification of Indian peoples relegating them to an 'objectifying discourse'.[113] Although – as developed in the following chapters – the firm Bourne & Shepherd's studio portraits share some of the characteristics found in the pictures published in *The People of India*, most of the photographs studied here – particularly the rustic and city scenes – show evidence of diversity in the ethnographical representation of the indigenous population, interlinking Indian peoples within a social, political and artistic context and system of representation.

[112] These ethnographic surveys are also an element of "ordering of difference" which has been summarised by Thomas R. Metcalf in *Ideologies of the Raj*. See also Laura Dudley Jenkins, 'Another *People of India* Project: Colonial and National Anthropology', *The Journal of Asian Studies*, 62, no.4 (November 2003): 1143-1170.

[113] See John Falconer, '"A Pure Labor of Love", a publishing history of *The People of India*' in G. D. Sampson and E. M. Hight (eds.), *Colonialist Photography, Imag(in)ing race and place* (London: Routledge, 2002); and Christopher Pinney, *Camera Indica: the Social Life of Indian Photographs*.

Chapter Two: Bourne in India, a photographic experience

This chapter considers firstly the background to Bourne's experience of photography as a young man in England. It then examines the organisation of his stay in India: the establishment and running of his business including the material and techniques he used to produce his photographs. It concludes with discussion of the public for his work, in relation to the culture of colonialism.

Bourne's early commitment to photography

In 1851, the seventeen years old Samuel Bourne was impressed while seeing a daguerreotype portrait, taken in one of Richard Beard's London studios, showing his uncle seated at a writing-table. This seems to have been the first step leading to Bourne's taking up photography, as even after his different Indian trips, he still remembered this picture – more than forty years later – as he wrote in 1893 in the *Nottingham Daily Guardian*:

> He looked at that portrait with intense interest; he was struck with the marvellous fidelity of the likeness – there was the man himself.[1]

Bourne obtained his first camera in 1853 and rapidly became an ardent practitioner even while he was working,[2] "I used to amuse myself by taking photographs of the Market-place from the Bank window."[3] Being motivated to learn and practice,

[1] *Nottingham Daily Guardian,* March 9th 1893, p.8.
[2] Bourne came from a rich farmer's family that lived in a village in Staffordshire; but he left the agricultural world to go to the city as an assistant at Moore & Robinson's bank in Nottingham.
[3] *Nottingham Daily Guardian,* ibid.

Bourne participated in several photographic events.[4] The two most important ones were his trips in the English countryside and his involvement with the Nottingham Photographic Society. Bourne's tour in the Lake District during June 1858 had an impact on his amateur skills; during his trip he visited Derwentwater, Grasmere, Rydal and Ullswater. Bourne describes this, using the language of Romanticism, as the occasion to satisfy his wish to immortalise his love of nature as a photographic goal; he took several pictures of mountain and lake scenery. It was his real first photographic project and an excellent opportunity to develop and show his photographic skills when at the end of July 1858 the Nottingham Photographic Society was formed. An advertisement was published in the local press announcing the formation of this new society and inviting people to subscribe in order to improve the art of photography in the neighbourhood. The first activity organised by the Society was an exhibition at the Exchange Hall in Nottingham, open to the public from the 7th to the 15th of January 1859. The society wished to attract as many photographers as possible, and the event combined a general exhibition of photographs with a competition restricted to residents of either the town or the County of Nottingham. The exhibition included future famous photographers such as Louis and Auguste Bisson, Roger Fenton, Francis Frith, Gustave le Gray and Oscar G. Rejlander. Moreover the competition was judged by George Shadbolt, who was a well-known member of the London Photographic Society and Vice-President of the North London Photographic Association, becoming later editor of *British Journal of Photography*.[5] Bourne was one of the two finalists in the section for pictures 10-in. × 8 in. with the Rev. J. J. Dredge. Bourne's picture titled *Regent Street, Nottingham* received the following comment from a reviewer:

> The negative, clearly on glass, appears to have been taken with a very good lens applied with considerable skill, the near and distant objects being both properly defined and in correct proportion, the perpendicular lines at the margin of the picture free from distortion, and finally, the printing of the positive impression in a highly satisfactory manner. It is, however, very questionable whether the application of so much skill to the delineation of a mere street view, possessing very little architectural interest, and totally destitute of every vestige of life, was not labour thrown away. It is true that in the treatment of the subject everything has been done which could have been

[4] See Pauline Heathcote, 'Samuel Bourne of Nottingham', *History of Photography* 6:2 (April 1982), 99-112; and Gary D. Sampson, 'Bourne's photography prior to India', chapter 1, *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara: 1991).

[5] Pauline Heathcote, 'Samuel Bourne of Nottingham', p.110.

> accomplished with the exception of the introduction of living objects – but with such a subject as that under consideration, this deficiency is a serious one. I find also that the rest of this gentleman's pictures are nearly, if not quite, equal in manipulation to that mentioned, though all of them somewhat deficient in the artistic element.[6]

As a result, the Rev. Dredge was awarded first prize for his *West Door, Southwell Minster, Sept., 58*. While this photograph was not technically perfect, it had an artistic appeal. The complaint that it was a lack of artistic qualities which prevented Bourne from winning the competition seems to have been decisive for him. After the competition, although he still insisted on technical proficiency – he continued to write articles about techniques for many years[7] – he became conscious of the importance of the artistic aspects of the medium. He also began to publish articles explaining how to produce a good 'artistic' photograph.[8]

Ann Turner, first, in a brief article titled 'Samuel Bourne's English Photographs',[9] then Gary Sampson, in his dissertation, have mentioned another important figure who contributed to the development of Bourne's aesthetic vision and the rising commercial trade in architectural and landscape views:[10] George Washington Wilson – a Scotsman who was eleven years Bourne's senior. Wilson's work was intended for the tourist trade. In an article published in 1862, Bourne expressed his admiration for Wilson:

> Those who have seen the marvellous productions of Mr. Wilson, (...) Who have felt a pensive silence as they stood on the shores of an Aberdeen lake as the shades of evening fell upon, and rapt all surrounding objects in a deepening gloom (...) must have turned from the contemplation of such pictures, or rather I should say such realities, to their own poor productions with a feeling of dissatisfaction and almost disgust.[11]

Finally, the last noticeable event which occurred before Bourne went to India was a lecture in Nottingham that he gave on the 31st of January 1860 titled *On Some*

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[6] *Nottingham Review* (7th January 1859), p. 4.
[7] For instance, a Bourne's letter to the Editor of the Times published by *The Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal* on the 1st August 1858 (p. 196), titled 'Mr. Fothergill's Dry Process'.
[8] The main article was titled 'On some of the Requisites Necessary for the Production of a Good Photograph' published by *Nottingham Athenaeum Society Magazine* (1860) and by *Photographic News* (1860), se vol. III.
[9] Ann Turner, 'Samuel Bourne's English Photographs', *Creative Camera*, n° 26 (October 1983).
[10] Ibid, p.1131.
[11] Samuel Bourne, 'The Original Fothergill Process', *British Journal of Photography (BJP)*, (2nd January 1862), p. 8.

of the Requisites Necessary for the Production of a Good Photograph.[12] In this paper he explains that photography "being a *novel* discovery, and the rapidity and cheapness with which these so-called likenesses could be produced, the public, seized, as it were, by a portrait mania, bestowed upon the new art a patronage unparalleled in the history of any other discovery."[13] Bourne asserted that someone taking a commonplace picture was like an offence towards the photographic art. It is why he divided his talk into two parts to stress how important it was to make a good photograph; the first point explained how to realise a good picture thanks to technical processes, and the second one was focused on the importance of developing an artistic sensitivity. Bourne made a distinction between what he called a "common" photographer and "a genuine photographer" creating a notion of an elite class of creative artists.

> Photographers will see that if the art which they so much admire is to rise superior to the hostile criticism of those who are jealous of its growing popularity, (...) they must show themselves equal to it by cultivating those peculiar qualifications which shall enable them to produce works which artists shall not only fail to condemn, but which they must of necessity admire. (...) In the first place, no photographer will ever travel very far in the pathway of success, unless he devotes to the pursuit of his art a considerable sacrifice of time, and no small amount of hard and laborious exertion.[14]

In the decades following the emergence of the photographic pattern, it was debated to know whether photography was a form of art. The notion that a good photograph has more to do with expressing something than being an art of imitation was at the centre of such debates.[15] It is therefore important to understand why Bourne was so eager at defending the 'laborious' process of creating a good photograph as a piece of art.

Bourne first became well known through his published articles. Primarily his early writings when he was in England in *Photographic News* and *Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal*[16] gave him the opportunity to explain his point of

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[12] This lecture was then published in *Photographic News* (February 24, 1860; March 2, 1860; March 7, 1860; March 16, 1860; March 23, 1860; March 30, 1860; April 5, 1860) and in *Nottingham Athenaeum Society Magazine* (August 1860; October 1860; December, 1860).

[13] *Photographic News* (February 24, 1860), p. 296.

[14] Ibid., p. 297.

[15] For instance, see Charles Baudelaire's 'Salon de 1859' originally published in the *Revue Française* (1859) and Peter Henry Emerson's lecture published in *The Amateur Photographer* on 19th March 1886.

[16] *Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal* was the former name of the *British Journal of Photography* in which Samuel Bourne wrote his articles when he was in India.

view about different aspects of photographic processes and the artistic appeal of the medium. These articles also gave him the occasion to show his ability to describe his feelings and his opinions through the medium of writing. Bourne was, in fact, a talented writer and this later helped him to market his photographic works. The fact that he wanted to go to India in order to take photographs allowed him to obtain a contract with the *British Journal of Photography* to narrate his experiences as a British photographer in India. The readers who were interested in photography, being most of the time amateur photographers themselves, were from the middle and upper-classes, and were very interested to know more about the context of photography in the Empire.

Bourne's arrival in India and the setting of his business

Sampson explains Bourne's choice to go to India as "the call of the East".[17] Certainly he left a respectable job as a bank clerk in his home country to go to a colony of which he probably knew very little. We can speculate about his motives, but in point of fact, we have no direct evidence regarding Bourne's motivations. However, post-mutiny India was widely identified as a land of commercial opportunities, and Bourne was probably aware of the expansion of the market for portrait photographs within the colony, and of the thirst for images of Indian landmarks back home. His commercial acumen is suggested by the fact that before leaving England the newly self-made professional photographer obtained a contract with the editor of the *British Journal of Photography,* George Shadbolt,[18] in which Bourne agreed that he would send correspondence about his experiences in India. Shadbolt presented Bourne as a combination of journalist and entrepreneur, epitomising the spirit of imperial adventure.

> Mr. S. Bourne – letters, dated from the Cape, have been recently received from Mr. S. Bourne, whose photographs, from Fothergill dry plates, are well

[17] Gary D. Sampson, *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India*, p. 36.

[18] George Shadbolt (1819-1901) was in the wood trade, but he is mainly remembered as a contributor to the develoment of photography from the early 1850s. Besides his high interest in micro-photography, he was one of the founders of the Photographic Society, and editor of *the Liverpool and Manchester Journal* (which became the *British Journal of Photography*). He participated in the creation of several exhibitions.

> known for their softness and beauty. This gentleman has forsaken banking and become a professional photographer, and is now on his way to India, under an engagement for two years; and we wish him both good health and all success. We hope, ere long, to present our readers with the first of a series of papers from him, on his "Experience in the East."[19]

Bourne boarded the steamer Queen of the South at Gravesend on October the 29th 1862 and landed in Calcutta on January the 23rd 1863. Fairly soon after his arrival, he went to the Himalayan hill station of Simla (March 1863) where he began his photographical production and his written reports.

Bourne's commercial prospects were uncertain. The only contract he had when he left England was the one that he concluded with Shadbolt, which gave him the opportunity to become known as a professional photographer in Britain, but was not enough to subsist in India and buy necessary products and chemicals for his production. Bourne needed to show his work, and be able to live from it. He also needed to get access to a studio in which to develop his prints. The most reliable source of income for photographic firms at the time was portraiture.[20] However much he knew of the situation when he was in England, once he was in India Bourne was quick to note the rapid expansion of portrait photography. He wrote in 'Photography in the East':

> The professional photographers in Calcutta appear to be doing a good stoke of Business; the *carte-de-visite* is as popular as in England, and the amazing wealth of the place enables artists to realise good prices. Evidences of this wealth are seen on all sides, and Calcutta can boast of a Rotten Row not inferior to that of Hyde Park.[21]

It is not known whether Bourne had pre-established contacts before his move, but the first evidence of a firm involving Bourne was a partnership between the photographer and an English correspondent named Howard[22] at a studio in Simla.[23]

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[19] 'Mr S. Bourne', On letters received from Bourne en route to India, *BJP* 10 (February 16, 1863), 79.

[20] In 'Photography in the East' (p.268) Bourne explains that during his stays in Calcutta and Madras, he visited portrait establishments and the school of arts where he was surprised to find photography well taught. This might have also encouraged him to expand his art of representing outside the boundaries of traditional studio photography in order to be competitive in a discipline which was already well-established.

[21] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP* (July 1, 1863), p. 269.

[22] We still do not know a lot about Bourne & Howard's firm.

[23] See G. Thomas, *History of Photography, India 1840-1980* (Andhra Pradesh: Andhra Pradesh State Akademi of Photography, 1981), pp. 8-9.

This business might have been created just before Bourne left England, or just after his arrival in India. However by the end of 1863, Bourne's partnership with Howard was not productive enough; Bourne then started a new partnership with Charles Shepherd, "a respected and accomplished"[24] photographer who had been working in India since the mid-1850s. Shepherd had established himself following the demand for ethnographical and topographical pictures of subjects related to the Mutiny: the first commercial studio dealing with such photographs was C. Shepherd and J. Robertson's partnership which emerged in the late 1850s and early 1860s. In November 1863 Shepherd and Robertson indicated in *The Lahore Chronicle* their intention to dissolve their alliance, and Shepherd kept control of the firm. Only one week later, another notice published in the same chronicle asserted that "Mr. Charles Shepherd (...) was admitted a partner in our firm, which in the future will be carried on under title of Howard, Bourne, and Shepherd."[25] This alliance was a good deal for both sides. Shepherd needed a good new photographer like Bourne who had an attractive established link with England through his correspondences with the *British Journal of Photography,* in order to create his photographic business. Bourne had also a distinct interest in joining this experienced photographer who worked on the Mutiny and portraits and had developed a market for this type of work. This partnership thus gave an economic boost to Howard and Bourne's business. But rapidly Howard was relegated to the 'background', and the firm became known under the signatures of Bourne & Shepherd.

The locations of the firm can be identified by Bourne's writings when he arrived in India. Bourne & Shepherd's firm was in a Calcutta street near to the city's main avenue, Chowringhee Road, this avenue being a part of one of the most famous districts and the 'lung' of the modern part of the Capital of the British Government in India, the Maidan. Even before the creation of Bourne & Shepherd's firm, Bourne noticed the strategic value of this place, as a hub of fashionable life, "on one side of the city, intersected with wide carriage roads, and this every evening presents as gay a scene as can well be imagined."[26] But he added few sentences on the difficulties of working in Calcutta over the summer months. That is one of the

[24] Sophie Gordon, *The Imperial Gaze, the Photographs of Samuel Bourne (1863-1870)* (New York: 2000), p.4.
[25] 'New Advertisements', *Lahore Chronicle* (November 25, 1863), p.747. This paper was from Lahore, which was the principal city of the Punjab.
[26] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP* (July 1, 1863), p. 269.

reasons, along with the obvious appeal of the Himalayas, why he chose to have one studio in Calcutta and another one in Simla – the Hill Station where the British Government went during the summer from May to October. Because of its success the firm progressively grew throughout the decade, and by the end of 1870 it had also opened a branch in Bombay and established commercial links with photographers throughout India.[27] Bourne was travelling in order to picture India while Shepherd stayed in the studios – particularly the Calcutta studio – to work on studio portraits and administer the firm. Bourne & Shepherd's firm became so well-established that when Bourne returned to England, the firm continued running by employing local and already well-known professional photographers, such as Colin Murray, and stayed renowned and productive until the twentieth century.[28]

As a commercial photographer, Bourne obviously had rivals such as William Simpson, James Robertson and Lala Deen Dayal – to whom this study devotes a chapter – but the success and influence of Bourne & Shepherd's firm also involved photographers who were fascinated by Bourne's skills and tried to make the same sort of shots, sometimes to the point that they plagiarised him. The most well known example one can refer to is John Edward Saché. Saché arrived in India shortly after Bourne, and worked in the subcontinent for about ten years; his pictures "extend well beyond the boundaries of flattery and enters the realm of plagiarism in the precision with which a number of his views imitate Bourne's photographs."[29] Examples include Saché's *Old Court House Street, Calcutta* (Photo 5.31.), which copies Bourne's *Old Court House street looking north, Calcutta* (Photo 2.1.4.). Saché's case is good evidence of Bourne's commercial and artistic success from his early years in India.

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[27] Sophie Gordon, *The Imperial Gaze, the Photographs of Samuel Bourne (1863-1870)*, p.1.

[28] Bourne remained connected to the firm until 1874; the firm changed hands several times after that. Although Bourne did not produce any significant photographs after his return to England, he still enjoyed being a member of the Nottinghamshire Amateur Photographic Association, and was several time referred in articles about photography in India.

[29] John Falconer, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* (The British Library, London: 2001), p.29. See also Falconer, Rogers, Sharma, and Gray, *A Shifting Focus: Photography in India 1850-1900* (London: The British Council, 1995), p.67.

Bourne's self-representation: a colonial traveller, a heroic explorer

In order to effectively examine in the next chapters the subjects and meanings of Bourne's photographs, it is appropriate first to explore the way the photographer lived in India and represented himself in his articles. At first, the photographs were exhibited in photographic societies and some displays provided by the *British Journal of Photography*.[30] Consequently the public who came to know Bourne's production in the 1860s was also likely to be aware of his articles.

Bourne fulfilled this contract by sending four articles: 'Photography in the East' in 1863, 'Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas' in 1864, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir and Adjacent Districts' in 1866-1867, and 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas' in 1869-1870. Bourne portrays himself responding to the 'call' of adventure and change, and to the photographic and imperial challenge to explore the Himalayas. In his writings he describes exotic and unknown countries where his photographs would allow the viewers to imagine themselves in these far lands without moving from Europe. Here Bourne adapts the rhetoric of imperial exploration and documentation familiar to his audience from the writings of Burton, Speke and Fergusson. Bourne's correspondence with the *British Journal of Photography* was also transcribed as letters to the readers. His narrative 'Photography in the East' was published in two parts, on the first of July and first of September; Bourne's narration was quite long – about five columns for each letter. But in the cases of 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts' and 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas', the journal's members could read Bourne's stories every couple of weeks for about four or five months for each narration, which

[30] Photography in the East – Our readers will doubtless be pleased by the perusal of a communication just received from Simla, from Mr. S. Bourne, which will be found in the current number. In addition to the account of the journey thither, and description of the locality itself, there are some interesting observations relative to photographic difficulties in hot climates; and we have no doubt that Mr. Bourne has correctly interpreted the cause of the disagreeable phenomenon noticed by him with regard to the apparent deterioration of albumenised paper. The specimens received (which we shall take the first opportunity of exhibiting) fully bear out the assertions made in Mr. Bourne's communication, and are just such as a skilled operator would produce in this country – in fact, but for the presence of some natives, the views amongst the fir trees might readily be mistaken for scenes in Scotland. Extract from 'Photography in the East', on first communication from Bourne in India, *BJP* (September 1, 1863), 340.

enabled the readers to be kept excited by the events. Bourne's accounts were well-written, directly talking to the readers, easy to understand – no complex technical terms – and more about his experiences and the discovery of India as a young British man than a scientific 'photographic survey'. This was certainly why Bourne's writing had such a success. He kept this close relationship with his readers even after his return to England. So successful were his writings that journals continued to talk about him even after his death.[31] Bourne's achievement can also be gauged by readers' letters; most of the time they congratulated or encouraged him for his writing, his work, or his thoughts and 'his courage'.

For the most part Bourne lived within the norms of middle-class British Indian culture, but in his writings he stressed his difficulties. When Bourne stayed in small villages, he portrayed himself as an explorer. In *Picturing Empire*, Ryan has characterised Bourne's trip organisation and execution as being made "with the ardour of an intrepid explorer, or military commander."[32] His expedition to Kashmir comprised forty-two "coolies"[33] and some mules carrying two kind of packages: the photographic equipment and chemical products – about twenty loads – and the rest made up of "personal baggage, tents, bedding, *batterie de cuisine*, hermetically-sealed stores, a good supply of Hennessy's brandy, in lieu of 'Bass' and 'Allsopp', sporting requisites, books, camp furniture, etc."[34] Bourne explained that he had to bring as many Western products as possible since he was sometimes alone for more than two months without seeing a European. He stressed the idea of 'the heroic explorer' struggling to maintain civilisation amidst barbarism, which was apparently manifest even in the chaotic languages of the people: "talking nothing and listening to nothing the whole time but barbarous Hindostani, and a hundred local compounds of the same."[35] The second group of people accompanying Bourne was composed of

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[31] We can quote as examples 'Death of Mr. Samuel Bourne: Manufacturer and Artist', *Nottingham Guardian* (April 25, 1912) and 'Death of Mr. Samuel Bourne: Interesting Career as Manufacturer and Artist', *Trader* (Nottingham: April 27, 1912).

[32] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (Reaktion Books: London, 1997), p. 51.

[33] Coolie is the name given to the Indian porters whom carried wealthy person or British's personal belongings. Bourne took several pictures of his coolies and the camp. These ones will be studied further in this dissertation. There is nevertheless no portrait of Bourne himself on his travels, only a photograph taken by an anonymous when he was relaxing in Simla.

[34] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP* (October 5, 1866), p.474.

[35] Ibid.

a staff of six servants employed to feed the expedition personnel, but mainly to meet Bourne's daily expectations. He also described his six 'dandy bearers'. These were engaged to carry the *dandy*, that is to say a form of litter permitting Bourne to be carried when he was tired or when the road was not practicable. One is visible on the left of his photograph *Hill Coolies* (Photo 1.2.2.). In his writing Bourne accentuates, with humour, to his readers that he is both 'heroically' struggling through the jungle and also 'superior' to the indigenous people. He wittily deploys the double meaning of 'dandy', to suggest this, emphasising his ruggedness at the same time that he insists on his quasi-royal position in the expedition:

> If I tell my readers that the duty of the latter (dandy bearers) was to carry *me* (...), they must not suppose that *I* was the *dandy* – a mistake they might be liable to fall into (...). Had they seen me on the journey they would have thought that my appearance was anything but that of a dandy.[36]

He often stressed to his readers that he was a hard-worker and not just travelling for pleasure. Bourne and his coolies had to walk a lot, obviously most of the time without proper roads or even any forms of paths. They had to cross rivers, mountains, and deep forests. When the photographer was satisfied of the place or the scenery that he wanted to shoot, he had to wait for the optimum light. During the evening, while the rest of the group was gathering, Bourne isolated himself with books and his brandy. In his writing, he emphasises the details of life during his trips, again mimicking the ethnographic observations of Burton and other explorers. While for these other writers the ethnographic material supplemented their scientific observations on the discovery of the source of the Nile, or other geographical marvels, for Bourne the 'science' was the development of effective photographical techniques to visually record marvels.

Techniques, equipments and formats

Although technological advances were rapid in this period, photography had some heavy constraints which influenced the quality, the options and the process of taking pictures. From the beginning of his passion for photography Bourne was highly

[36] Ibid.

disciplined about the techniques. In his article 'On some of the requisites necessary for the production of a good photograph',[37] Bourne was very strict and inflexible on the way to take a picture; indeed for him in order to realise a good photograph, the photographer had first to be very rigorous, conscientious, and know exactly which photographic process to use and how to manipulate it. In the case of his pictures, Bourne mainly used two kinds of processes, both in England and in India: the wet collodion process and the dry version – the Fothergill process. When Bourne was in Nottingham, he worked a lot on how to improve his photographic skills. He soon turned to study and explore the collodion process. A few years later, in 1862, he published 'The Original Fothergill Process' in the *British Journal of Photography*[38] explaining the process and his experience with it.[39] By the early 1860s he had produced "more than 200 large negatives"[40] with the Fothergill process, which led him to be recognised as one of the major photographers among the photographic community in England having used this technique. However Bourne affirmed that the previous wet version was superior, and although he had mastered both the wet and dry processes he finally preferred to use the wet collodion process for his photographs in India.

The equipment – besides the chemicals, glass plates, and print papers – was primarily composed of the camera and the optical instruments. When Bourne travelled to India, his cameras, due to advances in technology, were already smaller, however they were still large and bulky wooden brassbound boxes on tripods. The

[37] Samuel Bourne, 'On some of the requisites necessary for the production of a good photograph', *The Photographic News* (1860).
[38] Samuel Bourne, 'The Original Fothergill Process', *BJP* (January 2, 1862), pp.6-9.
[39] In 1858 Bourne wrote his first article published by *The Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal* titled 'Mr. Fothergill's Dry Process', which was like a response or at least an opinion addressed to the Editor of *The Times* who had published information on Fothergill's photographic process. In this short article Bourne congratulated Thomas Fothergill for his discovery which could preserve the sensitiveness of collodion plates for up to two weeks both before and after exposure, encouraging photographers to use this process: "The thanks of all who take an interest in this beautiful art are due to Mr. Fothergill for his valuable communication. (...) If these remarks should induce amateurs who are perplexed as to which of the many keeping processes to adopt, or those who have been, like myself, so repeatedly annoyed by the numerous failures attending most of those previously published, to give this process a trial." [Bourne, Samuel, "Mr. Fothergill's dry process (From *The Times*, Tuesday 13th July, 1858. Photography. To the Editor of *The Times*)", *The Liverpool and Manchester Photographic Journal* (August 1, 1858), p. 196]. Yet Bourne added a remark. He advised to manipulate this process with a uniform collodion film, carefully wash it off the albumen, and allow the plates to become pretty dry before storing them in a dark box. Bourne also explained a few more details from his own experience for the benefit of others amateur photographers.
[40] Ibid. p.7.

wet-collodion process was complex and demanded special and precise equipment, and Bourne's equipment needed to be even bigger than the common one used in Europe. Bourne travelled a lot around India, particularly in Kashmir and the Himalayas where the most of the time he was "in the middle of nowhere", being able to count only on himself where "there is no well stocked chemist's shop to apply to when the dark hour arrives."[41] It was why he needed such extensive equipment to produce his pictures.

All the materials were carried on the back of the coolies, therefore everything had to be packed as small and light as possible. The equipment was made up of tents in order to be able to use the chemicals and create a darkroom, of stocks of chemicals for the shoot and the development, of glass plates, and of cameras which were "very light and portable" and using "Grubb's aplanatic and Dallmeyer's triplet lenses;[42] (since) the doublets triple singlets were not then out."[43] All together Bourne's photographic requirements – except the tents – formed twenty loads, the rest of the load having been used for his personal belongings and accessories. The equipment, as Bourne specified, was particular and made in order to deal with Indian climatic conditions, that is to say, either the coldness of the mountains or heat and humidity in the plains and the foothills. It was why, for instance, the photographer had for his photographic necessaries a spacious tent "opening and closing like an umbrella" to give more air. He justified the construction of this special pyramidal tent in 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent districts'

> This, though only one man's load, will seem a ponderous article when compared with the tents used in England; but in this country I could not work

[41] Anonymous, 'Indian Photographs. By S. Bourne', *BJP*, XIV (1867), p.17.

[42] In 1860, J. H. Dallmayer constructed the achromatic triplet lens. A triplet, or a combination of three lenses, properly constructed, was an improvement upon the doublet; so three pairs were effect more than two but the light become more and more weak. Doublets and triplets were the best arrangements for landscape photography; whereas two pairs of doublets, adjusted at a given distance apart, or at a variable distance apart, were preferred for portraiture. Grubb's invention was the aplanatic lens used for landscape thanks to its ability to work with a wide-angle. The firms of Dallmeyer or Grubb gained in Britain a well-earned reputation for the manufacture of portrait, etc., and for their lenses. By the end of the nineteenth century they were known for producing good equipment for travellers; their telephotographic lenses were advertised as "indispensable for mountain work (and) invaluable to naturalists" (see advertisement p.129 from Ryan's *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire*).

[43] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP* (October 5, 1866), p.474. The fact that Bourne noticed in his writings that this camera was not out when he was working in Kashmir shows even if he was far away from England that he still followed the photographic technical progresses.

> in one of those little suffocating boxes without elbow room and without ventilation.[44]

The equipment carried had thus to be well prepared and above all well thought out to deal with any kind of situation.[45]

Bourne used different sorts and sizes of formats for his photographs. For instance, for this three months stay in Kashmir he brought a stock of glass consisting of "250 plates 12×10, and 400 plates 8×4½."[46] Two groups of format used by Bourne & Shepherd's firm are pertinent to this study: the 'carte-de-visite' format and those constituting the albums.

Carte-de-visite photographs are a small, popular format (about a 2½ × 3½ inch image on a cardboard mount), cheaply produced and mostly used for portraits; in India 'native types' and 'groups' were also sold in this format.[47] Thomas stipulates in *Indian Courtesans in Carte-de-Visite* that the "Carte-de-visite of the nineteenth century covered a wide spectrum of subjects, and were indeed 'an interface between photography and the social scene'. People wanted to have their photographs taken 'to share among friends and to express social standing'; the likenesses were 'inexpensive, easy to look at and easy to care for', and much cheaper than a painter miniature, providing a commercial application of photography in sales of the object depicted. Indeed, Oliver Wendell Holmes called them 'the greenbacks of civilisation'."[48] The 'carte-de-visite' format and also other more conventional studio portrait formats – which were bigger and of better quality – were interesting to use because of the facility of the processes, the smallness of the formats – usually not

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[44] Ibid.

[45] About Bourne's camera, it seems that when Bourne returned to England in 1871, the photographer Colin Murray apparently inherited his camera and used it for the 13" × 8" plates that were included in *Photographs of Architecture and Scenery of Gujerat and Rajputana*, published in 1874. However one is not sure that it was one of those cameras quoted into the previous paragraph.[45] (information related in Worswick and Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911* (London, 1976), p.81. The picture reproduced on p.81 is from this camera, took by Colin Murray, and titled *The Water Place* (Udaipur, 1873).

[46] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP* (October 5, 1866), p.474.

[47] Gary D. Sampson, *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India*, p. 44.

[48] G. Thomas, 'Indian Courtesans in Cartes-de-Visite', *History of Photography* 8:2 (1984), p.83. In this article Thomas quotes two references: Gil, Arthur T., 'The carte-de-visite in Nineteenth-Century Photography: A Review', *The Photographic Journal*, vol. 122, no. 6 (June 1982), p. 280; and Wilsher, Ann, 'Double Bill', *History of Photography*, vol. 6, no. 3 (July 1982), p. 290.

larger than 6" × 5" – therefore most of the time famous personalities such as maharajahs, begums, etc. were portrayed on those formats.

Bourne's pictures were also compiled in albums. It was possible to buy a loose single photograph but in order to categorise, to make it more attractive or to present a whole set the album system was largely used in that period. Bourne's pictures were either compiled with other British photographers' prints also taken in India, or just produced as albums for the firm, usually titled as "photographs from Bourne & Shepherd's firm". The photographs' sizes depend on the albums' sizes. With a few exceptions of small album size such as the 12 × 8 inch model, most of the albums where we can find Bourne's pictures are in general sized between 18" × 13" and 25" × 20". However the albums' sizes usually do not exactly match with the pictures sizes which are smaller.[49] It is difficult to size and categorise Bourne's photographs principally since there are also numerous photographic copies – equally original works since they are dated from the same period. In any case what is important to notice about the picture sizes – except the portraits which were usually small sized – is that the scenery photographs were taken in big formats, which gives a fairly good representation of the scene, people and place pictured.

Most of Bourne & Shepherd's firm albums were a collection of photographs taken over a decade or two and gathered to express an idea of what India was. The most significant example might be the album produced for the Prince of Wales's tour in India in 1876 – though many photographs were collected from those taken in the 1860s when Bourne was still in India. The particularity of this album is Bourne's commentaries beside the pictures – which will be studied in the next chapters. Dana Bentley-Cranch in *Edward VII, Image of an Era* explains that during the Prince's tour in India, the whole event was covered by the Time correspondent W. H. Russell, who wrote an account of the trip, *The Prince of Wales's Tour of India: a diary with some account of the visits of H.R.H.* (1877), which was illustrated by the artist who was also on the tour, Sydney Prior Hall.[50] But also, even if Bourne & Shepherd's *The Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with*

[49] For instance, the album listed by the OIOC at the British Library under the code Photo193 is sized 24.4" × 19.7" and nearly all of the pictures are sized 19.7" × 15.7". But on the other hand, for example, the album listed by the OIOC under the code Photo460 sized 20.1" × 14.2" has different pictures sizes like 12.8" × 5.2" or 11.4" × 9.4" or 12.2" × 7.4" etc.

[50] Dana Bentley-Cranch, *Edward VII, Image of an Era* (HMSO in association with the National Portrait Gallery: London, 1992), p.159.

the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal[51] is nowadays little known, it is an important and interesting album concerning Bourne's work and public; moreover it is also an album covering the event of the 'Tour'. This album is presented more as a book for an elite public than an official work only dedicated to the Prince of Wales. Indeed, there are one hundred and forty photographs with a comment[52] for nearly each of them. The comments describe the pictures but most of the time they also explain the general context and the background of the situation or personages who have been photographed. This work was published in London in 1876, the same year as the Prince's return to England; nonetheless a large number of the pictures published in this album dated from prior to Prince Edward's Tour. In fact, they were taken by Bourne – and Bourne & Shepherd's firm – in the 1860s; all the pictures taken from this period were about India, Indian sceneries and people, and were inserted into this album as a sort of Indian background to Prince Edward's trip. Evidently the pictures relating to the Prince himself or to his activities were taken during his Tour, by one of Bourne & Shepherd's employees.[53] As mentioned previously, this album was certainly a book intended for the middle and upper-classes in order to illustrate the Prince's Tour in the British Empire. It asserted the British presence in India through the visualisation of the Monarchy.[54]

Bourne's public and the culture of colonialism and objectification

Bourne's plan to become a commercial photographer was viable since the photography market was expanding both in Western countries and on the Indian subcontinent. Indeed Bourne did business with both these markets: people from Great Britain, France and the United States, and wealthy Indians. As Osborne has

[51] Bourne & Shepherd, *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (Calcutta, 1876); shelf marked 'Photo992' at the British Library.
[52] See Appendix G: Extracts of comments from the album.
[53] Indeed, by this time (1874 - 1876) Bourne was returned in England, and Bourne & Shepherd's firm was big enough to hire professional photographers and successors such as Colin Murray.
[54] See David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

pointed out, it seems that travel pictures owners and public were globally from the middle-class.[55] Certainly in the case of Bourne's work, it appears that the public involved was mainly composed by people from the middle and upper-classes both in Europe and on the Indian subcontinent. Being a commercial photographer, he was more focused on people who could provide a good rate for his portraits. In the second half of nineteenth century educated and cultured buyers were found amongst the upper-middle and upper-classes, although with the democratisation and the educational aims of the newly created museums, some of the public who saw the work were also from the middle- and working-class.

About the Indian photographic portrait market Bourne wrote in 'Photography in the East' that "the amazing wealth of the place enables artists to realise good prices."[56] The large majority of portraits taken by Bourne & Shepherd's firm were of maharajahs, rajahs, begums, and important Indian persons pictured in a studio set with a neo-classical western décor. These portraits were sold to the portrayed people, nevertheless copies were kept for some albums intended for British viewers. Another sort of portrait, those shot of groups and individuals of different castes, ethnic groups, etc. either on location or interiors but without a real décor, are also in the firm's albums. In this case, the portraits were not intended for the persons photographed but for a British public, with the aim of showing the diversity and specificities of the Indian population. The main difference between these portraits and the sceneries was the way they were taken, the background in particular. The sceneries were always taken on location, and the people portrayed were doing their own activities or moving in their own areas.

From the start of his career Bourne was a member of several photographic societies which made him known by his colleagues, but also helped to build his public. The photographer regularly exhibited his work at societies' exhibitions and even received several prizes; for instance at the 6th Annual Exhibition of the Bengal Photographic Society (in 1863) he "impressed judges and critics."[57] To the extent that he won a gold medal for his view of Wanga Valley. Many times in 'A

[55] See Chapter 3, 'Worlds in a house: the consumption of travel photography in the Victorian middle-class home' in Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), pp. 52-68.
[56] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *British Journal of Photography* (July 1, 1863), p. 269.
[57] Information collected from the British Library - OIOC website (June 2006).

Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas' Bourne refers to places visited by European tourists and it seems that the firm sold pictures to this growing tourist market. Besides the success of Bourne's Himalayan landscapes, the sceneries he photographed throughout his long trips around India stirred British viewers to become more interested in Indian culture, and thus created a commercial demand. Bourne made varied images in order to accommodate, for commercial reasons, his public; accordingly rather than only compiling a selection of his work, which he did nonetheless in the firm's production of albums, he offered his public the option of selecting the full complement of views and portraits. This meant that the viewer had the opportunity to purchase not only single images, but distinct series of related pictures of a specific theme or location.[58] Bourne's photographs were first displayed through the *British Journal of Photography* and then throughout other major exhibitions mainly in Europe such as in London, Paris and Dublin.[59] As Roger Taylor has pointed out photographic exhibitions were "of crucial importance to both the photographers and the organising body (...), and equally important to the way in which photography was perceived and understood by the general public."[60] His research shows that Bourne's photographs appeared in several major exhibitions such as the 'Exhibition(s) of Photographs and Daguerreotypes' promoted by The Photographic Society [of London] in 1860, 1861 and 1863, and the 'International Exhibition of 1862' promoted by Her Majesty's Commissioners.

The firm had also printers and publishers in Europe. One of the principal publishers they worked with was MARION & CO., 22 & 23, Soho Square, London, who was also acting as their London Agents. MARION was a well-known publisher in London and Paris; they specialised in the printing of photographs as well as carte-de-visites and cabinet cards (from 1859 to 1908). It is through this publisher that Bourne & Shepherd's firm sold their albums of photographs but also some publications they made in association with other photographers and writers. 'Oriental Albums' including a range of photographs from different horizons had a considerable success. Also the firm's collaboration with well-known historians and archaeologists was an important marketing promotion; for instance *Photographs Of*

[58] Gary D. Sampson, *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India*, p.70.
[59] For instance Bourne's work was highlighted in 'Dublin Exhibition, Report of the Jury, and the List of Awards', *PJ* 10 (October 16, 1865), 168-169.
[60] *Photographic Exhibitions in Britain 1839 – 1865*, http://vads.ahds.ac.uk/collections/PEIB.html (March 2006), funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board.

the Architecture and Scenery In Gujarat and Rajputana (1874) had attached an "Historical and Descriptive Letterpress by James Burgess,[61] F. R. G. S., M. R. A. S., Editor of "The Indian Antiquary", Author of "The Rock-Temples of Elephanta," "The Temples of Satrunjaya," Etc.", and it was advertised that "Early application should be made for the few remaining Copies of this valuable work."[62] It is clear that Bourne had a large public and buyers although it is extremely difficult to establish details concerning specific buyers.[63] Another factor which contributed to expand Bourne & Shepherd's market in Britain was the important order made by the South Kensington Museum in London (later the Victoria and Albert Museum).[64] After having sent their 1867 catalogue to the museum, the latter commissioned all the 1666 views listed.[65] As a result Bourne & Shepherd's production was visible to all visitors of the museum, and it can therefore be affirmed that Bourne's success and influence reached a broad spectrum of the Victorian social classes.

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[61] James Burgess was an active archaeologist in India from the 1860s to the 1880s. He published several of his researches on temples and caves. He also collaborated with the famous Scottish writer on architecture, James Fergusson. They worked together in the 1870s-1880s on Indian Architecture.

[62] This is from an advertisement found on the last page of the Album *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal.*

[63] Albums and loose photographs conserved by private and national – such as the OIOC – collectors were often bought to already second or third-hand owners, which gives thus an extreme difficulty to track the original owners.

[64] Rhodes stresses "Bourne's work was considered to be artistic photography and was generally viewed at exhibitions or bought by interested people who framed and hung the images at home." In *Crown & Camera, Photographs of Colonial India.* This was an exhibition which took place from the 4th September 2004 to 30th January 2005 at the National Gallery of Victoria (Melbourne). This exhibition focused on British photographers in India in the 1860s and 1870s.

[65] Mark Haworth-Booth (ed.), *The Golden Age of British Photography 1839-1900* (New York: Aperture, 1984), p.105. Amongst the purchases were Encamping Ground, Scinde Valley; Evening on the Mountains, View from below the Manirung Pass; Fathepur Sikri, the Great Gate, Distant view from the Southeast.

Chapter Three: Picture categories and groups depicted

There is a rich archive of catalogues exhibiting Bourne's and his firm's representation of Indian natives in the second half of the nineteenth century. Although it appears from his writings that Bourne was unimpressed by Indian people, he regularly represented them. Bourne's photographic work depicting Indians can be divided into categories: portraits, genre and topography. Some photographs feature people centrally; others include people incidentally within landscapes. This chapter explores the problem of categorising photographs in which Indian people are represented, raising the question of the specificities of which groups of 'natives' are portrayed.[1]

This chapter has been structured to examine Bourne's use of the specific generic conventions of portraiture, genre and topography in relation to the categorisation of *types* of Indians, which, as we have seen, was one on the principal concerns of mid-Victorian British imperial culture. The problem of analysing Bourne's work centres on the relationship between visual conventions and the discursive norms within which the complexity of Indian culture was understood. As we will also see in the following chapter, Bourne's deployment of visual conventions plays on these discourses. Initially the chapter will summarise the contents of the categories within which Bourne's photographs function, and make some general observations about the relationship between ideology and aesthetics. These will also be explored further in the following chapters. In this chapter we will also look at the way the complexities of imperial discourse at this time relate to the literary and pictorial rhetorics deployed by Bourne.

[1] The inventory of places visited and trips made by Bourne as well as the maps showing them can be found in the appendix section.

Portraits, scenes and topographical photographs

This study concentrates on the pictures Bourne took when he was in India in the 1860s. However, besides this body of personal work, there was also the work of the firm Bourne & Shepherd, which produced a wide range of portrait photographs in the 1860s. Some photographs have been categorised by the British Library as simply 'Bourne & Shepherd' and this thesis generally retains the same categorisation. Nevertheless it seems that several of these pictures might have been from Bourne's own production and categorised under the firm's name for commercial purposes (for instance, Photo 1.5.1., Photo 1.5.12., Photo 1.5.18., Photo 1.5.19.). For that reason, this chapter also considers the whole firm's photographic production, but not many of the pictures taken beyond the 1870s since by that time Bourne had left India and the business.[2]

The portraits

Photographs can be divided into those that were published as his personal productions and those that were part of collections published by Bourne & Shepherd.

Personal photographs

Bourne's personal photographs were circulated in a context supported by his own writings. However, landscape photographs fascinated him – in his publications he asserts that they are an act of homage to "Him [God] who formed such stupendous works."[3] Bourne's descriptions of the native Indian subjects of his portraits were, in contrast, generally unflattering. Rare positive descriptions include the grudging comment that women from Kulu were "not at all a bad-looking race of people, and their dress [was] picturesque."[4] But mostly he emphasises the ugliness and dirtiness of the people, "the natives of Dunkar were the dirtiest we had yet seen."[5] Despite such assertions, Bourne emphasises his desire to create as comprehensive a

[2] All these photographs have been catalogued in vol. II.
[3] Samuel Bourne, 'Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas', *BJP,* XI, 1864, p.69.
[4] Samuel Bourne, 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas', *BJP,* XVI, 1869, p.580.
[5] Ibid., XVII, 1870, p.16.

documentation of peoples as possible. Referring to one tribe, he asserts "I regret that I did not get a group of the people, but they fight shy of Europeans, and it is difficult to get them to sit."[6]

Bourne was not primarily a portrait photographer but he made remarkable group portrait photographs that were undoubtedly influential and widely reproduced. Why did his portraits have such a success? Was it because from the beginning of photography "neither landscape, nor still life, nor the variety of scientific practice acquired quite the aura of magic that the portrait photograph did"[7], or was it the Victorian fascination with the Indian native culture and identity? What is in no doubt however is that these photographs were a great commercial success. Indeed *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., photo 1.1.3.), *Toda mund, village and Todas* (photo 1.1.4.), *Group of Bhooteas, Darjeeling* (photo 1.1.5.), *Group of Bhooteas and Nepalese* (photo 1.1.6.), *Banian Tree in Barrackpore Park, Interior View [Calcutta]* (photo 1.1.13.), *Group of natives Thugs* (photo 1.2.1.), and *Hill coolies* (photo 1.2.2.) had a notable success after they were exhibited by The Bengal Photographic Society,[8] and through the *British Journal of Photography*, (perhaps also at the Paris and Dublin Exhibitions).[9] They were developed several times from negatives in order to be included in several different albums and were sold through publishers such as "Messrs. Marion and Co., of Soho-square, who are the agents for their publication in England."[10] Bourne's choice of the people he portrayed was obviously an important part of the success. His style was also probably significant. In the majority of his portraits he managed to avoid the studio effect of early photographs in which "the appearance of truth" was maintained by using a plain background and asking the sitter to "look directly into the camera".[11] This 'forensic' rhetoric of photographic truth was replaced by an alternative strategy, which was the implicit origin of the later concept of the "candid" camera, which claims to record unselfconscious experience *en passant*,

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[6] Ibid., XVI, 1869, p.629.
[7] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2002), p.61.
[8] Samuel Bourne, 'Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas', *BJP,* XI, 1864, p.69.
[9] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIV, 1867, p.64; and Worswick and Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911* (London, 1976), p.10.
[10] Samuel Bourne, 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas', *BJP,* XVII, 1870, p.150.
[11] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History*, p.74.

rather than to scientifically isolate visual facts. Bourne's work operates between these two formats. With the exception of *Group of natives Thugs* (photo 1.2.1.) and *Hill coolies* (photo 1.2.2.), Bourne tried to avoid plain backgrounds by photographing the Indian natives where they were living. The best example of this is *Toda mund, village and Todas* (photo 1.1.4.). This group of Todas was pictured in their village in the Nilgiri Hills in front of their houses (or temple). Even a decade after Bourne's picture of the Todas, other photographers continued to take the portraits in the old 'forensic' way. A.T.W. Penn who photographed a series of images of the tribe in the 1870s – including the well-known *Toda family, Nilgiri Hills* (Photo 5.32.) in which the father stands rigidly while the mother and the daughter are seated with no background – was not an exception to the rule. Nevertheless, most of the time Bourne did not depart from the habit of asking his subjects to look straight at the camera, although he attempted to break this routine either by asking a few of them to look somewhere else or at each other, more or less 'naturally' – see *Banian Tree in Barrackpore Park, Interior View [Calcutta]* (photo 1.1.13.), *Group of natives Thugs* (photo 1.2.1.) and *Group of Bhooteas and Nepalese* (photo 1.1.6.); or at least he asked them not to position themselves straight to the camera.

By the time he took these photographs Bourne had already established himself in India. Indeed, most of his portraits were produced several years after his arrival in the country. For example *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., photo 1.1.3.) was taken in 1865,[12] and *Toda mund, village and Todas* (photo 1.1.4.)) in 1869. By this time he was well acquainted with the specificities of the country and knew how to use the light and the position of the camera as tools in order to create distinctiveness and harmony in the pictures. In *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1.), for instance, Bourne uses the intense Indian summer sunlight and the shadow of trees in the foreground, leaving the Kashmiri women in the bright but shaded building-wall. This dappled lighting gives the sensation of warmth and peace. The impression of poise, which is recurrent in

[12] With the aim of knowing when these photographs were taken, one can use Bourne's articles where he related his three-four months trip to Kashmir in the *BJP* ('Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII-XIV, 1866-67): at the beginning (XIII, October 1866, p.474) of his narration he specified that the "greater part of it has been written twelve months", and at the end of it (XIV, February 1867, p. 64) he wrote "only nine days to the 25th December. One can therefore deduce that the pictures were taken between September and December 1865.

Bourne's work, is perfectly realised within this photograph; he kept enough distance in order to be able to photograph a low-angle shot which sets the group in the middle of the picture, thus focusing the viewer's gaze straight on the group. Bourne often employed this technique (also see *Group of natives Thugs* (photo 1.2.1.)) which became a sort of 'signature'. In a variation, in *Toda mund, village and Todas* (photo 1.1.4.), he deploys a high-angle shot – probably from a rocky outcrop to view – and it consequently provides an ample panoramic view of both the group and the place where they were living, thus giving the impression of wide open space.[13]

Bourne & Shepherd portraits

The photographs circulated by Bourne & Shepherd were not all taken by Bourne himself (the whole group of pictures classified 1.3., 1.4., 1.5. and 1.6.). But when one looks closer at the firm's albums[14] either from the 1860s or 1870s, or even afterwards, it clearly appears that Bourne's photographs were mixed with the firm's portraits. For example, the album published in 1876 titled *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* although it was ostensibly made for the visit of the Prince of Wales in India, was in practice a range of samples of the firm's best pictures which included Bourne's portraits and views along with the firm's portraits. This link between Bourne's own photographs and his firm's work thus requires the study of both picture groups, as they also engage a wider range of concerns. The firm's photographs constitute two types: clients' portraits and portraits of lower-class natives. The first category nearly exclusively regroups dignitaries – such as maharajas, rajas and begums – who wanted to be photographed at their own request, and then several copies were also made for the creation of albums. The second category is a depiction of lower-class Indian natives who were asked to sit for the purpose of illustrating Indian cultural specificities, occupations and jobs; these pictures were composed with the aim of showing the 'particularities' of Indian society. This is an abundant collection of both sorts of portraits which picture the social hierarchy of the Indian population.

[13] The details of these photographs are studied in the following parts of this chapter and also in Chapters four and five.

[14] There is a large collection of Bourne & Shepherd's firm's albums at the British Library, OIOC.

Bourne's own portraits and view functioned as a kind of 'shop window', whereas the firm's portraits appeared to be more like the basic trade of the company.[15]

There is a remarkable difference between Indian clients' portraits and those of ordinary natives. The dignitaries were portrayed in a manner which often mirrored the conventions of English dignitaries photographed in a studio in England. Here the way in which the photograph visually constructs the experience of cultural assimilation would seem to confirm Cannadine's theory on the cultivation of affinities between ruling elites and the projection of 'Englishness' in post-1858 India.[16] The décors were composed of Western furniture (table, book, chair and armchair, carpet, vase, etc.) – see most of the pictures of the category 1.6., and in particular *The Maharajah of Rewah* (photo 1.6.63.), *The Maharajah Tukoji Rao of Indore and Attendant* (photo 1.6.64.), *The Maharajah Sindia of Gwalior* (photo 1.6.65), *Ram Singh, Maharajah of Jaipur* (photo 1.6.67.), *Sir Sayaji Rao, Gaekwar of Baroda* (photo 1.6.68.) – and the background was often a painting of a British landscape or the representation of a palace with classical columns – see *Mandi: Raja of Bijay Sen* (photo 1.6.25.), *Sir Jagajit Singh, Maharaja of Kapurthala* (photo 1.6.69.), *Sir Ranbir Singh, Maharajah of Jind* (photo 1.6.70.). Sometimes even the clothes worn by the models were British, such as the dresses of *Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's Household* (photo 1.6.1.). The best example of the combination of these three elements (furniture, background, and dress) is the several shots taken of *The Begum of Bhopal* (photo 1.4.7., photo 1.4.8., photo 1.6.3. and photo 1.6.4.). The Begum was portrayed repeatedly: in 1869 at the age of thirty-one, and also in the 1870s, particularly after 1872 when she was decorated Knight Commander. The photographs of the Begum seem to have been especially popular. The reason may be that she and her mother were noted for their high loyalty to the British Raj but she also epitomised ideals of aristocratic grace that corresponded to contemporary images of European nobility, while retaining some 'exotic' characteristics of an Indian woman. This 'British Indianness' is highlighted by the 'look-alike' British studio, the fact she is wearing her ceremonial robe and decoration as a Knight

[15] Oliver Mathews has made a list of the main photographers and firms around the world which were engaged with Carte-de-Visit and Cabinet Portrait photography between 1854 and 1914, Bourne & Shepherd's firm is amongst this list. See Oliver Mathews, *Album of Carte-de-Visite and Cabinet Photographs, 1854-1914* (London: Reedminster Publications Ltd, 1974), p.88.

[16] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

Commander of the most exalted Order of the Star of India.[17] These portraits were used for historical albums.[18] However, despite their grandeur in the photographs, the Princes of India had very little power, and the written discourses concerning them were extremely ambivalent, as we shall see.

The scenes (views and genre)

While portraits specifically focus on the people themselves, Bourne's landscape and genre images deal with the environment within which the people lived, and the depiction of the way they lived. Bourne emphasises in his writings his choreographing of these scenes: in 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts' he writes that,

> The only difficulty I had generally to contend with was the obstinacy of the natives when I wanted to introduce them into my pictures. By no amount of talking and acting could I get them to stand or sit in an easy, natural attitude. Their idea of giving life to a picture was to stand bolt upright, with their arms down as stiff as pokers, their chin turned up as if they were standing to have their throats cut; (...)[19]

Bourne generally succeeds in avoiding these stiff postures, perhaps because the scenes tend not to over-emphasise the people themselves. They thus represent a more appreciable reality about Indian natives at that time. These genre photographs can be divided between attempts to record 'authentic' traditional Indian life and those which depict the distinct features of the British Raj. Nevertheless, these divisions are not absolute, as one can find particularities from both types in a single image.

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[17] Cannadine has explained that three new orders of chivalry were developed in the Indian Empire, the Order of the Star of India being one of them. He highlights the comparison between the photography of Lord Curzon in the early 1900s with another one from the Begum in the 1890s. Actually, the portrait of the Begum is one produced by Bourne & Shepherd's firm in the 1870s – see *Shah Jehan Begum, Begum of Bhopal* (Photo 1.6.4.). David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire*, pp.88-94.

[18] See *the Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal.*

[19] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIV, 1867, p.39.

The 'authentic' traditional Indian scenes

The 'authentic' traditional Indian scene photographs specifically deal with Indian rural life, cities, and specific events and places which are involved in the Indian culture such as religious rituals. These photographs are far more fluid than comparable works by Bourne's contemporaries. For instance, Frederick Fiebig's *Grain bazaar on the Chitpore Road, Calcutta* (1850, Photo 5.33.) shows a bazaar where there is no movement, no life; Clarence Comyn Taylor's *The Durbar Square at Patan, Nepal, from the south* (1863-65, Photo 5.34.) shows what resembles a rigid studio family portrait within an otherwise deserted square. With Bourne's scene pictures – above all these traditional Indian scenes – one is surprised by their elegance and informality. The group of pictures which can be called *Bengali scenes* [*Rustic Life in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.7., Photo 2.1.8., Photo 2.1.9., Photo 2.1.10., Photo 2.1.11.)] are representative of this informal way of depicting people. Indian people walk around without being concerned too much with the camera (*Rustic Life in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.10.)), or adopting poses which suggest they are absorbed by their labours (*Rustic Life in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.7.)). Though Bourne's own words tell us that these were posed, he successfully conveys an air of 'naturalness'. The man at the centre-right of the photograph (*Rustic Life in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.7.)) who looks at the camera while the other individuals do not, draws our attention and the whole world of this scene becomes focused on him. This sense of the simultaneous presence and absence of the camera generates an immediacy and intensity.[20] Though common today, this journalistic device was rare in Bourne's day. However, as I will discuss below (chapter five), although Bourne's *Rustic Life in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.7.) appears to portray the life of the Indian natives, its real subject might in fact be the white man and his significance: the intrusion of the Western world into the Indian world.

Some other photographs illustrate rituals and specific practices [*"Vishnu Pad" and Other Temples near the Burning Ghat* (Photo 2.1.18.), *Gate to the Lucknow Bazaar* (Photo 2.1.19.), *The Great Mosque of Arungzebe, and Adjoining Ghats* (Photo 2.1.21.), *Mussocks for Crossing the Beas below Bajoura* (Photo 2.1.23.), *Navigating the Suttej on Mussocks* (Photo 2.1.27.)]. These pictures are very detailed

[20] See for instance famous journalistic mid and late twentieth-century photographs such as Robert Doisneau's *L'accordéoniste de la rue Mouffetard* (Paris, 1951), Garry Winogrand's *American Legion Convention* (Dallas, Texas, 1964), John Paul Filo's *Untitled* (Kent State: girl screaming over dead body, 1970), and Huynh Cong (Nick) Ut's *Children Fleeing a Napalm Strike* (1972).

and focus on the specificity and individuality of the scene. Once again they are not just purely ethnographical. For instance, *"Vishnu Pad" and Other Temples near the Burning Ghat* (Photo 2.1.18.) thoroughly expresses the lively atmosphere of the Holy-city Benares (Varanasi) through the portrayal of the crowd. The point of view, which shows very little of the Ganges, highlights the geometrical forms of the angular temples and the contrasting curviness of the umbrellas. The picture also gives the idea of a 'bed' of human beings, who almost resemble ants, contrasting with the imposing monuments, which look as if they were reaching the sky. The *Mussocks for Crossing the Beas below Bajoura* (Photo 2.1.23.) gives the impression of men dancing or carrying on their backs a strange sort of animal. These are 'Mussocks': large animal skin bags which were used as inflatables to assist in swimming across the Ganges. Rather than photographing just one of these 'mussocks', Bourne has preferred to take a picture of the whole scene. Therefore the person who observes the photograph might first see a strange custom before understanding the real meaning of the 'mussocks', which was in all likelihood Bourne's first impression too as he confessed himself in an article: "my attention was attracted by four men (...) with strange-looking things like buffaloes on their backs".[21]

Indian natives under the British Raj

Bourne also took several pictures of cities in India. The biggest, such as Calcutta and Delhi, and the ones where the British made their home, such as Simla and Darjeeling, had a European type of architecture. For some of them, especially Simla located in the Himalayas, it could have even been difficult to discern if they were European or Indian cities. Bourne's photographs play with this ambiguity; here they tend to assimilate India in terms of 'home' territory rather than creating the idea of

[21] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII, 1866, p.559: "Seeing neither bridge nor boat, I began to wonder how I was to get across, when my attention was attracted by four men racing down the hill towards me with strange-looking things like buffaloes on their backs. When they came up I found they were in reality inflated buffalo skins, by means of which I was to cross the river. I sent some of the coolies across first, to see how the thing was to work, and to ascertain that it was safe. In the meantime I took a very good photograph of them in the act of crossing, as a subject of this sort was "an opportunity rarely to be met with." Then, kneeling on the inflated "mussock," astride the man's back, I was paddled by means of his hands and legs safely across." The photograph that Bourne is referring to is probably *Navigating the Suttej on Mussocks* (Photo 2.1.27.).

difference.[22] The photographs also show the lives of the Indian natives under their British rulers, and emphasise the Victorian idea of the difference between 'civilised' and 'uncivilised'. Photographs such as *Old Court House Street, Calcutta* (Photo 2.1.1.) highlight the gap between both societies. On this picture one notices that from the left, and covering the whole background, there are the massive British buildings, and opposite them on the right there is a British park, finally in the centre there are Indian people as though 'crushed' between these two British entities. The Indians are small due to a high-angle shot, and are either doing nothing or riding old-fashioned cow-drawn carts; while the British are using European 'modern' horse-drawn coaches. When one looks at some details, the contrast is striking between old-fashioned cow-drawn carts and the brand new European style street lamp. This image thus combines and also divides Indian tradition and British modernity.

If one compares *Old Court House Street looking north [Calcutta]* (Photo 2.1.4.) with *Street view in Tanjore showing three small pagodas [gopuras]* (Photo 2.1.2.), a remarkable similitude, while the dissimilarity of both scenes could appear obvious, emerges. The position of the camera was the same for both photographs – from the left of the streets – thus focusing mainly on the range of buildings on the right-hand side. These two pictures could be companion pieces. Indeed, *Old Court House Street looking north [Calcutta]* (Photo 2.1.4.) shows the British-style of life, again emphasising horse-drawn coaches, but also high buildings and a church at the end of the road (in the middle-left), all implying a lively city-life. *Street view in Tanjore showing three small pagodas [gopuras]* (Photo 2.1.2.) depicts Hindu temples alongside small and old Indian houses, the street is nearly empty. The picture of this street implies that this Indian town was traditional to the point of inertia. As we shall see, this imagery of Hindu temples can be read in the context of contemporary debate about Indian religious practices, to which Bourne contributed in his commentaries.

[22] In this case, these photographs justify Cannadine's theory of assimilation rather than Metcalf's system of difference. See David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* and Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj*.

The topographical pictures

'Topographical pictures' is used here to label Bourne's group of photographs which are not specifically focused on photographing Indian people: that is to say a collection of pictures mainly showing architecture, landscape panoramas and so on. Nevertheless these photographs add another dimension to the topic, since although Bourne often included one or a few Indian people, they most typically draw on the aesthetic of the romantic and picturesque. On the whole, this group of pictures can be divided into two categories: ones dealing with relics of historical events and ones that can be regarded as purely picturesque.

Historical events

Bourne recorded many monuments honouring the memory of British imperial personalities. Examples include *Lord Hardinge's Statue and the Ochterlony Monument, Calcutta* (Photo 3.1.5.), *The Bentick Statue and Government House, Calcutta* (Photo 3.1.6.), *Statue of Sir William Peel in the Eden Gardens, Calcutta* (Photo 3.1.7.), and *Statue of the Queen, Bombay* (Photo 3.2.5.); and the memory of events which affected the British such as *Memorial Garden, Cawnpore* (Photo 3.1.4.), *The Well, Cawnpore* (Photo 3.1.12.), and *The Memorial Well, Seen through Trees from the South [Kanpur]* (Photo 3.1.83.). All of these pictures deal with British history in India at the time of the East India Company, but particularly with the Indian Mutiny. Bourne's Cawnpore pictures both highlight the massacre resulting from the Mutiny, the memory of its 'barbarity', and also the victory of the British and the splendour of their civilisation, now imposed in physical form on the Indian population. Many specifically 'imperialistic' elements and details can be found in these photographs; sometimes the purpose is obvious such as *Statue of the Queen, Bombay* (Photo 3.2.5.) and *Memorial Garden, Cawnpore* (Photo 3.1.4.). *Statue of the Queen, Bombay* (Photo 3.2.5.) which represents a colossal and imposing Queen Victoria in the middle of a bare square. The monument is in the neo-Gothic style and includes Christian symbolism, representing the 'grandeur' of Western civilisation and the British Empire. What is interesting about this photograph is the way it was shot. The statue corresponds to two-thirds of the picture height. It is in the centre of the picture, and due to the low-angle shot, most of its core is situated in the sky, which isolates it from the other motifs in the

photograph. The monument is protected by a barrier, so Indian people cannot get close to the statue. This encourages the impression of an unreachable Queen – and from a wider point of view an unassailable British Empire. However we also see six Indian people who look up at the statue; they are small in comparison with the monument. This illustrates the 'imperialistic' ethos of so many of these photographs and the absorption of a submissive Indian populace into the picturesque aesthetic. *Memorial Garden, Cawnpore* (Photo 3.1.4.) records the site of the 1857 massacre. The Memorial and the Well were built in order to commemorate the British victims. This photograph shows the Memorial in the background and a garden with no one except three Indian natives in the foreground centre. Again the photograph represents the victory of the British. The three Indians represent the present – as they are situated in the foreground of the photograph. They are surrounded by the well-organised strict disposition of the trees, furthermore their postures are also controlled to the point of being geometrical, since two of them are seated and the third one is standing up between the two; aesthetically, therefore we have an image that encodes the idea of organised British control over the Indian natives.

The natives as a picturesque element

Many of Bourne's photographs deal with architecture, landscape, and technology, such as bridges. These too often have an imperialist significance, marking systems of governmental and spatial rationality and suggesting the process of movement and expansion into new territory. Examples include *Chandni Chawk, Delhi* (Photo 2.1.5.), *Low Tide, Customs House Ghat, Calcutta* (Photo 2.1.14) and *Panoramic view from Chowringhee Road* (Photo 3.1.9.).[23] Typically, these are nearly bare of human figures, yet usually there is a minimal human presence. Often just one Indian man was represented on the photograph. While this may be intended to clarify scale for the viewer, this also often creates a certain 'romantic' dimension to the picture, since the character is habitually portrayed as a 'lonely human soul' within the grandeur of the setting. The effect is often difficult to characterise in political terms, but draws its power from the poetic tradition of the picturesque, which often plays on the isolation and transience of humanity in relation to powerful natural and historical forces. By the mid nineteenth century it was commonly used in wood-

[23] It also appears that Bourne was interested in photographing panoramic views of 'technologised' space that imply more the idea of expansion.

engraved illustrations to newspapers depicting events in India and other parts of the empire. It was also increasingly redeployed to depict people observing new constructions both at home and abroad. For instance, the landscape photograph named *On the Dal Canal, Srinagar* (Photo 3.1.20.) depicts a calm canal surrounded by trees. The scenery is pleasant but what makes it even more appreciable is the Indian man sitting on the foreground left bank. One's glance immediately notices him, and then one wonders why he is there, about what he is thinking, what his story is, and so on.[24]

Ideology and aesthetics

Having explored the generic conventions used by Bourne we will now look at how these relate to the more specific problem of how these draw on and intervene into the ideological debates of the era about the nature of Indian and imperial culture. We have seen how Bourne's visual language includes elements that work within the broadly 'humanist' aesthetic implicit in both the picturesque and portraiture. Nevertheless the universalist implications of these features are profoundly inflected by imperial assumptions, aspirations and values. Central to these are issues of religion and social structure.

Religion, the caste system and socio-professional groups

During the nineteenth century interpretations of religious differences around the world were evolving dramatically, and India was one of the central locations in which new attitudes were developing. The Vedic scriptures had been identified as the earliest source of the Indo-European languages, linking the Greek, Roman and other European religions to these Indian texts. Max Müller, the foremost theorist of comparative religion, was using the Vedas as the model for a general theory of the origin of religion. The Vedantic ideas of Ram Mohun Roy were seen as consistent with Unitarianism and Deism, leading to aspirations to link liberal Western religious ideas with reformed Hinduism. Despite this, the popular evangelical view of

[24] These 'romantic' elements are studied with more care in Chapter five.

Hinduism was still the dominant one within Britain, where tales of Hindu polytheism fitted neatly with traditional Biblical stories of pagan immorality. It also repeated Protestant contempt for Catholicism, which stressed image-worship and superstition.

Narratives centred on 'degraded' Hindu festivals such as the Vaishnavite tradition of Jagganath (popularly known as 'Juggernaut') at which fanatical devotees were supposed to crush themselves to death. The 'hideousness', noise, chaos and repulsiveness of the images and events was a repeated cliché in commentary.[25] Typical are the comments of E. H. Nolan in the *History of the British Empire of India* (c.1860): "in war or peace, in the drama or the tale, in politics and in private life, the gods, in all their absurdities of character and alleged operations, are introduced. An element of perverted devotion runs through all the social as well as individual being of India. The most impure and silly creatures of the imagination were adored, and a social existence attributed to the gods, which, in proportion as man admired, he must become intellectually and morally degraded." [26]

Bourne did not depict dramatic festivals, but drew in his writings on this language and the familiar Pauline image of the Christian missionary explaining the true faith to benighted heathens. Thus he describes his attempt to explain the 'irrationality' of Hindu beliefs to a Pandit performing *puja*:

> While engaged in these operations I observed that preparations were being made for the morning religious ceremony. I was not permitted to go inside, but could see a hideous wooden monster in a little dark chamber at the further end, and an old man, who, I suppose, was high priest, in the act of presenting this sublime deity with his morning repast. This consisted of some compound of "ghee" (clarified butter), sweetmeats, and chupatties, not a particularity tempting dish for beings of less dignity than gods. This having been set before his august majesty the little door of his chamber was closed, and immediately there was set up a hideous clamour of bells and drums and tinkling of pot lids, or something very much like them, which continued for about a quarter of an hour, till the god was supposed to have partaken of sufficient of his delicious food. The priest then reopened the door, and, after bowing very low to the god, brought out the untouched food, which was forthwith carried to his own house, where I doubt not it would meet with a different fate. When the ceremony was over I ventured to intimate to the priest that the god had apparently not liked

[25] See for example The New York Times, *Affairs in India. The Great Juggernaut Saturnalia. The Sacrifice of Human Victims*, August 1864, which refers to the statue of Krishna as a "little ugly wooden statue [who had] a canopy over his head to keep his blessed brains from adding in the sun."
[26] E. H. Nolan, *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East*, two volumes (London: James S. Virtue, c.1860), vol. I, p.465.

> his food, as he had not touched it. He replied that he had eaten a little of it, but, that being a god, he did not want a great deal. I then tried to show him the absurdity of all his devotions; that his god was a senseless block which could neither eat, drink, speak, or render him any assistance; that there was but one God in the wide universe, which was so unlike his own, and so unlike the race of men, that we could not see Him; that He wanted no food, but lived for ever in heavens, and required all men to worship Him. He listened attentively, and said that He might be a very good sort of God in His way but was inferior to his own, so I left him only more confirmed in the grossness of his own belief.[27]

Bourne here repeats the standard evangelical language, ascribing 'hideousness' to the images and the noise and unreasoning superstition to the ceremony itself, along with the repeated refrain that the Pandit (or 'high priest' as he calls him) can not engage with Bourne's own 'rational' discourse.

This discourse on the 'madness' of Hindu festivals throws up imagery of chaos and disorder, which contrasts markedly with the portrayal of the monotheist religions in India, Sikhism and Islam, both of which were more prominent in the north of the country. Bourne's expeditions took him into the territories of these faiths. Western commentary on the variety of faiths in India stressed the notion that the supposedly 'higher' monotheistic tradition existed alongside the polytheism of popular Hinduism and the animism of the so-called tribal groups, who lived outside the structure of the caste system. Thus there was a kind of *condensation* of the whole history of religion within India, in which the 'orderliness' of both caste (in Hinduism) and monotheistic belief (Sikhism and Islam) was constantly threatened by forces of chaos and madness.

Caste, though notionally a purely Hindu concept regulated the entire Indian society, since non-Hindus were defined as their own 'caste' categories, influencing the composition of socio-professional groups. The traditional Hindu model divided the social structure into four 'varnas', symbolically defined as the head, arms, torso and legs of the social body: Brahmins (priests/scholars), Kshatriyas (warriors/leaders) Vaishyas (tradesmen/professionals) and Shudras (workers).[28] The Dalits (untouchables), who are the lowest category, are not likened to any symbol; they are

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[27] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII, 1866, p.475.

[28] Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age,* pp. 8-9.

an underclass outside the 'body', consequently out of the system. However the varna system, as a class model of caste, was complicated by the concept of 'jati', or birth groups, which functions more like a clan identity, and may include non-Hindu groups, including the so-called 'tribes', or socially marginal indigenous communities.[29]

This traditional system was different from the otherwise comparable rigidity of the Western class system because of the Christian principle that human beings are equal before God and the more recent liberal ideology of equality before the law. The caste system is, in theory, fixed while the class system – also in theory – is not. However, many similarities could be found between the Indian caste system and the Victorian class system, especially the common ascription of superior 'breeding' to the upper classes, who were thus claimed to carry a superior 'virtue'; its ideology was that the ones who were at the top of the social 'pyramid' were a higher form of human than the lower orders. Even the language of social dislocation potentially generating chaos paralleled the portrayal of India, and often drew its metaphors from it.[30]

Religion was an important part of Bourne's life as a 'typical' middle-class Victorian. Sampson's thesis highlights the fact that Bourne was a Unitarian: "According to an unpublished obituary written by an anonymous member of the High Pavement Chapel, the Unitarian church attended by Bourne (Nottingham County Council Library), "Mr. Bourne's family were churchmen, and he himself was brought up in the teachings of a rigid orthodoxy. He always took, however, a deep interest in religious and theological problems, devoting himself, even when quite a young man, to their considerations, and long he ere settled in Nottingham he had severed his connection with the Church. By thought and study he became a Unitarian and remained one by sincere conviction to the close of his life." The

[29] Ibid.

[30] See for example this report on debates about extending the ballot: "It was a most alarming speech, picturing to us a "Juggernaut," hideous and horrible, sitting in some secret mysterious cave armed with almost immortal power, and exacting bloody sacrifice of human beings from the devotees. The impression sought to be conveyed was that the social system was undermined, that the powder was all ready, and that in one moment we might all be blown into the air." "Our London Letter" *The Norfolk News*. April 20, 1872. See also David Hillman & Carla Mazzio, *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (London: Routledge, 1997), p.228 for a discussion of descriptions of the 'hideous self-mutilators' and 'filthy, wounded, defiled' bodies of Indian Vaishnavites.

implication was that he gave up the Anglican Church experience for Unitarianism sometime before his embarkation for India in 1862."[31]

Bourne's Unitarianism clearly influenced his judgement regarding the natives, emphasising an extreme distinction between 'rational' and 'irrational' beliefs. As we shall see, this informed the way he photographed and portrayed them. Being a Unitarian brings again a duality in Bourne's character. In the nineteenth-century, English Unitarians were often identified as free thinkers and dissenters who believed in progress and rationalism and also in humanism, and this can be said about Bourne. Having rejected the concept of the 'Holy Trinity' (Father, Son, and Holy Spirit) and insisting on the absolute unity of God they also reject all representations of God and 'miraculous' events. Bourne repeatedly described Indian religious practices as 'absurd' and 'grotesque', and he was extremely confident about the strength of his own belief.

It is difficult to be precise about how far Bourne's photographs mirror this theological view and his own literary comments. They clearly participate in the creation of an imperialistic frame around the representation of religious subjects, pointing up the 'absurdity' of Hinduism in particular. Much of the success of Bourne and his firm was built on the depiction of 'exotic' and unusual objects, portraying what constituted the uniqueness of India: both Hinduism and the nation's religious minorities. [32]

The relationship of religious categories to caste is complex. British scholars sought increasingly to analyse the relationship between tribes, castes and racial categories from the 1860s on, as part of a system of governmentality.[33] The Raj stressed that in India everything turned around the caste system, this system being beneficial for social order.[34] Particularly after the Mutiny, the British ensured loyalty from the Princes by seeking both to confirm their own social and cultural identity and to

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[31] Gary D. Sampson, *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara: 1991), p.3.

[32] It is however important to underline that there are no photographs from Bourne or his firm – except certain Indian rulers such as the *Begum of Bhopal* (Photo 1.6.3.) – taken of Muslim people or Christian Indians.

[33] George Campbell's *On the Races of India as traced in existing tribes and castes* (1854) is an early example, but the categorising really began to develop in the 1860s through to the 1900s. e.g. Matthew Atmore Sherring, *Hindu Tribes and Castes: As Represented in Benares, Trubner and co.*, 1872. The process culminated in Herbert Risley's *Tribes and Castes of Bengal* (1891).

[34] See Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, c1990).

absorb them into the British class structure. This paralleling of 'Indian' and 'British' identity at this social level is, as we shall see, visually encoded in Bourne's work. As a consequence of both this policy and administrative structures designed to legally codify caste, the social system became "significantly more castelike than had been the case in earlier times. (...) [Historically] caste as a 'system' was far less uniform and all-pervading than many colonial commentators believed."[35] However, the technological and social innovations of empire also affected and modified caste relations. Western technologies such as the train, the telegraph, etc. modified Indian natives' lives, and consequently the caste system. Bourne's work reflects this paradox, portraying bridges, trains, and other signs of Western progress, but still within the visual codes of the 'modern' picturesque that we have already noted. Typically the lower caste locals remain passive presences amid these signs of controlled progress.[36] The photographs depict the 'traditional' Indian people within a 'progressive' British administration, the 'power' of which on the natives is visualised by their absorption but not their active interaction with it. Here the double vision of India as governmental and modernised space of communication and trade as well as a set of romantic and picturesque subjects emphasizes the idea of ambiguity. Subsequently this taste for imagined authentic, exotic and timeless scenes was central to the widespread of a tourist culture based on tradition rather than modernity.

Because of the particularity of the alliance between Bourne & Shepherd, the firm photographed representatives of the whole caste system in its various divisions. Bourne & Shepherd as a firm principally focused on the Princes and the highest castes, while Bourne himself – during his trips around India – photographed a greater body of people including particularly his own servants, villagers, lowest castes, and minorities. In this respect the totality of their production provides a model for mid-Victorian models for the visualisation of the class structure as a whole.

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[35] Susan Bayly, *The New Cambridge History of India IV – 3. Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age* (Cambridge: Cambridge University press, 1999), p.25.

[36] The pictures of the cities show the contrast between Indian natives and British colonists living in the 'modern' kind of cities, such as Calcutta.

The Princes

Bourne & Shepherd's firm photographed most of the chief Princes of India from the late 1860s and the 1870s. Maharajas, Rajas, Nawabs, Begums, etc. came to the firm's studios to be photographically portrayed.[37] Since they were the de facto head of the caste system (though nominally Brahmins were in a higher varna), the Princes could afford to choose the conditions within which they were photographed. Furthermore it was valuable to them appear on one of the newest modern processes in order to demonstrate that they were educated, aware of Western technologies, and powerful enough to be part of it. However, Bourne & Shepherd also marketed these photographs in collections with their own published commentaries. The portraits of Princes typically portrayed them as powerful, elegant, rich, loyal to the Crown, and devotees of the British way of life. What the photographs and the accompanying accounts of the Princes' lives did not reveal was the life of debauchery that was a common feature of the courts. Of course this was also true of western aristocratic portraiture, but in these images the 'official' ideal of the prince worked alongside the Orientalist imagery that was strongly associated with stories of sexual excess. In addition, although most of the Princes photographed by the firm were rulers of the Indian States, which meant that they were not under the direct rule of the British, the reality was different, since the Princes were closely watched by the British Raj or implicitly influenced by the British colonists. The Maharaja of Vizagapatam expressed this feeling of having been dispossessed when he said to William Horne "Your Pax Britannica has robbed me of my hereditary occupation. What is my hereditary occupation? It is fighting."[38] In this respect the Orientalist motif of the 'decadent' ruler mirrored the reality that these rulers were reduced to a largely *decorative* role. Indeed the portraits often show passive, lounging figures. As a result, Bourne & Shepherd's firm work linked to the fantasies of their contemporaries. The power of photography had furthermore a bigger impact than traditional paintings, drawings and written stories since it seemed to show 'the'

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[37] One can name amongst all of them the Maharaja of Benares, the Maharaja of Vizianagram, the Maharaja of Oorcha, the Maharaja of Alwar, the Maharaja of Gwalior, Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur, Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur, Sir Salar Jung, the Maharaja of Udaipur, the Begum of Bhopal, the Maharaja of Jodhpur, the Maharaja of Rewah, the Maharaja of Patiala, the Maharaja of Indore, the Nawab of Bahawalpur, Maharaja Rana Sir Bhaghwant Singh of Dholpur, the Raja of Chamba, and the Guicowar. See appendix *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal.*

[38] Lawrence James, *Raj The Making of British India* (London: Abacus, 1997), p.325.

reality to the British. The photographs of the Princes conveyed the image of 'idealised' romantic royal exotica. As a result, these photographs built and maintained an 'appealing' reflection of these ostensible Indian rulers.

The portrait of *Maharaja Sindia of Gwalior* (Photo 1.6.65.) is a case in point. It shows a Prince in traditional clothes, while also visualising his Western education. His posture is identical to Victorian men, his left arm resting on the arm of the bench seat; all of this is visibly emphasised by the Victorian décor of the studio (carpet, tablecloth, bench seat, and vases with flowers) and his reassuring and wise appearance. His posture gives the impression of calm, his face highlighted by the beard reveals a smart middle-age ruler. Before the Mutiny Gwalior was already a relatively independent state, but supportive of British power. After the rebellion it continued to be a strategically important place for the British Raj in central north India. The maharajas of Gwalior were close friends of several British officers and politicians such as Sir Lepel Griffin (senior political agent in central India in the 1880s) and Lord Curzon (Viceroy in the 1900s). This photograph showing a 'gentle' man is a good example of the construction of the Victorian 'romantic' ideal of Indian Princes. In fact the Maharaja of Gwalior was one of the 'hard-drinking' princes who were a real problem for the officials, as British administrators repeatedly emphasised that they could not be fully trusted. The Maharaja advised Sir Lepel Griffin in 1881 that "he had reduced his drinking by four-fifths and was now down to a bottle of brandy a day, which he believed was a 'fair allowance' for a diabetic."[39] However the text accompanying this picture briefly explains the historical context of Gwalior and its ruler but does not say much about the Maharaja's behaviour and personality apart from that "his conduct was magnificently faithful"[40] toward the British; therefore it consolidated the impression given by the portrait.

The Nawab of Bahawalpur (Photo 1.6.24.) is another example among several portraits of this 'romantic' depiction. Bahawalpur was a buffer territory between India and Afghanistan, nominally independent but heavily influenced by the British. Misgovernment had led to rebellions in the early 1860s, and the Nawab had succeeded as a child in 1866 in the midst of these troubles. This picture shows the

[39] Ibid.

[40] No.82 – The Maharaja of Gwalior in *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (See Appendix G).

very young Nawab in the traditional costume with a visible fragment of a figure at his right who is probably the Intendant. The photograph is bare of any décor, and has been cut in order to leave only the Prince in the medallion-mounted frame. He does not look at the camera and looks sad, implying that the Nawab seems lost in his dreams, a motif derived from traditions of Keepsake portraiture. He also appears to be emphatically wealthy (rich material costume and beautiful jewelleries), and good-looking (long dark curly-hair, well-proportioned face with big eyes) which brings more of 'ideal' features to this 'romantic' portrayal of genteel passivity. *The Nawab of Bahawalpur and suite* (Photo 1.4.3.), which was taken in 1867, just one year after he succeeded to the throne, shows the Nawab with the same costume, arms, and jewelleries, but accompanied by his entourage – one can notice that two of them are European, certainly British. In this picture, the Nawab is in the centre and is nearly the only one looking straight at the camera; one's glance hence focuses on him, which illustrates that this child is powerful and determined. Each of these two portraits implied that this rich, beautiful and tender child would become a 'magnificent' prince, while also suggesting vulnerability. Nonetheless, just a few years after this portrait was taken "European women of bad character hung around the court of the Nawab of Bahawalpur who, in defiance of his [Muslim] faith, consumed large amounts of alcohol as well as chloral and opium."[41] Needless to say, while paintings of white (Circassian) sex-slaves in Muslim harems were a familiar subject in art and literature, no such photographic representations of racial and religious transgression are to be found in Bourne & Shepherd's *oeuvre.*[42] Evidently, not all of the Princes were in fact 'debauched', a few of them were as noble as the portraits implied. Certainly the best example of them is *The Begum of Bhopal* (photo 1.6.3.), to be discussed in more detail later.

Priests, soldiers, bankers, merchants, and workers

The following groups belonged to a wide range of castes – for the pictures of the priests, bankers, merchants, and workers see nearly all the pictures categorised from Photo 1.5.2. to Photo 1.5.12., Photo 1.6.36. to Photo 1.6.53., Photo 1.3.2., Photo 1.4.4. to Photo 1.4.6., and for the pictures of the soldiers see Photo 1.3.3., Photo

[41] Lawrence James, *Raj The Making of British India*, p.325.

[42] For the imagery of racial mixture in harem culture see Joan Del Plato, *Multiple Wives, Multiple Pleasures: Representing the Harem, 1800-1875* (Madison and Teaneck, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2002).

1.3.5., Photo 1.4.2. Some of these castes were wealthy enough to choose to be portrayed, and then copies were made for albums. The other castes were usually asked to pose for the photographer who wanted to make 'ethnographical' albums. However the majority of the latter such photographs excluded any décor or setting, functioning to record 'types'; maybe this is why they are not the most memorable portraits from the firm.[43] A few of them such as *Sikh Courtiers, Bharatpur* (Photo 1.4.6.) which depicted dignitaries, adopted a similar approach as with the Princes. Photographs of these groups were, however, rather numerous by the end of the nineteenth century, and were of interest as records of Indian socio-professional groups. They can be compared with a wide range of pictures from other photographers such as William Johnson and William Henderson who in the 1850s made a series of prints entitled *Costumes and Characters of Western India*, ranging from individual portraits of considerable power to 'genre' groups of Indian types posed with the tools of their trades.[44] In this respect Bourne & Shepherd's work in this area is not distinguishable from other photographers. It is noticeable that no photographs were taken of the Indian workers employed by the British in public works such as constructing modern means of communication.

Coolies and Servants

Several photographs of coolies and servants were taken by Bourne and his firm; additionally, since some of them accompanied Bourne during his different trips in Himalayas and around India, the photographer wrote a lot about them in the articles he sent to the *British Journal of Photography*. The word 'coolie' had different meanings; it generally indicated a labourer (ordinarily working in the hills), who was considered 'aboriginal': a term used to refer to populations that were typically socially marginal and which linked to racial theories of Indian history which will be explored later. Two kinds of coolies could mainly be distinguished in Bourne & Shepherd's work, the ones working in the fields such as in Assam and Darjeeling tea-gardens, and the ones carrying loads, for instance from the plain villages to the hill villages and also for traveller's expeditions. Bourne's own pictures are about the second type of coolies. When the photographer went on his several trips to the

[43] These portraits have much in common with the pictures collected in the *People of India*.
[44] John Falconer, 'Ethnographical Photography in India, 1850-1900', *Photographic Collector* 5 (Spring 1984): 16 – 46, p.26.

Himalayas he had a "little army"[45] of coolies to carry his photographic equipment and goods; he then took pictures of them and of their customs, furthermore he wrote in his articles about the experiences he had with them. In these publications, Bourne again adopts the rhetoric of the explorer, mimicking earlier writers on Africa. He describes them as victims of oppressive social customs, while also stressing his role as a disciplinarian: directing and ordering the lives of disorganised and unreliable natives. What is hidden in the terminology applied to the Princes here becomes explicit and central. R C Majumdar has described coolies as "a body of legalised serfs", registered as indentured labourers, isolated from their homes, and "absolutely in the clutches of the manager" who hired and controlled them.[46] Bourne hired them through these offices, and when he talked about the coolies, it was rarely in a positive way, describing them as lazy and untrustworthy. He describes them as 'inferior' people – thinking of them as a kind of animal: writing of the need to "prevent their escape," and that they "by no means like being 'puckered' to carry loads". He had a typical colonist 'master to servant' relationship with them and was not afraid of describing his use of violence.

> In performing this part of my journey I had great difficulty with coolies. I had to change them at every stage, which necessitated my sending on a servant a day or two in advance to have them in readiness. At each village is a "chowdree," or "lumbadar," whose office it is to provide coolies for travellers. At one of these villages I found that fifty coolies had been collected and were awaiting my arrival. The poor unfortunate wretches had been crammed together in a sort of loft, and the ladder removed to prevent their escape, which they would otherwise have made good, as they by no means like being "puckered" to carry loads. After seeing them all started next morning about two hours in advance, what was my dismay on getting two or three miles on the road to find two of my boxes coolly left by the road side, their carriers fled Heaven knows where! It was rather difficult to know what to do under the circumstance; it resulted in my having to wait by them for a couple of hours while a servant went to the nearest village to get other coolies. I had not gone a quarter of a mile further when I came upon another load, and yet another, left by the road side as before. This was getting serious, and I vowed vengeance against the rascals who had placed me in this difficulty. I was told that these men had no doubt hidden themselves in a village which I saw at a little distance from the road. Taking a stout stick in my hand I set out in search of them, in a mood not the most amiable. After searching several houses unsuccessfully my attention was attracted to another, where two women stood at the door watching my proceedings. I fancied they looked guilty, and at once

[45] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII, 1866, p.474.
[46] R. C. Majumdar (general ed.), *The History and Culture of the Indian People, British Paramountcy and Indian Renaissance*, Part II (Bombay: Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan, 1965), p.595.

> charged them with concealing my coolies. "Nay sahib; koee admee nahe hy mera ghur pur; coolie nahe hy." (No sir; there is no man in my house; there is no coolie.) Not satisfied with this answer I walked in, and soon discovered my friends hiding beneath a *charpoy* or bed, and dragging them forth made them feel the "quality" of my stick; amid the cries and lamentations of the aforesaid females.[47]

The photographs show them as orderly and controlled, in their activity of carrying loads [*Nepalese coolies* (Photo 1.5.1.)], using their traditional techniques for transporting loads [*Mussocks for Crossing the Beas below Bajoura* (Photo 2.1.23.), *Navigating the Suttej on mussocks* (Photo 2.1.27.)], and posing for a portrait with their 'atypical tools' [*Hill coolies* or *Hill coolies with khiltas and dandy* (Photo 1.2.2.)]. All these pictures are very focused on the coolies as workers. They function to illustrate their identity as a distinct group, and also as an illustration of the narratives of Bourne's quasi-exploratory expeditions.

Bourne's photographs of coolies in the 'exploratory' role are supplemented by the firm's more portrait-like images of individuals functioning as types: servants [such as *Khitmatgars: Table Servant* (Photo 1.6.44.) and *An Ayah: South India* (Photo 1.6.39.), a native Indian nurse or lady's maid] taken by the firm, which are similar to the portrayal of the priests, bankers, merchants, and workers groups. Bourne also took pictures of servants who were working for him during his trips. They were hired to 'carry' him when he was too tired, to cook, to help him with the manipulation of the camera and the development, etc. In *Camp at Srinagar* (Photo 2.1.15.) and *A shooting Party in Camp Srinagar* (Photo 2.1.22.), the scenes depict more the camps during Bourne's trips – showing the tents and the 'army' of people serving him than the personal features of his servants – since they are far away in the background or do not look at the camera. Therefore servants were an element of the context but they were 'not important enough' to be individually portrayed by the photographer.

[47] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII, 1866, p.499.

The 'out-castes'

Bourne and his firm's photographs dealt with four groups of 'out-caste' people: dancing girls (Nautchs), thugs, street artists and mendicants.[48] Two types of Nautch women were photographed; only the ones who were considered to be little more than prostitutes are seen in this section. These pictures, as has already been mentioned, had a significant popular success. These Kashmiri women were attractive for their apparent exoticism, fitting once more with established pictorial clichés of harem women. *Nautch girl* (Photo 1.6.35.) is the perfect example of this. The 'girl' is not emphatically ungracious – though the photograph emphasises her coarse facial features – and she is half-lying on a rug and cushions in an 'erotic' posture. *Groups of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.) and *Group of Thugs* (Photo 1.6.32.)[49] are another category. Kevin Rushby has described these pictures as "imprisoned thugs [who] are seated on a carpet and appear as a rather ordinary group of Indian men."[50] However, this seems an inadequate view. 'Thugs' were bandits whose destruction as an organised sect by William Sleeman in the early nineteenth, century was among the most trumpeted of British 'progressive' achievements. They were almost exterminated when Bourne took this picture, but the image signifies the ongoing need to secure order by persisting with the continuing repression of banditry. The particular appeal of the Thugs is clear in Charles Eden's description in his *Indian, Historical and Descriptive* published in the mid-1870s. He described them as a "sect of assassins ... [who] followed their atrocious practices rather from religious motives than for the love of plunder. They were the worshippers of the goddess Kali, who presided over sensual indulgence and destruction. The Thugs numbered in their ranks members of every caste, and each individual had his own special duties to perform."[51] This image of Thugs as a quasi-caste or faith-group for whom robbery was sacred played on the idea of the corrupting potential of irrational Hindu culture that Bourne himself stressed in his writings. These portraits also had an impressive success and impact. These men look

[48] Prostitutes (Nautch) and thugs are fully-studied in Chapter four.

[49] *Groups of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.) has been categorised by the British Library as a picture having been taken by Samuel Bourne in 1863, while *Group of Thugs* (Photo 1.6.32.) has been categorised as a portrait having been taken the firm Bourne & Shepherd in 1870. It is my belief that the second photograph has also been taken by Bourne himself since the people portrayed are the same, in the same cloths, the carpet is the same and the sheet in the background has exactly the same fold (bottom right).

[50] Kevin Rushby, *Children of Khali* (London: Constable & Robinson Ltd, 2002), p.19.

[51] Charles H. Eden, *Indian, Historical and Descriptive* (London: Marcus Ward & CO., 1876), p.38.

both ordinary and menacing; probably the 'scariest' ones are the two sitting next to each other [men two and three from the right in *Groups of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.), and from the right the first two sitting in *Group of Thugs* (Photo 1.6.32.)], they have a staring and threatening look. These portraits were the 'real' visual materialisation of novels such as *Confessions of a Thug*, which was written by Colonel Philip Meadows Taylor in 1839 and which "powerfully reinforced in the minds of the British public their picture of 'Hindustan' as a place both passionately exotic and irredeemably savage."[52] Being categorised as thugs, these men were immoral because of their crimes, but they were mythicised because of their barbaric attitudes and also their bravery, and because they also had been captured by the 'civilised' British authority. Consequently, these representations exhibited Bourne's own conceptual schema of India, the 'romantic' barbarians who were controlled by the 'civilised' British.

Mendicants and street artists belong to another type of out-caste group which was also photographically depicted. These pictures mirror contemporary images of poverty in England, such as the classificatory images of types of mendicant and casual labour in Henry Mayhew's *London Labour and the London Poor*. These people had the additional exotic interest for the Victorians, but also visualised social categories that implied both similarities and alien social identities through the illustration of native costumes and physiognomy such as *Thibetan Mendicants* (Photo 1.5.19.), and some elements of their cultural customs, such as *Acrobats: Two women* (Photo 1.5.4.) and *Snake Charmers* (Photo 1.5.5.).

Cities and villages

Natives from the cities were portrayed very differently from villagers. Calcutta and Bombay were not portrayed as romantic spaces, unlike Bhundi or Jaipur. They were the centre of British commercial wealth and of political agencies aimed at transforming India's 'ancient civilisation'.[53] This wealthy and modern transformation of the cities through the westernised development of their streets, buildings, means of communication, and industrialised places – particularly in Calcutta – was frequently photographed by Bourne, as in, for instance, *Goods being landed near the Customs House at Calcutta* (Photo 2.1.17.). His description of

[52] Ibid., pp.8-9.
[53] Worswick and Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911*, p.141.

Calcutta lifestyle in 'Photography in the East' completes this perception of the Indian cities and their comparison to British cities, in particular London. The passage quoted in the previous chapter continues:

> Evidences of this wealth are seen on all sides, and Calcutta can boast of a Rotten Row not inferior to that of Hyde Park. There is a wide, open, park-like space called the "Maidan," on one side of the city, intersected with wide carriage roads, and this every evening presents as gay a scene as can well be imagined. Hundreds of carriages, buggeys, and equestrians chase each other along these open roads, all making to the grand drive by the river. Portly dames and fair damsels, easy-going merchants, military officers, civil servants, and well-to-do tradesmen – all turn out when the sun's rays can no longer scorch them, to enjoy the coolness (...) of the evening air.[54]

In contrast, the villages and villagers were described by Bourne negatively as "miserable mud huts,"[55] and villagers as filthy.

> The natives of Dunkar were the dirtiest we had yet seen. They admitted that they never washed after they were four years old, because if they did they believed that all their money and property would go from them.[56]

One of the exceptions is the village of Chamba that the photographer described as being "very picturesque"[57] [*Chamba, Bazaar & Temples* (Photo 2.1.12.)], though this might be because of its specific location in the hills where the temples faced the surrounding mountains. Again the oscillation between the language of 'progress' and the attraction of tradition is in evidence throughout Bourne's literature, and his own gaze in effect transforms the dirt to picturesque charm in the process of photographing it.

Religious signs and customs

This brings us back to the subject of religion; religious buildings, holy cities and ascetics were some of the elements recorded by Bourne, and were common topics for all photographers. Bourne took several architectural pictures of Buddhist, Muslim, and Hindu monuments, and some reveal traces of Christian churches and crosses. The photographs of the holy city of Benares at the mouth of the Ganges were certainly the most powerful emblems in this body of work since they portrayed

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[54] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X, 1863, p.269.
[55] Ibid.
[56] Samuel Bourne, 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas', *BJP,* XVII, 1870, p.16.
[57] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII, 1866, p.524.

one of the principal locations of Hindu cults and rituals. As we have seen, religion had become an increasing object of study. The encounter of Hinduism with the Occident had led to the Bengal Renaissance which revived Vendanta in a form potentially consistent with Unitarian ideals, as we have noted. The mixture of westernisation and Hindu tradition gave Benares a sort of 'fresh boost' of cultural complexity. All of this can be perceived in the two powerful photographs titled *"Vishnu Pad" and Other Temples near the Burning Ghat* (Photo 2.1.18.) and *The Great Mosque of Arungzebe, and Adjoining Ghats* (Photo 2.1.21.). Bourne's pictures deploy visual devices which had already been developed by artists and photographers like Frith in the Holy Land, especially Jerusalem, playing on the competing spaces and monuments of Islam, Christianity and Judaism.[58] Bourne, of course, does not see Benares as a site of authentic faith, but as an object of curiosity "well worth the attention" where "the religious zeal of this deluded people"[59] acted.

"Vishnu Pad" and Other Temples near the Burning Ghat (Photo 2.1.18.)[60] illustrates what Bourne called the "hundreds of little dirty so-called temples,"[61] and the lively and religious atmosphere next to all of them; it also reveals some of the most important symbols of the Hindu religion. As indicated in the designation of the picture, the Burning Ghat is one of the most sacred locations to be incinerated after death because it is believed to purify the soul. The Ghat is the steps leading down to the sacred river. It is called the 'burning' ghat because bodies are cremated there to be deposited in the river. Popular Hindu tradition suggested that this was a shortcut to achieve Moksha (liberation from reincarnation): "if after cremation the ashes are thrown into Ganga, the same purpose [as instant liberation] is served."[62] In 1863 – two years before the shooting of this scene – Bourne "witnessed the ceremony of the burning of two dead bodies,"[63] and his description of the ritual demonstrates that he did not comprehend the meaning of the custom. This photograph also shows numerous Indians who are going to the 'pure' and 'cleansing' waters of the Ganges in order to pray and purify their lives, seated before the Vaisnavite temples that are

[58] See Nicholas Tromans (ed), *The Lure of the East: British Orientalist Painting* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008).
[59] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X, 1863, p.269.
[60] A 'ghat' is a broad flight of steps leading down to the bank of a river in India, used specially by bathers.
[61] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X, 1863, p.269.
[62] Dharam Vir Singh, *Hinduism, an Introduction* (Jaipur: Travel Wheels, 1995), p.67.
[63] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X, 1863, p.269.

carefully spaced in the angle of the sloping bank, opening up a view of temple upon temple in an expansive space. Accordingly, this picture is a good summary of the principal elements constituting Benares; it is furthermore a splendid witness of the overwhelming presence of Hindu ritual in the holy city.

The Great Mosque of Arungzebe, and Adjoining Ghats (Photo 2.1.21.) is amongst the dominant symbols which prove the coexistence between the two major religions of India. During the reign of the fundamentalist Muslim emperor Aurangzeb, in the seventeenth century, a Hindu temple was demolished and a mosque was built upon its site, which is visible to the back of the picture in a manner resembling the many photographs and paintings of the Dome of the Rock (called Mosque of Omar in the 19th century) in Jerusalem; although Benares is a predominant Hindu city, the grandeur of the mosque matches with the high location of this ghat. Panchaganga Ghat was undeniably one of the most attractive ghats to believers and tourists.[64] It is probably also another burning ghat as in the previous picture – the piles of wood indicate this. This photograph illustrates, once again, the complexity of life in the city, which is marked by the movement of hundreds of people everywhere except in the foreground ghat, which was certainly ordered by Bourne, who must have permitted only a few people and animals to occupy this foreground, for the sake of the aesthetic image of harmony and calm. Human presence is at the margins – in fragments of figures, leaving behind the dirt and disgust so prominent in the texts.[65]

Tribes and ethnic minorities

Besides the chief religions and ethnic groups, the vast Indian territory was – and still is – the location of numerous minorities, both territorial or religious. Although for many Westerners the caste system was the only ideology in India, the reality was different. The varna system only applied to Hinduism, also many isolated hills communities organised their social networks independently, and were known as

[64] This place is also said to be where the Brahmin poet Jagannatha "have sat with his Muslim lover (...) and composed the verses of the *Ganga Lahari*." See Diana L. Eck, *Banaras, City of Light* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1982), p.235.

[65] With the exception of mosques and palaces, and the Begum of Bhopal, there is no real photographical and written documents about Islam and Muslims in Bourne's production.

'tribes'. These groups often retained animist religious traditions. During his several trips around India, Bourne was able to meet several tribes and ethnic minorities. In the Himalayas, he met and then photographed ethnic minorities such as Nepalese, Tibetans, and Bhutias (or Bhooteas); he also took pictures of the Lepchas' tribe who are natives from Sikkim. In South India, he photographed the Todas Munds, which were one of the tribal villages located in the Nilgiris. In the meantime the firm took portraits of religious minorities such as Parsees and Jews. Therefore these portraits represent a fairly evocative 'palette' of the different minorities living in India at that time.[66] Minorities were perceived, as we shall see in the following chapters, differently from the main body of the Indian population.

'The Himalayan Kingdoms': Sikkim, Nepal (and Bhutan)

Not included in the nineteenth-century Indian territory, Bhutan, Sikkim and Nepal were the northwest Border States and had in effect a very close relationship with the British Raj. The specificity of these kingdoms was that they were in the Himalayan Mountains, landlocked between India and Tibet. Therefore their strategic aspect was crucial. These countries were religiously influenced by Tibetan Buddhism, while they were dominated by Indian and British politics. Despite the numerous attacks and conflicts with their neighbours and specifically the British, these three kingdoms tried to stay independent. Some of their rulers acquired cordial relationships with the Westerners. This is the case of Sir Jang (or Jung) Bahadur who was an effective statesman and ruled Nepal for several decades. His 'good' relationship with the British Empire helped him to modernise Nepal and keep the country independent. The laudatory presentation of Jung Bahadur in the *Royal photographic album* is matched by the photographs of *Lieutenant-General Ranbir Jang* (Photo 1.6.56.). *Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's household* (Photo 1.6.1.) and *Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal* (Photo 1.6.7.) in which both pose and dress – the uniform and medals of the men and the ceremonial dresses of the women display the subjects' affinities with the British.

> Certainly his acts excited no moral disapprobation in Nepal, but, on the contrary, a very profound respect and an even affectionate admiration. ... Jung Bahadur attained the supreme power, it cannot be denied that he has used it beneficially for his country, and usefully for us. ... Moreover, the whole course and spirit of law and justice has been to some extent liberalized and

[66] Most of the descendants of these minorities still live in contemporary India.

> strengthened; and (perhaps most effectual of all) Nepalese of the higher ranks have been encouraged to visit the English territory and associate with English officials. ... A further solidity is given to his position by the persuasion, general in Nepal, that the British Government desires the continuance of his power, over and above its ordinary friendly relations to the minister of an allied State; and it is certain that the personal services which the Maharaja has rendered us quite deserve all the prestige he derives from our close friendship. So early as 1848 Jung Bahadur proved the value he attached to the British alliance by offering Lord Hardinge the aid of eight Nepalese regiments in the Sikh war ... in obtaining a cordial alliance with the British Government, he was securing the most solid guarantee for the independence of his country, and strengthening his own position as its administrator. That this was his conviction, he proved it the Mutiny. ... On the Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur was conferred the Grand Cross of the Bath, an honour unique in the annals of Indian history. The Maharaja has since received also the Grand Cross of the Star of India, of which exalted Order he wears the mantle and decorations in the annexed photograph.[67]

In contrast to this image of the ruler we once more see the contrasting portrayal of the ruled. Many natives from these three states moved to the Indian West Himalayan hills either as merchants or in order to find work. Darjeeling, the main city of this part of India and rich thanks to the culture of tea, received several groups from the tribes and populations from the hills. The people from two (Nepal and Sikkim) of these states attracted Bourne's interest as a photographic topic.

Two ways of photographing these people can be distinguished. The first approach was to picture the natives in groups as in the case of the Bhutias (or Bhooteas) [*Group of Bhutias, Darjeeling* (Photo 1.1.5.)] and the Nepalese [*Group of Bhutias and Nepalese* (Photo 1.1.6.)]. They wear traditional dresses and jewelleries, their hair and hats distinguish them from Indian people or other groups. For instance, it is noticeable that *Nepalese Coolies* (Photo 1.5.1.) depicts the atypical costumes of this group which differentiate them from Indian coolies such as the ones photographed by Bourne in the East part of Himalayas [*Hill Coolies* (Photo 1.2.2.)]. *Group of Bhutias, Darjeeling* (Photo 1.1.5.) shows a group that is wealthier and with more power than the *Group of Bhutias and Nepalese* (Photo 1.1.6.). This distinction illustrates a caste system that also existed in Nepal because of the order generated by the main religion Buddhism,[68] along with the fact that from the twelfth

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[67] Bourne & Shepherd, *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal*, No. 95 – Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur.

[68] The Nepalese caste system is different from the Indian caste system. They were totally disconnected from each-other.

to the thirteenth century some Indian populations moved to the Himalayan kingdoms in order to escape from the Muslim invasions which also brought some changes in Nepalese traditions; therefore most of these natives belonged to a caste and not to a tribe.[69]

These photographs deal with the Nepalese population, however Bourne felt the need to separate the Bhutias from the other Nepalese who he did not specify from which ethnic groups they came. The *Group of Bhutias and Nepalese* (Photo 1.1.6.) is probably the portrait of the lowest caste since they appear to be, because of their activities and their clothes, either artisans or mendicants and the reference to *Bhutias* is here not decisive; while the *Group of Bhutias, Darjeeling* (Photo 1.1.5.) definitely belongs to a higher caste. Arthur Ollman has argued that in this picture, in which each figure occupies a distinct space and gazes out of the picture with confidence and dignity, Bourne "could scarcely have given more power and honor to a royal family portrait."[70] This distinctiveness and 'nobility' was undoubtedly one of the main reasons why these very unusual photographs acquired their unique reputation.

The other approach to photographing the Himalayan people or more distinctively the natives of Sikkim was through an anthropological model. *Lepcha Man, native of Sikkim, Darjeeling* (Photo 1.1.11.) and *Lepcha Woman, native of Sikkim, Darjeeling* (1.1.12.) are two unusual portraits. They are dissimilar to all of the other portraits by Bourne, which are group portraits, and the firm's studio portraits, which were taken with Victorian décor and conventional postures. On the contrary, these photographs show two single portraits sat in a natural environment. Being consequently close to the 'anthropological' *People of India*, the Lepchas are seen more as a particular 'race' living in hill villages which can be defined as a

[69] The Indo-Nepalese caste system was codified by Jung Bahadur: The highest castes [(*thulo jat*) 'from who one accepts water' (*pani calne*), known as 'pure'] are divided into two categories, first the 'bearers of the Holy Ribbon' (*tagadhari*) who are A. *bahun* B. *ksatri*, secondly the 'alcohol drinkers' (*matwali*), a group composed by different ethnic groups such as Magar, Gurung, Kirati, Thakali, Bhutias, Sherpa, Tharu, etc. The lowest castes [(*sano jat*) 'from who one does not accept water' (*pani na calne*) are also divided into two categories, first the ones 'from who the contact does not require purification' that is to say Muslims and launderers (*dhobi*), secondly the ones 'from who the contact requires purification: untouchables' who are A. artisans: tanners (*sarki*), blacksmiths (*kami*), musicians-tailors (*damai*) B. mendicants: singers (*gaine*), musicians whose the wives dance (*badi*). The Newar, who are a specific Nepalese ethnic group, are out of the traditional Nepalese caste system, and have their own caste system. The Bhutias are the population who occupy the North of Nepal, they talk Tibetan and live isolated; their religion and way of life are close to the Tibetan world, and lots of them are Sherpas; they belong to the High Castes. Moreover they have a common history with the Lepchas from Sikkim since they were their religious and princely leaders.

[70] Arthur Ollman, *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* (California: 1983), p.20.

distinct tribe. Although these portraits have similarities with pictures taken by anthropological photographers such as Watson and Kaye (*Bunjara and wife*, Photo 5.35.)[71] and Sergeant Wallace (photographs of different castes including Banjaras, Bhangi, Mohana, Chamar),[72] they do not apply the traditional the nineteenth-century models of anthropologically depicting people. Bourne positioned his subjects with an artist's eye that provides an appeal and a distinctiveness for the viewer: the natural environment which occupies a sizeable space in the proportion of the framing, the models who sat in a relaxed ordinary position (and not in a fixed standing position), the sharpness of the Lepchas contrasting with an 'out of focus' background that softens the pictures.[73] The way Bourne photographed natives 'flatters' them and this attracts the viewer's curiosity and imagination.[74]

Tibetans

A few photographs of Tibetans were taken by Bourne. Although both *Tibetan Women* (Photo 1.3.4.) and *Thibetan Mendicants* (Photo 1.5.19.) integrate the categories which are collected under the signature of 'Bourne & Shepherd', they – particularly *Tibetan Women* (Photo 1.3.4.) – seem to have been photographed by

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[71] Christopher Pinney, 'Classification and Fantasy in the Photographic Construction of Caste and Tribe', *Visual Anthropology*, vol.3, nos. 2-3 (Harwood Academic Publishers: New York & London, July 1990), p.264.

[72] Elizabeth Edwards (ed.) *Anthropology and Photography: 1860-1920* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1992), p.169.

[73] Some further analysis will be discussed in Chapter four.

[74] Sikkim is the smallest Himalayan kingdom; its population – named Lepcha, and settled on the southern and eastern slopes of Mount Kinchenjunga – seems to be "originally the only inhabitants of this large tract of mountainous land." [Geoffrey Gorer, *Himalayan Village, An account of The Lepchas of Sikkim* (London: Michael Joseph LTD., 1938), p.35.] These tribes, which embrace neither documents nor oral tradition, have some unique traditions, society rules and way of life. The Lepcha society evolved from the thirteenth century with the first major invasion from another society, the Tibetan, which was followed in the subsequent centuries by the Nepalese and then the British. These incursions transformed the tribe into "an 'inferior' subject race, under the domination of the Sikkimese Tibetans or Bhotias, to which race the Maharajah and the big landowners belonged." [Ibid. p.36.] Treaties were signed between the Maharaja and the British to end in 1835 by a cession of Darjeeling and its inhabitants to the British Empire, it was why many Lepchas could be found in what became a 'British city' in the Himalayas, working on the tea-plantations constituted by the British. Therefore the Lepchas were under the rule of either the Bhotias or the British, and for this reason either converted to Buddhism or Christianity. Yet they managed to keep numerous of their tribal traditions and way of life including family and sexual customs, their relationship with devils and death, etc.; the two photographs illustrate one of the Lepcha's concepts: their ideology of beauty. Lepchas were considered less dirty than Tibetans, taking care of their body especially their hair that they wash, oiled, and plait – as one can see on the portraits for both men and women – at least once a week. "Long and lustrous hair is one of the points of beauty for members of both sexes; other points which are considered desirable are a straight nose, a flat face, a fair rosy complexion, a round head and a straight body without prominent curves"[Ibid. p.277.]; the two models fairly apply to these criteria.

Bourne himself as the posture of the models and the framing resemble some other of his work. These portraits do not allow a meticulous interpretation since there is a 'lack' of details in both the natural décor, which is quite 'plain', and the elements characterising the Tibetans. One can however observe that despite the rudimentary aspect of their clothes, the women are not from the same caste as the mendicants; they were certainly above them: this can be discerned by their jewellery. Nevertheless they do not seem to belong to the highest castes. A few Tibetans moved to India in the nineteenth century. These mendicants or troubadours were often travelling to gain money or food; to have them depicted here engages with the notions of picturesque poverty that appeared in Victorian cultural discourse. The dealers or merchants were also travelling for business matters, but it is very difficult to affirm whether these women belonged to this latter group since no outward signs are visible.

Toda Mund

The portraits of the Lepchas – studied above – depict a man and a woman from Sikkim, they are a sort of 'anthropological' portrait and give no ethnographical details. On the contrary, *Toda mund, village and Todas* (Photo 1.1.4.), one of Bourne's finest and best-known photographs shows a tribe and its village. Bourne's last photographical trip before permanently going back to England was in South India in 1869.[75] It was during this trip that he went to Ootacamund, and photographed the Todas, a small tribe of Buffalo pastoralists living in the forests on the Nilgiri Hills. These natives were regarded at that time as 'aboriginal' (pre-Indo-Aryan) as were the other minor tribes: "the Gonds, Bheels, Coolies, Hill-men of Boglipore, and Kookies of Chittagong, [were also], with some minor tribes, considered aboriginal; and if their present condition be any evidence of what it was when the Arryans [sic] entered India, they must have been barbarous even in the eyes of their invaders."[76] Moreover as a hill and forest population, they occupy an "ambivalent place below, outside or parallel to [the] varna"[77] – comparable to that of the so-called untouchables. "The Todas are animistic and Nature is their deity. They

[75] John Falconer has however dated Bourne's photographs of the Todas to the mid-1860s in 'Ethnographical Photography in India, 1850-1900', *Photographic Collector* 5 (Spring 1984), p. 32.
[76] E. H. Nolan, *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East*, vol. I, p.464. The word 'Arryans' is spelt with two 'r's in the original edition.
[77] Susan Bayly, *Caste, Society and Politics in India from the Eighteenth Century to the Modern Age*, p.9.

thus aim at protecting it, it is why they are vegetarian and do not cultivate the fields. They live in small communities a place called *mund* (village); they are gatherers, and drink the milk from the buffalos, which are one of their centres of attention. The buffalos are the men's main activity, they breed them, while the women weave atypical shawls and clothes – the singularity of these clothes can be seen on the picture. Each village has a minimum of one temple with a priest guarding the "lactarium (dairy-temple)."[78] On the photograph, it is very difficult to know if there is a priest among the natives since they all wear their religious shawls and the priest does not have a specific shawl. *Toda mund, village and Todas* (Photo 1.1.4.) highlights eight Toda men and three Toda women in front of two houses. Most of the men carry a shepherd's stick underlining their main activity, while the women are using cooking tools. Their hairdo – long, curly – and the wearing of the beard for the men are another typical distinctiveness from this tribe. The houses, particularly the one on the left, are also emblematic; their curved-shape is unique. The temple always has this shape; it nevertheless seems that the one on the photograph is a dwelling and not a temple since the sanctuaries are usually slightly above the *mund*.[79]

Bourne took this ethnical portrait with his usual stylistic devices that both attract curiosity by virtue of the unusual scene, and draw the viewer's eye to the aesthetic features. This photograph is also very important since it appears that it was the first time the tribe was photographically portrayed. Paul Hockings in 'The Yellow Bough: River's Use of Photography in The Todas'[80] asserts that the photographers Breeks and Marshall both published in 1873 photographic works on the tribe. At the same time, as John Falconer also records, A.T.W. Penn was already producing a photographical series of the tribe – for instance *Toda family, Nilgiri Hills* (Photo 5.32.). It seems nevertheless that Bourne was the only photographer who pictured the tribe before the 1870s.

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[78] Elizabeth Edwards (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography: 1860-1920*, p.181.

[79] Some of the details cited about the Todas are from my own research when I visited in one of the villages, and the conversations I had with the Chief of the village [during my research-trip in India in 2002].

[80] Paul Hockings, 'The Yellow Bough: River's Use of Photography in The Todas' published in Elizabeth Edwards (ed.) *Anthropology and Photography: 1860-1920*, p.179.

The natives of Dunkar

Dunkar is a village in the Spiti Valley, not far from the Manirung Pass, close to the Upper Sutlej and near to the Tibetan border in West-Himalayas. Sadly, no specific study on Dunkar and its inhabitants has been made.[81] The only statement that one can make with any certainty is that this was clearly a tribe similar to the Todas and Lepchas with its own distinct way of life, and it was thus categorised as being outside the caste system. The only visual evidence that one has of this group is Bourne's photograph – *Natives of Dunkar* (Photo 1.2.4.), which has to be examined alongside *The Spiti Valley from Dunkar–evening* (Photo 3.1.64.) and *Distant view of Dunkar and the Spiti Valley* (Photo 3.1.51.) in order to appreciate the interesting techniques of the natives of Dunkar to build their houses, which Bourne commented on in a characteristic way. It is with reference to the people of Dunkar Bourne made his comment, quoted earlier, about superstitious justification for lack of cleanliness. 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas' repeats this obsession with dirt, but crucially links it to the picturesque:

> At length we arrived at a curious and picturesque village called Dunkar, the outpost of British territory in this direction. We took up our quarters in the remains of an old fort, as the village was built on the narrow crest of a subordinate spur, with steep sides all round it, and with no sufficient level space even to pitch a tent.
> The natives of Dunkar were the dirtiest we had yet seen. They admitted that they never washed after they were four years old, because if they did they believed that all their money and property would go from them. The houses were built into the sides of the hill, which had been scooped out by nature into holes and caverns; and the way these had been taken advantage of and built into, until the hand of man and the hand of nature seemed to unite, was ingenious and picturesque.[82]

However *Natives of Dunkar* (Photo 1.2.4.) highlights more their difference than their "dirtiness".

Religious minorities

Two Indian religious minorities were portrayed by the firm: the Jews and the Parsees. Both of them had a good relationship with both the British and Hindus. Both of them were rich, influential and sectarian communities.

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[81] *Natives of Dunkar* (Photo 1.2.4.) is a photograph located and identified by the author in the National Library at Kolkata in 2002. To my knowledge, it is the only existing copy, and no study has been made of this native group.

[82] Samuel Bourne, 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas', *BJP,* XVII, 1870, p.16.

Very few Jews lived in India; the families, usually living in big cities, were typically merchants.[83] They belonged to the Indian 'bourgeoisie', and often mixed with the British 'bourgeoisie' as they were westernised, sharing several habits with them. *Jewess in a fancy (traditional) dress, Calcutta* (Photo 1.6.30.) depicts an elegant woman next to a statue, in a Victorian décor, wearing a luxurious dress with jewels, holding gloves in her left hand, and having a Victorian middle-class hair style. If there was no mention of the place – Calcutta – one could have believed that she was a European woman. Although the picture is from an album that was part of Bourne & Shepherd's commercial stock, it is likely that the portrait was commissioned by the lady herself (or her family).

In the presidency of Bombay, a large community of Parsees – the name (meaning "Persians") given to the Zoroastrians living in India – coexisted in a good harmony with the rest of the population. The Hindus, who have always seen them as allies, place them into a sort of specific caste. The British had strong commercial contacts with the Parsees and respected them. They liked the fact that they were a 'progressive' community, one said by the *Bombay Times* not to be "trammelled by that cursed system of 'caste,' they are at liberty to trade in and inhabit all quarters of the globe, and follow whatever profession they think will be conducive to their advancement in life."[84] The praise continues with a comparison to the English, describing them as being "the Saxon of the East;" it also portrays them as being "the most intelligent and energetic" 'race' inhabiting India and acknowledges them as "the worthy descendants of a renowned ancestry." The Parsees originated in Sassanid Persia, emigrating to India in the eighth century to escape the Islamicisation of Persia. They are the faithful guardians of the Mazdaist tradition reformed by Zarathustra, a singular monotheist religion in which the idea of 'community' is significant, consisting of rituals round fire and prayers to their Deity *Ahura Mazda* (the Wise Lord). *A Parsee Dustois (Priest)* (Photo 1.6.40.) referred to a priest of this community; he has a beard and a white tunic and hat – symbolising purity, which are specific elements connected to this religion. But unlike the portraits of other priests or holy men such as *Fakirs* (Photo 1.6.41.), he is photographed in a 'bourgeois' office environment as a 'professional'. Although their

[83] Asia, in particular South and South-East parts, has seen the development of small Jewish communities for several centuries; although it was limited, their presence in India was well-established by the nineteenth century.
[84] E. H. Nolan, *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East*, vol. I, p.719.

wealth is not paraded, it is nevertheless also noticeable in *Parsis: A young woman (Miss Patel)* (Photo 1.6.48.) and *Parsis: A young woman* (Photo 1.6.46.). These women are dressed in costly fabrics such as velvet and wear luxurious jewels. The Parsees were clearly 'bourgeois' and prosperous merchants. The influence of the Parsees was everywhere, for instance "the Indian journals are in their business departments often in the hands of Parsees, and an influence over the press there is thus acquired."[85] British commentary typically emphasised the rectitude of Parsee merchants– "the wealth acquired by the Parsees, we are proud to say, is rarely misspent. (...) It is enough to show to a Parsee an object deserving of relief or support, and his purse is at once opened."[86] Thus the portrayal of Parsees as professionals corresponds to a representation of a culture of Indian 'Englishness', comparable to the depiction of the Princes.

This classification of Bourne & Shepherd's photographic production is of course partial, and many categories overlap, but we can summarise the overall character of the body of work as a combination of semi-systematic attempts to codify Indian populations (races, religions, etc) combined with the established genre conventions of portraiture, picturesque topography etc. Consistently, however, we see an ideological inflection of the genres according to the role of distinct social groups within the mid-Victorian imagination. The function of these models will now be examined.

[85] Ibid. p.720.
[86] Ibid.

Chapter Four: The Genders as elements of Orientalism, aesthetics and the exotic

Indian women and men are often treated separately in Bourne's work, both in portraits and group pictures and also in some topographical photographs. It has been widely argued that colonialist imagery deployed stereotypes and achieved a form of 'normalisation' through the 'image of otherness'. In this chapter I will argue that a 'model of truth' was introduced in the production of colonial discourse, and that Bourne's creation of an identification of Indian genders and types is its effect. Central to this process is the way that Bourne exploits recurrent themes in his work and creates what Bhabha has called 'ambivalence', "the force (...) that gives the colonial stereotype its currency: ensures its repeatability in changing historical and discursive conjunctures; informs its strategies of individuation and marginalization; produces that effect of probabilistic truth and predictability which, for the stereotype, must always be in *excess* of what can be empirically proved or logically construed."[1]

Indian men as symbols of 'primitiveness'

Whereas the number of studies about Indian women living during the imperial period has been increasing in the last decades, little work has been done on Indian men, the representation of their masculinity and their role in the construction of Victorian perceptions of Indian society. Beside the representation of nineteenth-century Indian Princes symbolising the transformation of the 'traditional' natives into a 'modern' population, similar to the Victorian upper-class category of men, and so assimilated

[1] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 1994, 2004), p.95.

rather than differentiated,[2] the nineteenth-century images of the native men also involved in contrast what Chaudhary has called a "phantasmagoric aesthetics"[3] to represent an 'other' manhood.

In *Plain Tales from the Hills*, Rudyard Kipling sums up the imaginative representation that British people had of Indians: "India, as everyone knows, is divided equally between jungle, tigers, cobras, cholera, and sepoys."[4] This reference, written twenty years after Bourne's time in India, reflects one of the most popular representations of Indian men during the nineteenth century: as an apparent or potentially threatening and violent population, at one with the dangers of predatory beasts and disease. The reference recalls the Indian Mutiny.[5] However, in Bourne's work Indian men are typically represented in connection to this image by portraying this potentially ruthless population as one that has been *pacified.* Nevertheless this particular representation of the fierce exotic man may also be construed as participating in the construction of a distinct variant of the romantic 'other'. In this respect Bourne's picture of 'native' men seems to nuance Said's argument that the Western world was symbolised as a 'masculine' power while the Orient was fantasised as 'feminine'.[6] Said's view, of course, contradicts the alternative view that the mutinous Sepoys were portrayed as *excessively* masculine. However, in Bourne's work this 'feminine India' might be merged with the 'masculine excess' of the lower-caste males in a distinctive way.

The Indian Mutiny led to a revival of the depiction of the Indian male as being 'brutal and uncivilised' for no less than the following fifty years. Although this alleged viciousness caused fear and revulsion to the Victorians, it was also a source of a form of artistic romantic fantasy, which drew on existing stereotypes of 'banditti' that has a longstanding role in the visual culture of the period, inherited from popular engravings after works by artists such as Mortimer and Eastlake. These

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[2] On the representation of the Princes, see Chapter three and also David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002).

[3] This term is used by Chaudhary to describe the representation of the horror of the Mutiny through the representation of Indian men in photography. See Zahid Chaudhary, 'Phantasmagoric Aesthetics: Colonial violence and the management of perception', *Cultural Critique*, 59, Winter 2005, Regents of the University of Minnesota: 63-119.

[4] Rudyard Kipling, *Plain Tales from the Hills* (1888), beginning of Chapter five 'Yoked with an Unbeliever'.

[5] In the quotation, Kipling makes a comparison between dangerous animals and illnesses and the Sepoys. The Sepoys were the group of rebels who were at the origin of the Indian Mutiny in 1858. This comparison demonstrates the hard feeling that had Victorians towards a part of the Indian population.

[6] Edward S. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p.207.

depicted bandits typically located in northern Italy or the Caucasus as representative of a 'wild' untamed masculinity in the borderlands of European civilisation. Bhabha argues that this creation of colonial stereotype is based on "the reactivation and repetition of primal fantasy" where the "desire for a pure origin" persists.[7] These stereotypes are embodied here by the symbols of 'cruelty' and also the myth of 'the Noble Savage'. This strange mixture of masculine excess and feminisation is remarkably illustrated in some of Bourne's photographs, including *Groups of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.). Indian men were here represented as 'barbarous' - the idea of extreme cruelty and brutality - but also as the timeless and unchanging 'primitive': itself an ideological construct of the colonial imagination.[8] Nonetheless these 'fierce' Indians have been portrayed submissive and enclosed in a 'reformed' India, following the highly publicised British achievement of crushing the Thuggee sect, which was a central part of the propagandistic claims of the empire.

Warriors and murderers

These issues recur in Bourne's portrayal of the after-effects of the Mutiny. If the Thugs represent the defeat and the subjugation of the pre-Mutiny ritual murderers, the locations of the Mutiny itself are recorded by Bourne in a way that conveys a similar message. The Indian Mutiny was an unending source of inspiration for writers and artists. The British saw it as one of the most horrible of modern tragedies, one which *embodied* cruelty. It was a 'mirror' showing the 'true' character of ruthless and primitive Indian warriors without British discipline. Bourne belongs to the group of commercial photographers, such as V. Pont, W.L.H. Skeen and L. D. Dayal, who took pictures of statues, memorials and locations relating to the Mutiny with the aim of selling historic and commemorative imagery. The success of some of these was so great that one location, the site of the Cawnpore massacre, was photographed in a nearly identical way by these photographers. Typically, although these pictures reference the 'atrocious' event, they create a gentle, even serene, atmosphere. A major example of this is the memorial well at Cawnpore, erected to commemorate the killing of British women and children by the rebels in 1857. In

[7] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture*, p.107.
[8] See Mark Antliff and Patricia Leighten, 'Primitive' in Nelson and Shiff (eds.), *Critical Terms for Art History* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2nd edition 2003), pp.217-233.

1861 a memorial was commissioned from the Franco-Italian sculptor Carlo Marochetti to erect the 'angel of the resurrection', a winged female figure which would be encircled by a memorial known as the Well. In the period immediately after its inauguration, it appears that the area was visited more frequently than the Taj Mahal.[9] Its attractiveness made it a good location to produce tourist photographs including Bourne's *Cawnpore: The memorial Well* (Photo 3.1.12). The Well combines symbolic architectural forms of typical neo-Gothic design. Peter Osborne has described it as "the female spirit of Home," a Home which had been violated and therefore this location was a visual symbol of both "fear and reassurance."[10] This double character can be extended to the portrayal of both the space and the persons in Bourne's work. Bourne's *Cawnpore: Memorial Garden* (Photo 3.1.4.) introduces three Indian men in the peaceful Memorial Garden – giving another dimension to the domestication of the event and place. These men appear comparable to the trees in the garden since their positions are similarly symmetrical and straight. They are totally inoffensive, and even bring a sort of tender approach to the depiction of Nature where they seem to belong, like the 'staffage' of landscape paintings. They are no longer the terrible Sepoys as they once might have been when the native Indians last occupied this place uncontained by British authority. This picture records the location of a horrible episode which was at the time of the photograph in the mid-1860s, under the control of the 'civilised' colonisers who had brought 'peace and progress' to this native society, visibly disciplining the bodies of the natives in a way which directly mirrors the controlled landscape of the park. There is, however, a further degree of ambiguity. The poses of the figures mirrors the convention of crucifixion and resurrection scenes in which Roman soldiers are depicted guarding the scene. Though these Sepoys are contained by 'western' visual norms, the iconography of threat is potentially retained. Nevertheless, it appears that the most merciless men during the most terrible event were portrayed by Bourne as being 'disciplined' and even 'improved' by the British; the brutality was no longer shown but only underlined as a past event. Bourne's own published remarks on Delhi are

[9] Sampson briefly highlights the importance of the memorial but does not develop a detailed analysis of the picture. See Gary D. Sampson, 'Unmasking the Colonial Picturesque, Samuel Bourne's photographs of Barrackpore Park' in Sampson and Hight (eds.), *Colonialist Photography, Imag(in)ing race and place* (London: Routledge, 2002), pp.95-96.

[10] Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000), p.43.

suggestive of his wish to portray such control and to visualise the picturesque serenity it engendered:

> ... our next stage being Delhi, a name being sadly famous to every Englishman. ... The whole aspect is serene and peaceful, presenting a strange contrast to the aspect it must have worn a few years back. The dark cloud of war no longer hangs over the doomed city, and the smoke of booming cannon no longer rises thick around its walls. You look on its threatening fort without alarm, and enter the gate – where so many of our brave countrymen perished – without hindrance or molestation. Its walls and buildings still bear testimony to the severity of the struggle it underwent during the mutiny.[11]

Both Desmond and Osborne perceive Bourne's work as a production of a "bodiless state of pure vision", and their conclusions emphasise the aim of pictures to create a safe reverie far from the "all-to-real India."[12] This reading is certainly far too simple. It does not take into consideration the way Bourne adapts and manages existing visual conventions. This is most evident in his genre scenes and landscapes of monuments, in which Indians are extensively represented. In this context, it is difficult to exclude the importance of Indian men on pictures such as *Cawnpore: Memorial Garden* particularly when they are in the middle of the scene. In this image they are enclosed by the young trees of the newly constituted British *Raj*, the memorial of their attempted rebellion and by western visuality. The presence of Indian men on the picture is even more significant since they were officially not allowed to enter without permission in what was considered as the "sacred preserve of the English."[13] Nonetheless Bourne integrates them in the visibility of the memorial.

This attitude towards 'cruel' Indian men brings us back to Bourne's *Group of Native Thugs* (Photo 1.2.1.). Although these prisoners give indeed the impression of roughness, the representation of the group induces a 'gentle' vision of their identity, which is far from the brutality of their crimes. These men who were among the most terrifying, merciless and pitiless assassins in India were reduced by Bourne to a group of inoffensive picturesque figures. Apart from their dark gaze, these men – witnesses of an exterminated sect – were characterised in this photograph as an extinguished species conserved in a 'zoo'. The portrait belongs to the enterprise of

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[11] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP*, X, 1863, p.345.

[12] Peter D. Osborne, *Travelling Light: Photography, Travel and Visual Culture*, p.46; see also Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (London: 1982).

[13] Gary D. Sampson, 'Unmasking the Colonial Picturesque, Samuel Bourne's photographs of Barrackpore Park', p. 96.

collecting and exhibiting the 'mystic' Indians. This portrait neither shows them demonstrating their techniques of killing, or emblems of their cult to the goddess Kali; it is only the depiction of some men belonging to a same group. Bourne thus photographed these men as common Indian types, representing no danger but rather subject to the conventions of genre painting. Their real nature is just perceptible.

Indian men as an element of picturesque

Following a practice that had been particularly expanded in European nineteenth-century painting by using human characters in works that depicted landscape and monuments, Bourne commonly added men as models in his pictures. Despite Worswick's affirmation that Bourne used Indian people just as a scale for the photographs,[14] it seems, as we have seen, that their importance and involvement in the success of the pictures were much more significant. In Bourne's landscape and architectural photographs the presence of Indian men is largely consistent; they are part of the scenery, generating cultural codes, a "political discourse".[15] Their position in the frame is methodical, and brings an artistic dimension to the plain landscape background. Usually these men are barely dressed, and always wear something that reminds the viewer that they are Indian, such as turbans or jodhpurs; a representation based on stereotypes of 'traditional' Indian villagers rather than city dwellers. For the purpose of this study, three examples – among the dozens of photographs in Bourne's albums using the same kind of artistic process – are examined: *On the Dal Canal, Srinagar* (Photo 3.1.20.), *Agra – Interior of Moti Masjid* (Photo 3.1.24.) and *Showing How the Vines Grow in Kashmir* (Photo 3.1.33.). Although the photographer's topographical work cannot truly be qualified as 'passionate', it does display other key romantic features. Emotion is very present; melancholy emanates from *On the Dal Canal, Srinagar* (Photo 3.1.20.) through the peaceful canal, the spring vegetation, and the Indian man who is sitting there suggesting a sort of feeling close to 'sadness'. One only sees his back, his height is very small in comparison

[14] C. Worswick and A. Embree, *The Last Empire: Photography in British India 1855-1911* (London, 1976), p.10.

[15] The concept of picturing of landscape in art as a 'political discourse' has been developed by James Barrell and Ann Bermingham amongst other. Regarding its 'imperialistic' discourse see W. J. T. Mitchell (ed.), *Landscape and Power* (Chicago: the University of Chicago Press, 1994).

with the rest of the image, but one cannot miss him. The man is the central element to the feeling created by the landscape subject. *Agra – Interior of Moti Masjid* (Photo 3.1.24.) and *Showing How the Vines Grow in Kashmir* (Photo 3.1.33.) show Indian men who are intimate with the distinctiveness of the place, however they seem lonely amidst the immensity of their own culture. In this genre of pictures, the male figures are contemplative and generally at a safe distance in 'suitably picturesque' compositions. Although these photographs appear at first to conform to Desmond and Osborne's model, they visualise the Indian landscape as simultaneously 'homely' and laden with pathos. The inclusion of Indian characters both suggests 'normality' and the exotic, functioning as political discourse on the relationship between norms and alien identities.

Tribes as symbol of the 'Noble Savage'

This notion of the alien is more prominent in some images, but even this is inflected by a homely ideal consistent with a post-Romantic aesthetic. The depiction of some Indian tribes stresses the image of nineteenth-century India as Europe's opposite. The subcontinent was represented as a multitude of villages where the communities were idealised and codified; Metcalf speaks of an Indian present meant to symbolise Britain's past.[16] In the post-Mutiny era, although the superiority of British culture and character was not brought into question, the emphasis on an oriental and traditional society in some parts of India was reinforced.[17] The romanticised vision of the tribal village was strong throughout the nineteenth century, and as Inden highlights, "the Romantics take those very features of Indian civilization which the utilitarian-minded find wasteful, deluded, or even repulsive and criticize – aesthetic practices, philosophies, cosmologies, customs, visual art forms – and find them worthy of study and perhaps even of praise."[18] Moreover the mid-nineteenth-century saw the resurgence of the image of the so-called 'Noble Savage' through the frame of anthropology. Ellingson uses several cases of anthropologists, such as John

[16] Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* (Cambridge: CUP, 1995), pp.68-80.
[17] See Francis G. Hutchins, 'The Attempted Orientalization of British Rule' in *The Illusion of Permanence, British Imperialism in India* (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1967), pp.153-185.
[18] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1990), p.67.

Crawford and John Hunt, to explain how the 'Myth of the Noble Savage' was employed in a period when racial theories were expanded with the aim of denigrating some races as incapable of 'nobility.[19] The romantic version of the noble savage was more positive, and Bourne drew on this in his imagery of the Todas and Lepchas. Once again this comforts Bhabha's notion of desire for a pure origin.

The image of the tribe emphasises a community closer to Nature, closer to the state of 'primitiveness', where they do not need others to do their work stressing thus the concept of equality as part of this community; this idea of communal self-sufficiency was reinforced in post-Mutiny India.[20] *Toda mund, village and Todas* (Photo 1.1.4.) and *Lepcha Man, native of Sikkim, Darjeeling* (Photo 1.1.11.) convey the image of primitive communities and individuals and are readable in conjunction with illustrations such as the frontispiece to *A Description of a Singular Aboriginal Race Inhabiting the Summit of the Neilgherry Hills* by Henry Harkness (1832 – Illustration 10). This image represents the Toda man as a shepherd, but following a classic Christian depiction of God's shepherds from the Old Testament, introducing an ideal of primitive life that once again links back to established iconography. He is a strong and healthy man; his majestic and noble posture and his head looking ahead symbolise the 'grandeur' of a man who knows how to lead his life, who looks like a hero, like a Hercules, and at the same time he looks at his family as a patriarch who protects the community. The Toda men's main activities are to shepherd buffalos and preserve and commune with Nature. Harkness's illustration is the depiction of a Toda family that emphasises the simple life and activities of the 'Noble Savage', his easy and happy life in accordance with his shepherd profession. All these aspects are also visible in Bourne's depiction of the tribe in *Toda mund, village and Todas* (Photo 1.1.4.). This kind of 'idyllic' village society was even identified by British commentators as a rule in Indian society, not just characteristic of the so-called tribal (independent uncasted) populations; these villages were seen as "the irreducible unit, the 'atom' of the state in the nations and empires of Asia"[21] which gives even more authority to this picture. The photograph is taken in the middle of their environment – the Todas' houses – which accentuates the idea of harmony between these people and their relation to Nature. As has been seen in the previous chapter, there was a

[19] Ter Ellingson, *The Myth of the Noble Savage* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001).
[20] See Thomas R. Metcalf, *Ideologies of the Raj* and Francis G. Hutchins, 'The Attempted Orientalization of British Rule'.
[21] Ronald Inden, *Imagining India*, p.131.

growing interest in the production of photographic portraiture of the Nilgiris inhabitants has from the 1870s on. This attention was given by photographers and scientists but also very quickly by tourists who became one of the tribe's main sources of revenue.[22] The Todas were seen as a 'curiosity'- Bourne's photographs catered to this fascination. The representation of this majestic, noble and strong symbol is also found in the portraiture of the half-naked man in Bourne's *Lepcha Man, native of Sikkim, Darjeeling* (Photo 1.1.11.). As Ollman has pointed out, Bourne's depiction of this figure emphasises his 'noble' character by drawing on the conventions of European portraiture – where a royal subject was shown leaning forward with a foot resting on an item of furniture. Bourne shows his subject supporting himself on a natural feature, a rock.[23] Bourne's portraiture of the Lepcha appears to be in accordance with a more general approach to the tribe during that period. In 1869 A. Campbell (1805 – 1974), first superintendent of Darjeeling, wrote 'On the Lepchas' which was published in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* and remained at the time an important account of the tribe.[24] He also described their strength and nobility, qualifying them as "the most interesting and pleasing of all the tribes around Darjeeling (...) and have always continued to be the most liked by the Europeans" (p.145). Campbell is keen to highlight the differences which make the Lepchas 'more similar' to the Westerners than to the Indians: "the Lepchas have no caste distinctions" (p.147); "the Lepcha dress is simple and graceful" (p.148); "marriages among the Lepchas are not contracted in childhood as among the Hindoos, nor do the men generally marry young" (p.149); "(they) bury their dead" (p.149); "they are very fair of skin" (p. 150). As with most of the 'tribes' of India, they did not follow the apparent distinct caste system of the vast subcontinent, and thus did not conform to the general Indian imagery but somehow represented the primitive state of humanity as a whole, including Western societies: an appealing dichotomy to the British.

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[22] Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (London: 1982), p.54.
[23] Arthur Ollman, *Samuel Bourne: Images of India* (California: The Friends of Photography (no33), 1983), p.20. See detailed analysis of the posture in Chapter three.
[24] A. – Arthur or Archibald – Campbell, 'On the Lepchas', in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London (1869-1879)*, Vol.1, No. 2 (1869), PP.143-157.

Indian women

As Mary Procida has demonstrated, the Empire was in many respects a male dominated 'space', that also played a key role in the construction of British masculine identity.[25] The masculinity of Victorian imperialism was visualised though the representation and the relationship between Indian and British men. A purely masculine space – of clubs and sports – existed in colonial culture, free from the constraints of respectable domesticity. However the expansion of imperial rule brought with it a network of shifting attitudes to femininity, both western and native. There was the confrontation between the ideal of purity and chastity and of prostitution and sexual opportunity. In addition there was the rhetoric of social reform and education. Bourne adopts a variety of approaches to the portrayal of Indian women. Some photographs seem to represent straightforward male erotic fantasy; some are portraits of high ranking women, and others make explicit the differences between Indian women and British women.

'Exotic' women

Depictions of exotic lands have very frequently included female figures. These generally anonymous women typically represent erotic fantasies and or an image of 'mystic' otherness. It was not just the exoticism of the women but also what they represented in an adventurous, colonial and imperialistic context. Anne McClintock defines a phenomenon of ritual masculine obsession: "as European men crossed the dangerous thresholds of their known worlds, they ritualistically feminized borders and boundaries. Female figures were planted like fetishes at the ambiguous points of contact, at the borders and orifices of the contest zone. ... In myriad ways, women served as mediating and threshold figures by means of which men oriented themselves in space, as agents of power and agents of knowledge."[26] Indian women generally remained a source of desire, at least in their representation. There is indeed a contrast with the British 'mission' to reform the Indian society, and then the rules

[25] Mary A. Procida, *Married to the Empire, gender, politics and imperialism in India, 1883-1947* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2002), p.3.
[26] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995), p.24.

and customs regarding Indian women. For example the prohibition of sati (or suttee) practice – the Hindu funeral tradition where the widow immolate herself on her husband's funeral pyre – and amelioration for women's condition against violence and health problems.[27] In accordance with the usual Western representation of Indian women, most of Bourne's photographs induce and confirm this aspect, although a few of the portraits of Indian woman rulers and members of the middle class highlight the shifts regarding the position of women.

Exotic and erotic features were both a key link and constant factor in the depiction of Indian women. Both relate to the cultural perception of Oriental women; both were part of the construction of the Victorian popular imagination about their colony. Joanna De Groot argues that gender and race were both images of inferiority in colonial discourse, which were interlinked in the representation of an otherness and participated in the subordination of the 'Orient'. Bourne's photographs engage with what was an on-going debate over public morality in Britain and in India in a period of changing social behaviour towards Indian women.[28] Although the historical facts of the nineteenth century confirm a high prostitution rate, these photographs rarely portray prostitution openly. They rather fit more into a scheme which includes novels and drawings such as Simpson's *Sketchbooks in India* and Carpenter's *Nautch Girls in Kashmir* (Illustration 8), which describe an erotic, exotic and sensual portrait of Indian woman. Three groups of pictures illustrate this point: *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., and photo 1.1.3.), *Nautch girl* (Photo 1.6.35.) and *Nautch Girl and Musicians* (photo 1.1.8.).[29] The designation 'Nautch' involved different connotations in the nineteenth century. A 'Nautchni' is first a *bayadere*: a dancing girl serving in a Hindi temple, as portrayed in *Nautch Girl and Musicians* (photo 1.1.8.). But besides, 'Nautch' often refers to women who were either courtesans or prostitutes. Louis Rousselet, who was a French traveller in the 1860s and had several experiences at the same time as when Bourne was in India, expresses his surprise in *L'Inde des Rajahs, Voyage dans l'Inde Centrale et dans les Présidences de Bombay et du Bengale* when, invited by the Raja to have a rest in the

[27] See Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, The New Cambridge History of India, IV.2 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), p.12.
[28] See Linda Nead, *Myths of Sexuality: Representations of women in Victorian Britain* (Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1988); and also Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991).
[29] Although this last photograph has been categorised by the British Library as being one of Bourne's, the absence of a signature and the way it has been organised and photographed suggest that this picture is possibly by the firm rather than being one from Bourne himself.

island of Jug Navas, he discovered very elegant and educated royal Nautch women, and he was told that there were two different sorts of Nautchnis:[30]

> ... Dans un kiosque au bord de l'eau, je découvre un essaim de jeunes filles rieuses, aux costumes étincelants de bijoux: ce sont des nautchnis de la cour, que le Rana a envoyées pour nous distraire par leurs chants et leurs danses. Je cause un instant avec ces bayadères et je suis surpris de les entendre me répondre avec une pureté d'accent et des termes choisis, qui sont toujours dans ces pays l'indice d'une éducation supérieure ; un jeune Rajpout, auquel j'exprime mon étonnement, m'explique que, loin d'être, comme les nautchnis vulgaires, de pauvres filles que le hasard seul s'est chargé d'instruire, celles-ci, dès leur bas âge, sont élevées avec un grand soin ; on leur apprend tout ce qui peut charmer, la poésie, la musique, les manières agréables.[31]

Nautch girl (Photo 1.6.35.) seems to portray a prostitute from a brothel while *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., photo 1.1.3.) might have been Nautchnis from a upper rank – and therefore courtesans – although they would probably have not 'belonged' to any princely courts because there is no palace decor in the background; in fact they were apparently "birds of night"[32] as Bourne discreetly calls them. Therefore these three pictures of Kashmirian women photographed by Bourne and his firm represented the common typical image of the Western fantasy about Indian women. First they are all oriental prostitutes or entertainers symbolising the idea of the 'Harem', then they denote 'flashiness' and exoticism through their costumes and jewellery contrasting with the sober and dark-coloured Western nineteenth-century clothes. These women were a symbol of an erotic tradition in Western minds, and these portraits were part of a long-run established visual culture. The photographs picture the characteristics used by the European nineteenth-century orientalist painters to portray that "Kashmir [was] ... famous for the beauty of its women,"[33] and that it was "hardly more renowned for

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[30] Louis Rousselet, *L'Inde des Rajahs, Voyage dans l'Inde Centrale et dans les Présidences de Bombay et du Bengale* (First Edition : Paris, 1875 ; Second Edition : Librairie Hachette : Paris, 1877), p.198.

[31] ... in a pavilion on the waterside, I discover a swarm of young cheerful girls, dressed with sparkling jewelled cloths: they are some Nautchnis from the court who have been sent by the Rana in order to entertain us with their songs and dances. I talk for an instant with these bayaderes and how surprised I am to hear them answering me with a pure accent and carefully chosen words, what are always in these countries the indication of a high education; a young Rajpout, whom I express my astonishment, explains to me that far from being as the vulgar Nautchnis, poor girls that only fate took care of instructing them, these ones, from their young age, are risen with great care; one teaches them everything that can charm, poetry, music, pleasant manners.

[32] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIV, 1867, p.5.

[33] Ibid., XIII, 1868, p.474.

the beauty of its scenery than for that of its women."[34] In a certain way the photographic portraiture materialised to Westerners that "the Sex is chiefly represented before the world at Kashmir by Mahommedan women not of the higher class."[35] Photographical representation of Indian women was ordinarily considered improper and the veil was obligatory, yet "the conventions were reversed" for courtesans. Indeed, they "needed publicity more than privacy,"[36] and cartes-de-visites were particularly useful in order to promote themselves to their clients with the aim of making the most of their ephemeral profession. However it appears that Bourne & Shepherd's firm did not produce many cartes-de-visites for courtesans because its production was aimed for exhibitions, albums and rich buyers, and not to promote 'local business'. The firm's photographs were aimed to be artistic and sold as such.

Nautch girl (Photo 1.6.35.) and *Nautch Girl and Musicians* (photo 1.1.8.) share features with works produced by European nineteenth-century painters such as Ingres. The position and posture of the *Nautch girl* (Photo 1.6.35.) is remarkably similar to Ingres's *Odalisque with a Slave* (1840), both echoing the erotic image of female nudes in harems; there is an echo of the male prerogatives on colonial and imperial expansion out into exotic lands. Bourne's work however never moved into the realm of pornography, and there is no portraiture of nude or semi-nude women. While there was a close relationship between the Orient and eroticism in the nineteenth century, in photography it was rare to see naked oriental women – unlike white women – with the exception of 'anthropological' or 'ethnographical' representations. Of course sexual relationships existed between British men and Indian women, but it seems that photography used more elusive erotic features, possibly to maintain a more romanticised aspect of India. There was no pornography in Bourne's production, but also in no other photographers' works of India. It is interesting to notice that pornography in photography was beginning its development in Western societies[37] but there is no evidence of such expansion in India. British India was visually kept fantasised and removed from sexual realism. It still induces

[34] No. 52 – Women of Kashmir in *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (See Appendix G).
[35] Ibid.
[36] G. Thomas, 'Indian Courtesans in Cartes-de-Visite', *History of Photography* 8:2 (1984), 83-88, p.83.
[37] Mary Warner Marien, *Photography: A Cultural History* (London: Laurence King Publishing Ltd, 2002), p.65.

the Western male fantasy regarding 'primitive' sexuality. *Nautch Girl and Musicians* (photo 1.1.8.) shows the sensual and delicate attributes bestowed on oriental women – in the portrait the position of the girl's arms and hands and the curve of her body, all of this underlined by the presence of the two musicians who prove her artistic talent of dancing and enjoying music – these characteristics, once more, are the ones featuring in orientalist paintings such as Ingres's *Odalisque with a Slave* (1840). More than just being plain descriptive portraits, these photographs induce scenarios or stories about the activities of these women, their personalities and their environment.

Besides the erotic features of these representations, the idea of beauty was also underlined. However, this is more complicated that it seems. Nineteenth-century Westerners expressed a keen interest in the beauty of exotic women, but painters portrayed these fantasised women with white European features – pale skin, light-coloured hair and European facial characteristics – and Bourne himself expressed doubts about the real beauty of some Indian women:

> Regarding their beauty, my readers may ask, are the Kashmirians as beautiful as fame reports them to be? I have stated that their dress is not particularly attractive, and on the whole I am inclined to think that the beauty of their features has been somewhat overdrawn. The inhabitants are about equally divided into two great classes – Hindoos and Mohammedans. As regards the latter, my impression was that they do not differ much from, and are little, if any, better looking than, the same race in many other parts of India. But an exception must be made in favour of the Punditanes, the wives and daughters of the Hindoos. These are fairer than the Mohammedan women, and many of them are certainly very pretty. It is only when you come upon them unawares that you can see them properly, as they veil their faces on the approach of an European, and generally take themselves off. But sometimes in going down the river in the evening in a closed boat, I have seen as pretty round faces, rosy cheeks, fair skins, black eyes, and flowing locks as can be found in better civilised countries, and which with changed garments and habits would pass muster in London and Paris. ... Nearly all the nautch girls play and sing; and, though to English ears their music is strange and monotonous, there is something sweet and pensive about it.[38]

This duality demonstrates the strength of Victorian and European imperialism, the attraction to oriental societies and their 'exotic' and 'primitive' charms contrasting with the concept of white racial supremacy through the nobleness of its 'civilisation' and superior physical and mental state. For instance, *Group of Kashmir women* or

[38] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP*, XIV, 1867, p.5.

Nautch women (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., and photo 1.1.3) shows an appealing group of young women highlighting the singularity of the Kashmir women through their appearance and the concept of the harem through their number – seventeen – and their crowding. However, Bourne stated his disappointment regarding these women using his usual tone which is imbued by imperialist discourse:

> The English Commissioner resident at Srinugger, a gentleman whom I knew previously, kindly gave an order to have a number of the best-looking nautch girls collected, of whom I was to take a group. They were very shy at making their appearance in daylight, as like the owl, they are birds of night. They came decked out in all their rings and jewellery, and all their silk holiday attire; but, on taking a cursory glance at them when they were all assembled, with the exception of two or three, one could not help coming to the conclusion that if these were the prettiest, the rest must be miserably ugly. ... They squatted themselves down on the carpet which had been provided for them, and absolutely refused to move an inch for any purpose of posing, then after trying in vain to get them into something like order, I was obliged to take them as they were, the picture, of course, being far from a good one. A photograph hardly does justice to native beauty; their fair olive complexion comes out much darker than it appears to the eye, on account of its being a partially non-actinic colour.[39]

These Kashmiri women also represent the Indian women who were considered as *Bibi* – in Hindustan it means 'high-class women' – which in "Anglo-Indian parlance came to mean native mistress."[40] It was not uncommon to have a mistress in British India at the time of the Company, but after the Mutiny since many British wives came to live in India with their husbands it became not so openly displayed, particularly in the hills where the British presence was strong.

Therefore the portrayed women also refer to the concept of morality. The Victorians were very dedicated to moral values as an essential criterion of modern and civilised societies. Bourne often mentions the differences between Western and Oriental societies through moral aspects. But as in this example his words are frequently balanced with specific details concerning the 'picturesque' aspect of the situation:

> Report speaks very unfavourably of the character and morals of the inhabitants; it has been said that there is not a virtuous woman in Kulu – a fact which may, perhaps, in a great measure be accounted for by the pernicious system of polyandry which prevails in this district. They are not at all a bad-looking race of people, and their dress is picturesque; a coarse flannel scarf or wrapper is wound round the waist and brought over the shoulders, fastened in front by a

[39] Ibid., p.39.
[40] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience*, p.115.

> long brass pin or skewer. The women plait their hair, which is invariably black, and let it hang down their backs as a pigtail; and, though naturally long, it is often lengthened by plaits of braid which hang down to their heels.[41]

Bourne's language recalls William Edward Hartpole Lecky's contemporary *History of European Morals, from Augustus to Charlemagne* (1869) which coyly describes the role of the courtesans from the Greek period to the Christian influence and the relation of Christianity to the feminine virtues.[42] Bourne's language implies that the lack of 'virtue' in such women derives from the absence of monogamous customs. What we *see* in the photograph is potentially beautiful. The image itself shows us what these women *could* be. The *text* tells us that custom diminishes their potential. This tension between what we see and what we know fits with the model of progress in the West articulated by Lecky. Bourne portrays Indian women of 'easy virtue,' but within the imperialistic process of showing the potential of Eastern societies and the need to 'help' them to fight to improve virtue. This 'need' to help was set against the frisson of seeing women such as the *Naimaes* of Travancore "in which the women enjoy the privilege of having several husbands"[43] Images such as these play off the 'innocence' of what we see against the scandalous reality of what we know.

So these images work precisely by avoiding any directly erotic visual rhetoric. We see innocence and know corruption. There is the potential for both virtue and vice in a way which is comparable to the images of the former thugs. Bourne uses the silence of these images.

Great female figures

In contrast with these discretely sexualised photographs, Bourne and his firm recorded elegant, important and 'Western types' among Indian women. Of this category three sorts of female figures may be defined: princely ladies, court ladies and wealthy women. Women from affluent families were represented by two

[41] Samuel Bourne, 'A Photographic Journey Through the Higher Himalayas', *BJP,* XVI, 1869, p.580.
[42] "in this work, there is none which I approach with so much hesitation, for there is probably none which it is so difficult to treat with clearness and impartiality, and at the same time without exciting any scandal or offence.", volume II, p.291.
[43] Charles H. Eden, *Indian, Historical and Descriptive* (London: Marcus Ward & CO., 1876), p.38.

religious minorities, Jews and Parsees, as mentioned in Chapter three; the pictures portraying them are *Jewess in a traditional dress, Calcutta* (Photo 1.6.30.), *Parsis: A young woman (Miss Patel)* (Photo 1.6.48.) and *Parsis: A young woman* (Photo 1.6.46.). The Princely ladies depicted are in fact the famous women rulers of Bhopal, *The Begum of Bhopal* (photo 1.4.7., photo 1.4.8., photo 1.6.3., photo 1.6.4., photo 1.6.11.) and *Sultana of Bhopal, Daughter of Shah Jahan Begum (afterwards Begum 1901-1926)* (photo 1.6.12.). Finally, the only picture showing Indian court ladies is *Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's household* (Photo 1.6.1.), which portrayed beautiful women dressed with princely 'Western' clothes; they were the ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur, who was admired by the British for his support of the Raj and his love for Western culture. We have already seen how western habits, clothes, and way of life and were deployed by Bourne. At this point it is important to note how this group of women represents the evolution of the position of women in modern India.

Bourne's description of *Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's household* (Photo 1.6.1.) underlines the importance of an Indian prince's court through the portraiture of the first ladies. Nonetheless these women are not described for their own value but regarded as precious 'objects' which symbolised their lord's 'grandeur':

> Allusion to the female portion of a native gentleman's family is always a delicate matter, and is not less so when the gentleman is a prince. On the other hand, it is not common for a native prince to submit the ladies of his household to photographic processes. Weighing these opposing considerations, we will simply take these ladies as we find them. Their attire and ornaments, and the presence of an attendant, prove their importance in the Maharaja's establishment, and in the case of one at least of the two, this importance may be explained by her personal advantages.[44]

In contrast, the account made of the Begum of Bhopal[45] is more than just flattering; it portrays this woman not only as a prince but also as a great and sophisticated ruler.

> One of the most interesting circumstances in the splendid Chapter of the Star of India held by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in Calcutta, was the presence, in her

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[44] No. 112 – Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's household in *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (See Appendix).

[45] There are few studies made on the Begums [see Shaharyar M. Khan, *The Begums of Bhopal, A Dynasty of Women Rulers in Raj India* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2000), chapters five and six], while it seems surprising to see female rulers in important Muslim states like Bengal and Bhopal. There are however several accounts regarding individuals such as the Begum Secundar of Bengal – Sambhu Chandra Mookerjee's *The Career of an Indian princess: the late begum Secunder of Bengal* (1869) – and the Begum Shah Jahan of Bhopal. David Gilmour evokes in *The Ruling Caste, Imperial Lives in the Victorian Raj* (2005) that the Begum of Bhopal was from the second largest state, after Hyderabad, with a Muslim dynasty; and beside having been a precious ally of the British, "it was ruled for over a century by four women in direct descent" who were administrators and reformers (p.203).

> place as one of the Grand Commanders of the Most Exalted Order, of a lady, the subject of this photograph, Her Highness Shah Jahan, Begum of Bhopal. A female knight grand commander might have seemed a little incongruous, especially in a land where women seldom hold their due place in estimation, if it had not been remembered that Shah Jahan's mother, Sikandar Begum, had borne the same honour before her, and if all had not acknowledged that no braver or more loyal spirit ever dignified an order of chivalry than that illustrious lady. No history of the great Mutiny can ever be written in which the conduct of this wise and generous princess will not be one of the brightest pages. ... Of her daughter, the reigning Begum, it may be said that she does not derogate from her parentage. Possibly her mother's inferior in energy of character, she is her equal in blamelessness of life and regard for the welfare of her subjects. She, like her mother, has only one child, a daughter, married to an Afghan nobleman, Mir Ahmad Ali Khan Bahadur.[46]

The form in which these women were photographed suggests that they were signifying their attachment to the Crown by adopting Victorian customs of portraiture. They therefore functioned as part of imperialistic propaganda.

There is one other notable fact about these images. With the exception of *Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's household* (Photo 1.6.1.), these photographs portrayed women from religions other than Hinduism, and it is interesting to notice that that Hindu customs were the principal target of British reformers. These 'social reforms' were focused on child marriage, polygamy, etc., and acted "as a stimulus and encouragement to reform-minded individuals in other areas, and gradually reformist organizations with an all-India identity began to emerge."[47] Consequently, the message of these photographs might be summarised in the following terms: the British presence provides an opportunity for Indian women, and therefore also to the Indian population as a whole, to become more educated and civilised as it is proved by the portraiture of these (Victorian) Indian ladies What we see is always both reality and potential, a window into the ways in which alien bodies and minds are both recorded and transformed by the visual codes which preserve them.

This brings us back to the fundamental distinction between Bourne's portrayal of British women and Indian women. Bourne's portraits of British women who lived in India were generally of the wives of officers or British residents. These showed British ladies living an 'ex-pat' Victorian life, and certainly not an Indian life. These

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[46] No. 134 – The Begum of Bhopal in *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (See Appendix).

[47] Geraldine Forbes, *Women in Modern India*, p.19.

'memsahibs' – a negative description of some groups of wives living in India – "elaborated an imperial social etiquette,"[48] and thus participated in the construction of the High Imperial forms of life in India. This comparison of Bourne's representations of women is developed in Chapter five.

[48] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience*, p.119.

Chapter five: About differences, exotic and oriental India

According to Andrew Bolton "exoticism involves a dual process of nostalgia and alienation, a longing for a place that one has never been, or a culture that exists only in the Western imagination."[1] Bourne's work surely participated in the creation of that Western imagination. While his photographs meant to reflect 'the' reality and were marketed with the terminology of scientific exploration and documentation, they were also an instrument of the 'process of nostalgia and alienation'. Indian nineteenth-century exoticism seems interlocked and indissociable from the notion of 'orientalism'. What sort of 'orientalism' was Bourne's art an instrument of? Recent scholars have used this term in two distinct ways. Some follow Said's concept that "Orientalism" is a set of "Western techniques of representation... [that] make the Orient visible, clear, 'there' in discourse about it,"[2] a system which stressed modern imperialism and was a weapon of power. Others, such as John MacKenzie and Thomas Traumann use it to refer to scholarship designed, in MacKenzie's words, to "make them (literature, religions, thought, etc. of the East) available to the West, even in order to protect them from occidental cultural arrogance in the age of imperialism."[3] For such scholars "Orientalism and imperialism (...) did not march in parallel."[4] Bourne's work seems to pose a dilemma; it appears as 'floating' between these two spheres.

[1] Andrew Bolton, *Men in Skirts* (London: V&A Publications, 2003), p.64.
[2] Edward S. Said, *Orientalism* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul Ltd, 1978), p.22.
[3] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995), p.xii.; Thomas Trautmann, *Aryans and British India* (University of California Press, 1997).
[4] Ibid., p.xv.

Bourne's depiction of the exotic: Nostalgia and alienation

Although in Bourne's case there is no evidence of active involvement of the part of the natives, the apparent lack of communication between them and the photographer had an impact on the representation of the Indian world and the reality depicted. Bourne's writings suggest that, through his journeys, Bourne got to know Indian customs and their way of life fairly well without, however, really understanding them: or rather that it seems he did not want to accept their differences from Western norms. Nevertheless, in contradiction with the written accounts of his stay in the subcontinent, the photographs radiate an aura of beauty and an almost nostalgic vision of an ideal India. Certainly for commercial purposes and also with the idea of showing an 'undeveloped' society, compared to the expansive British modern society, Bourne's photography imagined a sensual world through 'native scenes and portraits'. The pictures of Calcutta and other Westernised cities illustrate, in contrast, a sophisticated and developed modern society, which despite the idea of progress had lost the elegance, sensuality and mysticism of the Orient world. The first visible effect of Bourne's photographs relies on building up a strong feeling of exoticism which is attached to romantic perceptions throughout a traditional imagery of an oriental world, which is also a 'lost' occidental world.

Bourne's landscapes and scenes deploy naturalistic and romantic motifs. These techniques, which imply particular postures, compositions and lighting, add to the explicit topics of the photographs, and create in them their often elegiac tone. *Idyllic landscape along the Salween River* (Photo 3.1.50.) represents the serene Salween river bordered by rocks and vegetation; in the centre right appear two Indian natives – one standing, one sitting – who contemplate this 'idyllic' scene. Swati Chattopadhyay, discussing the illustrations of T. and W. Daniell in the late 18th century, notes that they use native figures to portray Indian people as bearers of unchanged traditions. Chattopadhyay quotes William Hodges and Richard Temple, who both noted that Indians possessed an "untutored gift" to arrange themselves artistically. In this regard they are the "naturally" picturesque.[5] Hodges, an English professional landscape painter, mentioned the significance of the natives to create a

[5] Swati Chattopadhyay, *Representing Calcutta: Modernity, nationalism, and the colonial uncanny* (Oxon: Routledge, 2005), pp.42-46.

scenic landscape in *Travels in India* (1793)[6] – see Hodges's *A view of the Tomb of the Emperor Shere Shah at Sasseram in Bahar* (1786 – Illustration 11). Bourne's work indeed played with these established stereotypes and pictorial conventions of India to create pictures portraying previously unknown scenes and people. However behind this 'idyllic' imagery, it was implied that the country needed direction. Of course this reflects the post-Mutiny political culture, very different from the primitive idyll implied by the artists discussed by Chattopadhyay. In parallel with the photographs' subjects and compositions, Bourne's politically based comments regularly come to intensify the description of places which 'need' or 'would need' the British presence. Here is an example – although, as he says himself, this sort of political observation has nothing to do with a photographic and artistic journal:

> ... two-thirds of the whole produce of the country is seized directly by the Rajah [Srinugger, Kashmir]; and if there should be a trifle left more than is required by each cultivator for his own and family's sustenance, he is not allowed to sell a grain till his oppressor has disposed of all his unlawful share. When such a state of tyranny and oppression is witnessed by every English visitor to the 'happy valley,' they may well regret that such a noble but misgoverned country should not have remained in the hands of the English when it was once in their possession. But I must not forget the nature of the Journal for which I am writing, nor dwell too long on topics of this nature.[7]

Through his photographs and words what Bourne did was to create a world where stereotypes mixed with novelty. Through stereotypes, such as his portrayals of Indian gender representations, religions and ethnic groups, 'oriental races', etc. – as we have seen previously in this study – he created a photographic tradition continuing a colonial discourse that was already established. Therefore his work might be interpreted in terms of what Bhabha calls "the concept of 'fixity'",[8] which involves rigidity and repetition as a base of knowledge and identification in colonial culture. But the fact that Bourne uses photography as both a guarantor of 'factuality' and as a medium of 'art' adds a distinct relationship between beauty and 'truth' to this discourse, which made it both more accessible to a wider public and more ideologically powerful. As a defender of the photographic medium, he thus contributed, in different ways, to the promotion of this 'new' art, which he directly

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[6] William Hodges, *Travels in India* (1793), pp.30-33.
[7] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII-XIV, 1866-67; XIV: p.5.
[8] Homi K. Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (London: Routledge, 2004, c1994), p.94.

linked to the modernising regime in India. Here British India is presented as more innovative than the homeland itself, open to the possibilities of photography:

> I may mention that there is to be an Exhibition here in January next of the raw materials, manufactures, and fine arts of the Punjab. I am happy to inform you that, unlike the treatment which photography received last year at the hands of the Commissioners in London, it is here classified as one of the *fine arts;* and I was told yesterday by the gentleman who is superintending the erection of the building, and who will have the arrangement of the Exhibition, that it will be so placed as to have the best light which the building affords. Are we then more enlightened, or simply more just and unprejudiced, in this land of rising British enterprise than the would-be patrons of art in professedly free but somewhat clique-ridden England?[9]

Thanks to his artistic skills – repeatedly endorsed by journals and admirers – he had developed a profitable market in oriental photography.

In these respects one can qualify Samuel Bourne as an 'Orientalist' in Said's sense. His work seems to fit within the scheme of artistic and political 'Orientalism' as an agent of governmentality. However, since he had an enormous success with his buyers and public who rewarded his portrayal of the beauty of Indian landscape, architecture and peoples, Bourne's work also participated in MacKenzie's alternative model of what can be defined as orientalism: the highlighting of Oriental culture and the transmission of information about its *distinctness*. Bourne's artistic techniques created a revelation of what India and its people could have been. However, behind the art effects, the pictures also show a world moulded by imperial interests: through his chosen subjects; the constant comparison of 'civilised' and 'uncivilised' societies. These are bolstered by his explicitly imperialistic comments in his articles. Consequently, because of the imperialistic aspect, Bourne's orientalism retains elements of both MacKensie's 'positive' and Said's more 'negative' vision, the construction of 'an Orient' through Western eyes.

Bourne's work as a tool of political imperial culture

Bourne's work is permeated with this aspect of Orientalism as the examples discussed here will demonstrate. As we have already noted, Bourne made a comparison between cameras and guns, arguing that photography had a mightier

[9] Samuel Bourne, 'Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas', *BJP,* XI, 1864, p.70.

influence on the construction of British rule. Although on several occasions his articles narrate the well-developed business and knowledge of photography in the Indian capitals and with the Princes, he insists that the large rural and more traditional population perceived the machine and its use as worrying and powerful, therefore as authoritative.

> ... before I had well got to work nearly every man, woman, and child in the place had come out to see what the mysterious stranger was about. Mine was, no doubt, the first camera that had ever been seen in Budrawar, and we can hardly wonder at these rude people looking at its dubious appearance with a feeling of suspicion probably not unmixed with dread.[10]

Stuart Hall explains that "within stereotyping" there is "a connection between representation, difference and power."[11] In Bourne's case the power is symbolic and there is an element of what Hall calls "ritualized expulsion"[12] by depicting mainly the 'bad habits' of Indians. To this extent Bourne's images incited the construction of a stereotypical representation of 'the Orient' by connecting power with knowledge in the manner modelled by Foucault and Said. To quote Hall again, "A *discourse* produces, through different practices of *representation* (scholarship, exhibition, literature, painting, etc.), a form of *racialized knowledge of the Other* (Orientalism) deeply implicated in the operations of *power* (imperialism)."[13] Therefore the 'knowledge' of Orient generated through the 'eyes' of the West is inevitably implicated in British hegemony over India. In several cases these 'knowledges' seem to directly misrepresent India in a manner that confirms Western stereotypes of Oriental inertia and superstition.

Indians' 'idleness'

In Victorian culture idleness was perceived almost as a sin. Carlyle's 'gospel of work' was hugely influential. The world of the poor and underclass at home was identified as shameful. Bourne's photographic world described such 'malfunction' in

[10] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII-XIV, 1866-67; XIII: p.560.
[11] Stuart Hall (ed.), *Representation, Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (London: SAGE Publications in association with The Open University, 1997), p.259.
[12] Ibid.
[13] Ibid, p.260.

Indian society, thus portraying a 'backward' and feudal culture. In cities and towns, as well as in rural and tribal villages, the portraiture of Indian 'idleness' is constantly present and over-represented. It can be people sitting in the streets – *Old Court House Street, Calcutta* (Photo 2.1.1.) and *Rustic scene in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.7.) – and others chatting and wandering in bazaars – *Golden domed temple* (Photo 2.1.6.), *Rustic life in Bengal, Native bazaar* (Photo 2.1.10.), and *Gate to the Lucknow Bazaar* (Photo 2.1.19.). By describing either an attitude or an activity (or a lack of activities), the pictures present a 'negative' image. The 'natives' are framed in a space where they live but take no action. In *Rustic scene in Bengal* (Photo 2.1.7.), the group of men is waiting on the road with no obvious purpose. They are nevertheless the central object of this scene, and are linked to the 'rustic' and nonetheless inactive character in this colonial imagery. Also, the representation of prostitutes and mendicants reflects this 'passivity' – *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women* (photo 1.1.1., photo 1.1.2., photo 1.1.3.), *Nautch girl* (Photo 1.6.35.), and *Thibetan Mendicants* (Photo 1.5.19.). In the composition of the pictures *Group of Kashmir women* or *Nautch women*, most of the women are dressed in white, which could symbolise an inner beauty or purity in their persons. Nevertheless the three portraits show black-dressed women on the sides, framing the groups, they are the 'dark' inclination which controls these women. With the exception of a few, they are sitting on a rug, waiting to be portrayed. Their posture and waiting make them passive; they have no control over their fate. There is a strong resemblance between these Nautchs and the queuing Oriental women painted by Edwin Long in the foreground of his *Babylonian Marriage Market* (1875 – Illustration 12).[14] Although their dresses and physical features are different, these two groups of Oriental women are represented in the same sort of posture, and the white/black reference is present in both of them. Unlike the 'black' frame of Bourne's Nautchs, the waiting women to be sold in Long's painting are placed in ascending order from the right of 'whiteness'. The beauty of the whiter woman, who is at the end of this scale, is highlighted by the light reflected from the mirror she has in her hand. This white light symbolises Western beauty as an ideal. In Bourne's work this whiteness is framed by the 'impurity' of the Indian world, 'blackness'.

[14] See Appendix G: Examples of Other Illustrations and Photographs.

Hinduism

As we have seen, many times in his writing Bourne reacts to what he calls "the absurdity"[15] of the Hindu religion. Several of his photographs reflect this attitude. Though predominantly picturesque, *"Vishnu Pad" and Other Temples near the Burning Ghat* (Photo 2.1.18.) and *The Great Mosque of Arungzebe, and Adjoining Ghats* (Photo 2.1.21.) also illustrate the inertly squatting religious crowd. Bourne chose to take both pictures during the day when it was very busy rather than early morning when he could have had fewer people in the frame. Although the light would have been different, the conditions would have still been excellent. It was thus almost certainly a conscious choice to reveal this unique atmosphere. When these scenes are compared with Bourne's description of Benares as a filthy place where "hundreds of little dirty so-called temples"[16] were erected, one has to realise the meaning of such photographs. We know now that these pictures of Benares had a great commercial success. Fabian and Adam state that the place was a magnet for British tourists and that Bourne's photographs of the holy city "were the most popular items in the inventory of Bourne & Shepherd" amongst tourists even towards the end of the century.[17] However the message behind these views is not positive. The Orient is represented as 'chaotic'. Indian 'laziness' is once more represented since most of them are sitting and apparently doing nothing. The numerous temples present in *"Vishnu Pad" and Other Temples near the Burning Ghat* (Photo 2.1.18.) echo with the thousands of people pictured next to them. This apparent massive disorganisation draws attention to the contrast with what was thought of as a well-organised and ordered Christianity. While these scenes reflect a lively place of cult, they also illustrate a very different and 'misunderstood' Orient. Bourne loved landscape scenes, especially the ones situated in the Himalayas, embodied by pictures such as *Curious gravel formations on the Lagudarsi stream at Kioto, Spiti* (Photo 3.1.15.) and *Evening on the mountains, view from below the Manirung Pass* (Photo 3.1.38.) because the contrasts and the symmetry of the forms (the elements) created an artistic and perhaps spiritual form of purity. When the Himalaya

[15] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII, 1866, p.475.
[16] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X, 1863, p.269.
[17] R. Fabian and H.-C. Adam, *Masters of Early Travel Photography* (New York: Vendome Press, 1983), p.165.

landscapes are compared with the crowed scenes of Benares, the implicitly imperialist message of the latter becomes apparent: the crowds signify a sort of impurity. In this regard the 'chaos' of the Orient is visualised and India is tainted with this image.

India as an alien world

Bourne's imperialist rhetoric is, nevertheless, moderated by what could be defined as the mechanism of 'transculturation': "the subordinated peoples' capacity to select and invent from the dominant culture, determining what they are prepared to absorb or reject;"[18] it is the introduction of foreign elements into an established culture. However in colonial cultures "the periphery [also] determine[d] the metropolis" by introducing some fashions and customs into the Western societies.[19] MacKenzie explains that several political concepts and agricultural plans – such as the 'Munro system' which organised the direct taxing of peasants rather than landlords as in the Bengali permanent settlement[20] – and some nineteenth-century writers – such as Shelley describing certain affinities between Celts and Indians – had the same aim: 'assimilation'. Nevertheless Gauri Viswanathan points out that the policies of both Orientalists (who wanted to work with local cultural norms) and Anglicists (who wanted to completely Westernise India) were indeed to pursue the same objective, the furtherance of British governance through forms of acculturation.[21] Therefore assimilation to Britishness, as Cannadine argues, and acculturation were often linked in the colonial context, creating a distance between the Indian and his own tradition.

Some elements in Bourne and his firm's production do seem to indicate the assimilation of Western culture within Indian society and show signs of the influence of India in the creation of a British imperial culture. It is not rare to see – as it has been discussed in previous chapters –Victorian dresses, clothes and external signs of many Princes and upper-class Indians, showing their acceptance and involvement in Western culture. Some Indian customs and a general mixture of Occidental and

[18] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, p.22.
[19] Louise Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.6.
[20] John M. MacKenzie, *Orientalism: History, Theory and the Arts*, p.29.
[21] Viswanathan, Gauri, *Masks of Conquest: Literary Study and British Rule in India* (New York: Columbia Uni- versity Press, 1989), pp.17-20.

Oriental arts and ways of living comprising the 'modern' Occident are witnessed in Bourne's work. First, he used in his writings the idea that photography itself, as a Western discovery, signified the progressive nature of empire.

> ... Photography in India is, least of all, a new thing. From the earliest days of the calotype, the curious tripod, with its mysterious chamber and mouth of brass, taught the natives of this country that their conquerors were the inventors of other instruments besides the formidable guns of their artillery, which, though as suspicious perhaps in appearance, attained their object with less noise and smoke. From the untrodden snows of the Himalayas to the burning shores of Madras the camera is now a familiar object; and though a native from some secluded hut among the mountains where I am now situated may now and then manifest a desire to be out of its range, the majority pass it un-alarmed, or their curiosity has taken the place of fear. At Calcutta it is no uncommon thing to see native portrait establishments; and at Madras there is a 'school of arts,' for the purpose of instructing the natives in various useful and ornamental arts. I got permission to go over this establishment, when I found that amongst other things taught was photography. The principal showed me several specimens, portrait and landscape, done by the students, and they certainly were very creditable. I have seen worse at professional establishment in London.[22]

But later in other writings, he observed that the spreading of the photographical process was only confined to big cities and Princes' courts; small villages and the countryside were, unsurprisingly, unaware of the medium. Here photography seems to stand for the image of India as a 'virgin' land where progress could be assimilated and could then have a reflection on the Western world. It was perceived as an 'uncivilised' country but it had the ability to digest modernity. It thus became a 'laboratory' for 'newness'.

Many portraits taken by Bourne & Shepherd's firm show the adoption of Victorian fashion: *Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's Household* (Photo 1.6.1.), *A Jewess in Fancy Dress* (Photo 1.6.30.) – the dress style of this young woman can be compared to Lady Curzon's dress from the portrait *Lady Curzon* (Photo 1.6.60.) – *Lieut-General Ranbir Jang, Nepal* (Photo 1.6.56.), etc. The best comparison which can be made is certainly the parallel between *The Begum of Bhopal* (Photo 1.6.3.) and *Lord Curzon* (Photo 1.6.61.); both portraits picture high-ranking rulers in the same sort of official clothes, the first one being Indian, the second one British. On the other side, in Britain the Indian dressing gown became fashionable. This 'cross-dressing' between the two civilisations affirms the assimilation of some cultural

[22] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP*, X, 1863, p.268.

elements through the imperial medium.[23] The appropriation of segments from the Other's way of living is a component of the process of transculturation. In order to complete the understanding of these signs of transculturation through Bourne's work, Chapter six will develop another aspect of this process which is the "autoethnographic representation (...) in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms."[24] This aspect will be studied through the comparison of Bourne's works and those of Dayal.

Photographing religious and racial 'difference'

According to Michael Harris, "during the nineteenth century, art and popular culture imagery served to both reflect and establish racist ideas and to reiterate the social order even when the intentions behind the images were not sinister."[25] Harris's assertion thoroughly defines Bourne's case; his photographs were deeply involved in the creation of 'racial' differences between British and Indians. Racial theory, as it developed in the nineteenth century, was presented as purely rational and scientific. Western societies and in particular the Victorians started to generate theories and 'surveys' involving comparisons between the human races, and animal and human races. They involved ideas of strengths and weaknesses, intelligence and stupidity, morality and decadence. Bourne's work pointed out a distinction between the 'gloriousness' of a civilisation witnessed by its past architectural and artistic features and the 'degeneracy' which nineteenth-century contemporary Indian society was 'enduring' because of its "mud"[26] people. This idea of 'degeneracy' was introduced by Gobineau in his *Essay on the Inequality of the Human Races* (published between 1853 and 1855). This thesis had powerful cultural implications in a period when racial ideas were being developed, and it can certainly be found, to a certain extent, in Bourne's work. Gobineau's theory essentially asserts that we can measure the

[23] As it has also been seen, architecture and city plans can be seen as another element of such effect.
[24] Louise Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation*, p.7.
[25] Michael D. Harris, *Colored Pictures, Race and Visual Representation* (London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), p.40.
[26] "Mud" is a term which was used many times by Bourne in his writings and in his descriptions, sometimes also as a title, of photographs picturing Indian villages and villagers.

level of development of a civilisation by its "customs", its "artefacts" and its "aesthetics". He explains the "fall of civilisations" by the fact that:

> peoples perish because they are degenerate ... that the word *degenerate*, when applied to a people, must and does signify that this people no longer has the intrinsic value that it once had, because it no longer has the same blood in its veins; successive admixtures to that blood have modified its value. In other words, though the name is preserved, it is no longer the race of its founders; in short, that the man of decadence, he who one calls the *degenerate* man is, from the ethnic point of view, a product different from the heroes of the great epochs.[27]

Gobineau's speculation gets more extreme when he states that "the Aryan blood" – "the white race" – is the superior man, therefore his presence once in the history of Indian civilisation puts the latter at the top of a list of great human civilisations; however this 'gloriousness' has been lost and the white presence in India is justified and a 'need' in order to conduct the restoration of the Aryan race and its 'celebrated' civilisation.

Before the Great Mutiny in 1857, Anglo-Indian relations and the arts depicting them often deployed the visual imagery of Romanticism, as we have seen. The Mutiny and all the changes which followed the event started what the *Saturday Review* called, "a new era of realism and caution."[28] This transition had several effects on ideas and art in India. Before 1857, the subcontinent was admittedly a place of 'extremes' where sexual and general behaviour were considered as outrageous, where the East India Company was introducing British culture, but it was also a period of tolerance and freedom, particularly regarding Indian culture – for instance the Indian religions. After 1857, because of the shock left by the Mutiny and the perceived failure of the Company to civilise the Indian natives with 'good' morals, a majority of Christian missionaries and imperialists concluded that the 'religious neutralism' used in the previous decades should be replaced by strong support for Christian values.

Where does Bourne's work place itself in relation to the difference of these two 'eras'? Bourne's photographs, unlike most photographers' works in India after the Mutiny, combined a mixture of both attitudes; and their impact had, all the more

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[27] Quotation from Christopher Miller's translation of Gobineau's *Essay on the Inequality of he Human Races* (French Edition, Paris: Libraire de Firmin-Didot, 1884) collected in Gaiger, J., Harrison, C., Wood, P. (eds.), *Art in Theory, 1815-1900, an Anthology of Changing Ideas* (Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd, 2001), p.337.

[28] *Saturday Review*, 28 March 1877, p.41 from Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1971), p.157.

reason, a singular result on viewers. Bourne's work is far from being easy to understand; his photographs conformed to the religious and scientific concepts of the post Mutiny era, showing the white men as a ruling race, however his artistic skills depict the Indian natives in a romantic way. So, how should his work be understood? It can be perceived as a unique and powerful medium to consolidate the Victorians' beliefs in their own superiority, using photography as an art to 'soften' propaganda and 'please' the viewers, rendering the images and the race theories underpinning them less 'scientific' and more accessible. Unlike the anthropological portraiture of *People of India*, which had as an aim to take part in the study of the different human races by recording the different Indian ethnic groups, Bourne's pictures were more based on the Christian ideas of superiority through a 'high' moral integrity. Bourne's scenes illustrate attitudes and cultural characteristics while the 'scientific-kind' of portraits from *People of India* document the Indians' physical aspects and differences. These latter portraits were meant for anthropologists and the British government while the commercial photographer targeted a wider clientele from the middle and upper classes. Bourne's photographs are between what Anne McClintock calls "commodity racism" which was accessible to all Victorians through a certain jingoism, and a "scientific racism" which was only accessible to an educated elite.[29] It is through religious morals and their description that Bourne's work highlighted and developed racial theories. It is through his photographical art that he underlines and comforts imperialistic stereotypes. Finally it is through his focus on specific subjects – hiding therefore the depiction of some others – that he showed a misleading reality. By portraying rituals: arts such as erotic dance, caste systems and Indian individuals, Bourne and his firm generated the idea that Indian religions as well as animists could not conform to progress – they were stuck in their past and traditions – while White Christians could adapt and rule. It was commonly thought for instance that Indian religions and cultures were superior to those of African tribes which were "mere fetishism";[30] but Bourne also focused some of the portraits he took on Indian tribes. While the way he portrayed them showed these groups in a flattering light, it remains true that they were a part of the process of representing the primitive.

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[29] Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Context* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
[30] Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p.161.

Traditional and Westernised Indias

After the Mutiny, many imperialists argued that "moral superiority" was the "Englishman's sole justification for being in India."[31] Bourne's articles[32] and photographs illustrated this justification. They specifically served it by not showing the sexual laxity of many British in India. It is indeed important to highlight the photographer's choice to portray Indians from all backgrounds and only the British from higher ranks. Consequently the "indictment of Europeans misbehaving"[33] was not shown. In fact, the low life of British soldiers, officers and some upper-class individuals – which in fact started to be severely punished from the 1860s – were not displayed. Obviously the basic reason was that such photos were of no interest, certainly in the market in which Bourne was operating. Nonetheless the result was that the promotion of imperial values remained untarnished by such characters.

On several occasions in his articles but also in his photographs, such as the ones which deal with the cities and group portraits, Bourne recounts his experiences of the clash of cultures through religious beliefs. He often shows determination in emphasising the civilising power of British rule through "the morally uplifting and educative role of photography".[34] He found in photography an example of Western technological superiority which could be used as a weapon in the colonial discourse. Bourne worked particularly on landscape and genre scenes, and those had also an influence on how he represented an 'inferior' civilisation; here the photographer's work was more focused on an illustration of religious superiority than a scientific description of anthropological superiority. In his writings, Bourne often uses very strong qualifiers to describe the 'uncivilised' nature of the indigenous population:

> Now and then we whirl past a village of miserable mud huts, swarming with sprawling, nude children, who, together with the men and women, suspend their operations to gaze in mute astonishment at the flying train. I tried to imagine the sensations with which these poor ignorant semi-barbarous inhabitants of the plains must for the first time have beheld the flying engine dragging its retinue of carriages with their mighty rattle through their peaceful

[31] Christine Bolt, *Victorian Attitudes to Race*, p.159.
[32] See extracts in Chapter three, section 'religion'.
[33] Kenneth Ballhatchet, *Race, Sex and Class under the Raj, Imperial Attitudes and Policies and their Critics, 1793-1905* (London: Weidenfield & Nicolson, 1980), p.134.
[34] See John Falconer, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* (The British Library, London: 2001), pp. 27-28.

> territory. No wonder that they thought it was an incarnation of the devil flying away with the wicked 'barbarians' who had taken possession of their country.[35]

This paragraph reflects Bourne's and mid-Victorian ideas about Indian people. It shows Indians as being 'undeveloped' in comparison to the British, and therefore needing the help from the latter to be risen: "poor ignorant semi-barbarous inhabitants," "nude children (...)" and "they thought it was an incarnation of the devil" picture them as superstitious peasants without any sense of modern development and thinking. It also underlines the superiority and power of the white race: "(British) had taken possession of their country." The last sentence nonetheless suggests some acceptance that the Indians were deprived of what belonged to them, even though here Bourne seems very sarcastic. The photographs can be seen as 'softened' in comparison to Bourne's writing because of the artistic perspective that the photographer always put in his technique, but the portraiture of Indians in the 'rustic' scenes remains as strong as the 'evidence' of his written allegations – see *Rustic scene in Bengal* (photo 2.1.7.), *Dhobee's house and tank* (photo 2.1.8.), *Village life in Bengal* (photo 2.1.9.), *Rustic life in Bengal, Native bazaar* (photo 2.1.10.), *Chumba, bazaar and temples* (photo 2.1.12.), *Mandroo, the village Jumma Muspad* (photo 2.1.25.), and *Native butcher's shop and cattle for slaughter* (photo 2.1.11.). The latter depicts an assemblage of bungalows where cows and Indians are resting. Apart from the title which indicates the activity, the only element allowing the viewer to recognise the butcher's shop is the pair of dead animals hanging outside the house on the corner left of the picture. Although here, as in *Dhobee's house and tank* (photo 2.1.8.),[36] the profession is meant to be the central subject of the photographs, the actual aim is to portray "native" and "semi-barbarous" villagers.

At the opposite of this portraiture there are photographs depicting the 'grandeur' of white colonial civilisation through the images of the modern-styled cities – *Old Court House street, Calcutta* (photo 2.1.1.), *Old Court House street looking north, Calcutta* (photo 2.1.4.) and *Chandni Chawk, Delhi* (photo 2.1.5.) – means of transport such as the train built by the British, "the flying engine dragging its retinue of carriages with their mighty rattle" – *Simla, Railway terminus* (photo 2.1.26.) and *The loop at 'Agony Point' at Tindharia on the Darjeeling Hill Railway*

[35] Samuel Bourne, 'Photography in the East', *BJP,* X, 1863, p. 269.
[36] A dhobee – or dhobi – is a washerman who usually operates from door to door collecting dirty linen from households, and after a day or two, he returns the linen washed.

(photo 2.2.2.) – and Christian educated girls – *The Lawrence Military Asylum, Sanawar, girls at play in front of the school* (photo 2.1.16.) and *Sanawur Church and Girl's School from the Road* (photo 2.1.24.). These last two photographs vehemently oppose "nude (native) children" and the villages portrayed above. The school buildings[37], the girls' school uniforms and the surrounding vegetation – Sanawar is in West Himalaya and enjoys a hill climate – resembles European landscape and society where no sign of Indianness is apparent. These pictures highlight the 'gap' between both races in the 'modern' evolution of humanity. Perhaps one of the most eloquent photographs demonstrating this 'gap' and propaganda is *Reversing station on the Bhore Ghat Incline* (photo 3.2.2.) which exhibits British modern railway technology in a desert region contrasted with the nearly-naked Indian man who stands up looking at the 'amazing' work of his coloniser. This image represents the control of space as a sign of colonial progress; it communicates with the imperial centre by acting as representation of the technological expansion needed to export 'Britishness' and British goods to the colony periphery. What is celebrated, then, is the power to govern and transform space for the subsequent 'colonisation' of India, while the Indians can only be 'spectators' of the process.

Differences in the representation of British and Indian people

This final section focuses on the photographs and comments which directly make a comparison between British and Indian people. Some of Bourne and his firm's pictures indeed portray either British people in India or British and Indian people on the same photograph. More than just picturing two different sorts of people, these portraits involve the meeting of two different worlds and customs.

[37] The Lawrence School, Sanawar was founded by Sir Henry Montgomery Lawrence of the Army of the colonial India's British Raj. It was established on 15 April 1847, and is believed to be the first co-educational boarding school in the world. See the official homepage of the school at http://www.sanawar.edu.in/HistoricalFoundation.aspx, (August 2008).

Victorians within the Indian world

Two sorts of photographs picturing British people with Indians can be distinguished; they reflect the opposites in Indian society, and where the Victorians stood in relation to each one. On the one hand British officers portrayed with Indian princes [e.g. *Rajah of Chamba and swells of the period, 1864 (Written by D.C. Macnabb)* (Photo 1.1.7.)], and on the other hand British people pictured in rustic scenes [e.g. *Rustic life in Bengal, Native Bazaar* (Photo 2.1.10.)]. In such images that portray the British with representatives of the two extremes of the pyramidal caste system, Bourne enforces the description of the whole of Indian society under the control of the British. Their presence in both extremes – as equals to Indian princes and as masters or spectators of villagers – aimed to persuade that their power was everywhere. Cannadine explains that villages were "a microcosm of Indian society (and) they were by definition hierarchical;"[38] therefore the "growing cult of the village in the imperial metropolis came to embody the very essence of 'Englishness'."[39] By being present or noticeable in photographs of villages, the British were constructing their authority as rulers from the base of Indian society. And by being officially portrayed in the company of important princes, the Empire was shown to the Victorian public as being in control of every stratum of the Indian caste system. The presence of the British was thus perceived as being everywhere. For that reason, these pictures were entirely part of the imperial propaganda which aimed to demonstrate, through details and implicit elements, the establishment of British power in India. Although the proportion of British people in comparison with the natives on the subcontinent was very small, by means of the photographic tool the presence and settling of the 'rulers' was testified.

Rustic life in Bengal, Native Bazaar (Photo 2.1.10.) depicts a street full of huts, villagers and animals in a tropical forest environment; everyone – mostly men – is dressed in white or is half-naked. However there is a character who is noticeable amongst this Indian crowd: a European man. He wears a dark suit with what seems to be a beige bowler hat. His Western outfit makes him visible, and he then becomes one of the principal elements of this 'rustic' scene. The villagers are not disturbed by

[38] David Cannadine, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (London: Penguin Books, 2002), p.42.
[39] Ibid. p.43.

his presence, which highlights that the British Raj is acknowledged; being dressed differently stresses his 'uniqueness', therefore his power. Also one does not see his face, one cannot recognise him; he is thus more a symbol than a person. This picture reflects that while the British population in India was insignificant in comparison with the natives, the aura of its strength was symbolically everywhere.

Portraits such as *Rajah of Chamba and swells of the period, 1864 (Written by D.C. Macnabb)* (Photo 1.1.7.) and *The Nawab of Bahawlpur and suite* (Photo 1.4.3.) picturing British officers or civilians amongst some of the mightiest Indian princes were one of the keys of Bourne & Shepherd firm's success. Almost all the richest and more powerful Indians and British came to be portrayed in the firm's studios, but moreover high-ranked persons from both countries were pictured together for official or symbolic portraits. On both of the earlier photographs the British are pictured right next to the princes illustrating the importance of their rank. However they – in both pictures there are two British persons – are sitting next to each other, slightly apart from the native figure. This draws attention to the fact that the British community remained detached. Therefore by sitting next to the native ruler who symbolised local power, they were a part of his power but nevertheless an outsider power which could not be assimilated to the traditional one.

These portraits have a common aspect with the 'rustic scenes', the attention paid to the British. The fact that they are numerically inferior emphasises their presence; they are one of the first components of the picture that is noticeable for the viewer. The British pictured in the portraits were part of the shot in order to show their close relationship with the princes. But in the 'scenes', was the presence of British persons accidental? We know that Bourne was always very meticulous in the composition and shooting of his photographs, and we can conclude that having British persons in some of them was far from being a matter of chance. It could have been, as in many of his photographs, just an element of aesthetic composition, but it seems difficult to believe that that was the case here, since the presence of this 'outside' element in the crowd brings nothing to the aesthetic of the picture. I would argue that Bourne deliberately integrated this 'British note', representing the 'civilised amongst the poor and uneducated'.

Victorians in India without Indians

Some of Bourne and his firm's photographs also portrayed British people on their own, without any Indian characters and even sometimes without any Indian features at all. These portraits reflect the wish of the British, particularly the memsahibs (women), not to be assimilated with Indians, the need to retain absolutely their identity as a Western person, as being completely part of the British society: to be located in India but socially to be in Britain. This 'fear' of being considered as part of the Indian society in the years which followed the Mutiny reinforced the construction of Britishness. It was through the nineteenth-century colonies, particularly the Indian and African dominions, that British nationalism expanded, from jingoism in England to the claims of a British spirit evident around the world.

> Chumba, a small independent state belonging to the Rajah of that name. I found here three Europeans – the English Resident at the Rajah's court, the Government Conservator of Forests, and a missionary, all Scotchmen. They received me very kindly, and during my stay we all dined together two or three times a week, and spent some of those pleasant evenings which are characteristic of Englishmen (in which I of course include Scotchmen) when a few of them meet together, no matter in what corner of the globe it may be.[40]

The fear which led to this construction, often came from British women. As we have seen in Chapter four, in many ways Indian women were portrayed as being 'indecent' and with a 'low-virtue'. Although such photographs created a sort of fantasy world, the majority of Victorian women did not want to meet the world of these 'debauched uncivilised' Indian women. Nearly all British women in India were in the subcontinent to follow their husbands who were officers or civil servants, most of the time they came because of social duty rather than personal interest in India, and belonged to the middle or upper-class. Therefore they were the representatives of Great Britain, and their customs, manners and way of thinking had to strictly coincide with the etiquette[41] of 'home'; year after year this code became even more "rigid and authoritarian."[42] All these efforts to remain part of British society frequently created a rift between the two cultures. Western women were far less

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[40] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII-XIV, 1866-67; XIII: p.524.

[41] *The housewife's guide* (1840) and *Etiquette of Good Society* (1893) were amongst several publications which were well-known in the nineteenth century, and aimed to women to instruct the values of the Victorian society.

[42] Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (London: 1982), p.78.

numerous than their male compatriots, they had thus to deal with a foreign world mainly dominated by men. Hyam explains about British men in India that "some never married, some married late, and some married disastrously. One way or another there was a remarkably high incidence of unhappiness and hardheartedness. The nineteenth-century empire was a distinctly masculine affair."[43] This 'unhappiness' was shared by women; some of whom had been tempted by marriage offers, travelled to India to meet their husbands, and were then disappointed.

> I have obtained that for which I came out to India – a husband; but I have lost what I left behind me in my native country – happiness. Yet my husband is rich, as rich, or richer, than I could desire; but his health is ruined, as well as his temper, and he has taken me rather as a convenience than a companion.[44]

In Bourne's work there are two categories of pictures describing the 'Western world' in India, the romantic portraiture of British ladies and the depiction of the British presence in the hills and plains. *The Viceroy's country residence, Barrackpore* (Photo 1.1.10.) and *Giant Banyan Tree, Barrackpore Park, Calcutta* (Photo 1.1.13.) are unusual portraits of British women[45] in India. First of all they are pictured outside and not in a studio, and secondly there are no particular events – such as society-events, tea-parties, horse-races, etc. – as a purpose for the shots; they are thus 'simple' portraits of women in a garden. Although the environment of both photographs is a tropical garden, there are no elements of Indian culture. It is a very Victorian 'world' in India. This is particularly true of *The Viceroy's country residence, Barrackpore* (Photo 1.1.10.) with the ostensible Christian religious symbols, and the conventionally dressed Victorian middle-class woman, whose posture shows her as praying or reading.[46] It reflects the idea of a pious woman who obeys the rules of her rank. She surely does not belong to the Indian world, which is characterised by the wildness of the vegetation, she keeps the tradition and values of

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[43] Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1991), p.38.

[44] A newlywed writing to her cousin in 1879 from Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records*, p.81.

[45] *Giant Banyan Tree, Barrackpore Park, Calcutta* (Photo 1.1.13.) portrays Mrs. Bourne, and in all likelihood Bourne's wife also posed for *The Viceroy's country residence, Barrackpore* (Photo 1.1.10.).

[46] Ray Desmond explains in *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* that "Barrackpore, the Viceroy's country residence some fifteen miles from Calcutta, was begun by Lord Wellesley in the early years of the nineteenth century and enlarged by the Marquis of Hastings. Successive Viceroys and their consorts sought to recreate an English country estate in the house and the grounds, which were landscaped and embellished with a temple, a terrace walk, Italian and rose gardens, a bamboo tunnel and the Gothic ruin that can be seen in this photograph." p.98.

her native England, which is embodied by her austere position. These pictures illustrate the thought that India was a colony, a 'disciple' of the 'mother' Great Britain, which would teach its values but would not accept and assimilate the 'alien' culture and habits.

Three specific places in India were the 'headquarters' of British culture and society: Simla, Darjeeling and Ootacamund (Ooty). All three were hill-stations, Simla in the West Himalayas, Darjeeling in the East Himalayas and Ootacamund in the Nilgiris; and therefore all three had a mountain climate comparable to the Swiss Alps, which was much cooler, more tolerable for British colonials, and the environment was closer to their native land.[47] Over decades these cities became inhabited by British people, and Simla was turned into the summer residence of the Viceroy's Government.[48] The architecture of the houses, the construction of several churches and the habits of the inhabitants were Westernised; they were Western microcosms in India. Bourne had a studio in Simla, and spent considerable time in the hills. He photographed the stations with the exception of Ootacamund where he only took pictures of the Toda munds.[49] The pictures are both panoramas of the cities – *General view of Simla* (Photo 3.1.2.), *Oakover, Simla* (Photo 3.1.57.), *Simla in Winter, View from the Bowlee near 'Glenarm'* (Photo 3.1.69.) and *Hamilton and Co. Show Rooms, Simla* (Photo 3.1.74.) – and scenes – *Simla, Picnic amongst the trees at Annandale* (Photo 2.1.13.). Bourne's explicit love for these stations and their Western way of life, through his articles and the enormous number of photographs taken there, confirms his commitment to the Western culture. These photographs – with the exception of *Hamilton and Co. Show Rooms, Simla* (Photo 3.1.74.) – depict a Western world where most of the time there are no elements whatsoever which could prove that they had been taken in India. This rejection of the Indian world in order to praise Western culture is thus very developed in Bourne's work. This was certainly not just his own personal wish, he had also to please his wealthiest European clients who were living in these hills. These places were a sort of show-rooms for the cause of the Empire; Sampson explains that such places functioned to confirm "the recognition of structures of contemporary political, cultural or historical

[47] Samuel Bourne, 'Narrative of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir (Cashmere) and Adjacent Districts', *BJP,* XIII-XIV, 1866-67; XIII, p.560: "In the summer of 1866 I intend visiting the district where the Ganges and Jumna have ther source – a district said to contain some of the sublimest scenery in the world, and where I may possibly find something supassing anything to be found in Switzerland."
[48] The winter residence of the Viceroy's Government was in Calcutta.
[49] These tribe's villages were indeed not very far from the British station.

significance to the modern Victorian" and therefore it "would reinforce their common value system."[50]

The 'missing' elements

To conclude this chapter, it is worth noting 'missing' elements in Bourne's representation of India: British groups that were not photographed by Bourne and his firm. Through the studio portraits, and Bourne's portraits and scenes, all together the firm produced a wide range of albums and photographs depicting most of the Indian groups and castes. However when it came to portray British residents in India, it seems that only dignitaries, officers, and their wives appear on the pictures. Besides artistic and scenes photographs, the firm privileged an elite clientele; therefore regarding the pictures of the British, only high-ranked British settlers had their portraits taken. Only the well-educated, powerful and rich part of the British society in India was put in evidence, while the Indian society was portrayed from its highest characters to its vilest and poorest ones. This inequality of depiction distorted the representation of the British presence in the colony. The British Raj was consequently only represented by its rulers and high-society which became then the authentication of the British in India. Barthes stipulates that "toute photographie est un certificat de présence":[51] the absence of photographs picturing the 'degrading' preoccupations of some British in India, implicitly refers to the 'non-existence' of this population for the viewer.[52] We have already noted in Chapter three that according to one witness "European women of bad character hung around the court of the Nawab of Bahawalpur", but while Bourne might repeatedly portray dancing girls and discourse on the degraded character of Indians, these remain utterly invisible. A whole visual culture of hidden elements was thus the base of the colonial

[50] Gary D. Sampson, *Samuel Bourne and Nineteenth Century British Landscape Photography in India* (PhD dissertation, University of California, Santa Barbara: 1991, USA: DA 9204617), p199.
[51] "Each photograph is a certificate/proof of presence"; Roland Barthes, *Camera Lucida* [La Chambre Claire (Paris : Editions du Seuil, 1980)] (London: Jonathan Cape, 1982), p.135.
[52] Drinking and sexual relationships with *Bibis* – native mistresses – were, for instance, not unusual practices. See Ronald Hyam, *Empire and Sexuality: the British Experience*; and Richard Holmes, *Sahib: the British Soldier in India, 1750-1914* (London: HarperCollins Publishers, 2005).

discourse, through this the imperialistic propaganda had a long-life and was firmly fixed in the Westerners' mind.[53]

[53] While there is little evidence that British photographers did portray in India the 'lowest class' whites, it is interesting to notice that Lala Deen Dayal did photograph some 'rough' British soldiers. See below Chapter six.

Chapter six: A comparative study, S. Bourne and L. D. Dayal

To bring the thesis to a close, this final chapter will introduce another, comparative, perspective on Bourne's achievement. In *Whose India?* Teresa Hubel has asked an interesting and very difficult question. She argues that the British could not justify the 'possession' of the country by simple geographical control; the fact that the British ruled India in the second-half of the nineteenth century was not enough to affirm that they 'owned' the country. Adopting a discursive model, Hubel collapses the distinction between literature and history, emphasising that "facts" are chosen and reconstituted in narratives. She argues that discursive claims to ownership and resistance to ownership are mutually constructing categories, highlighting Rudyard Kipling's and Jawaharlal Nehru's competing claims of "the ownership of India by the very act of writing about it."[1]

If one thinks of writing as an element which appropriates a representation of the world, photography has definitely the same sort of power, and therefore it can also claim its 'share of the possession'. In that context, Bourne laid claim to own a part of India through his photographs, particularly since his work was recognised, acclaimed and widely diffused. Open a book which deals with nineteenth-century photography in India and you will discover two recurrent names: Samuel Bourne and Lala Deen Dayal.[2] The two names however have never been linked together, although these two commercial photographers' businesses have survived until the present day, and their successes in nineteenth-century portraits and scenes were colossal. Dayal was probably the major competitor to Bourne & Shepherd's firm, and these two firms had a shared clientele of an Indian and British bourgeoisies, princes and officials. There were nonetheless differences in their works: to state the

[1] Teresa Hubel, *Whose India? The Independence Struggle in British and Indian Fiction and History* (USA: Duke University Press, 1996), p.1.
[2] Lala Deen Dayal is sometimes spelt Lala Din Dayal.

obvious Bourne was British and Dayal was Indian.[3] This chapter examines the extent to which Dayal, who necessarily participated in a field of representation which had been charted largely by the British occupants, nonetheless developed a photographic vision that differed from Bourne's and in some respects challenged it.

Lala Deen Dayal

Lala Deen Dayal (1844–1905)[4] is an interesting subject of comparison as a contemporary of Bourne who also practised photography in India. His celebrity became as important as Bourne's, his photographic subjects were in the same fields, and he was Indian, which enables the study to compare a British photographer with a native and contemporary photographer. Dayal is often considered as 'the Doyen of Indian photographers'. However, as in the case of Bourne, few comprehensive studies have been undertaken with regard to his work. There are only two major works which have been published on him: Clark Worswick's *Princely India: Photographs, Lala Deen Dayal* (1980) and the more recent study from Narendra Luther titled *Raja Deen Dayal: Prince of Photographers* (2003). While Worswick's *Princely India* should be regarded as the first study undertaken on Dayal, introducing the photographer and his work, Luther's *Raja Deen Dayal* is more devoted to the photographer himself with accounts and details of his private life. Beside these two publications there is an official website made by Dayal's firm, which still exists. This website contains an interesting database regarding some articles and details of Dayal's life which have been collected by his great grand daughter Hemlata Jain. In the website introduction Dayal is presented as a sort of nineteenth-century hero:

[3] Dayal's photographic production is grouped for the purpose of this study on the same system as has been used for Bourne's and Bourne & Shepherd's production; that is to say a division into groups involving as main themes either portraiture, or scenes, or topography which can be found in Volume III. Although most of the pictures represent the Indian population, many also portray British dignitaries who either toured or had official duties in the subcontinent at the end of the nineteenth century. As with Bourne's production, most of the photographs involve historical aspects and artistic characteristics. Dayal's body of work is divided here into four groups: outside portraits (Photos 4.1.), portraits taken with a specific décor (Photos 4.2.), scene pictures (Photos 4.3.), and topographical photographs including architectural and landscape topics (Photos 4.4.). It is important to stress that such a diversity in Dayal's work was an exception amongst Indian photographers; most of them only took pictures in studios and not outdoors.

[4] For years it was believed that Dayal died in 1910. A recent study rectifies certain historical errors and established that his death occurred in 1905 - Narendra Luther, *Raja Deen Dayal: Prince of Photographers* (Hyderabad: Creative Point, 2003).

"Lala Deen Dayal, pioneer Indian 19th century photographer, has left for us an exquisite photographic record of British India, of a bygone Colonial era influenced by Native Princely India – its picturesque opulence, rich costumes, whiskered nobility, hookah bearers, royal palaces, hunts, and parades, elephant carriages, historic events – golden moments captured on 'silver' plates for posterity. It was not only in his portraitures and 'sovereign scenarios' that Lala Deen Dayal excelled. His lens captured the culture and tradition of India's rich architectural heritage, temples, monuments, forts, views, and memorials. His extensive series of Indian views forms a timeless travelogue of the country. A unique repertoire of the excellence of Black and White photography, with early techniques, processes and equipment which produced living images and left its impact on the history of art and printing."[5] The epigraph with which Luther initiates his study is a couplet composed by the Sixth Nizam of Hyderabad about his court photographer; this shows the artistic supremacy for which Dayal was acclaimed: "Ajab yeh karte hain tasvir mein kamaal kamaal / Ustadon ke hain ustad Raja Deen Dayal"[6] – which can be translated "In the art of photography, surpassing all, / A master of masters is Raja Deen Dayal."[7]

Dayal's life and career

Born in 1844 at Sardana, near Meerut, Lala Deen Dayal was a teenager when the Indian Mutiny happened, yet his relationship with the British colonisers never was, apparently, hostile. In fact, quite the opposite since almost all his career was made with the support of Indian princes and British civil servants, lords and even the Prince of Wales. In his early twenties Dayal was a draughtsman in the Secretariat Office at Indore; soon after he started in this position, he began a life of princely and patrician patronage. In 1874 he began to study photography as an amateur and then

[5] Web site: www.deendayal.com, introduction (September 2005).
[6] Narendra Luther, *Raja Deen Dayal: Prince of Photographers*, p.1.
[7] The Art Historian B.N. Goswamy wrote in February 2004 in the Indian *Sunday Tribune* a review of Narendra Luther's book. His article is laudatory regarding Luther's study. He however points out that there is an error in the epigraph. Luther wrote "ustadon" while Goswamy claims it should rather be "musavviron" according to the *Farhang-I Asifiya*. The first version can be translated: "In the art of photography, surpassing all, / A master of masters is Raja Deen Dayal." While the second version would replace "ustadon" (masters) by "musavviron" (painters). Goswamy explains that "musavviron" fits better into the metre of the couplet, "producing a *sakta* as Urdu knowers would say," but also it is a reference to the comparative arts of painting and photography. "What the Nizam said was that this gifted photographer is far ahead of the painters, and can teach them a thing or two! Which he could perhaps, given the state to which painting had been reduced by that time."

was encouraged to pursue his talent by Sir Henry Daly.[8] The first major patron who discovered his talent, while he was still working in the Public Works Department, was the Maharaja Tukaji Rao II. This Prince stayed faithful to the British Crown under the Mutiny although his own people and troops participated in the rebellion against the British. This young ruler was then too powerless to have any control over his people, but after the Mutiny he started to impress by his engagement in bringing modernity to his territory. "Oriental princes seldom combine magnificence with economy, but the Maharaja Holkar[9] knows both when to save and when to spend. No sovereign understands better the strength that comes from a brimming treasury, but if the question is a railroad, a college, or anything calculated materially to benefit his state and people, he can forget his ordinary parsimony for the most liberal outlay."[10] Thanks to this first patronage Dayal quickly attracted attention, and became known as the Indian photographer and portraitist of the important names of India and the British Crown. Dayal, as a newly professional photographer, opened studios after retiring from government service. It was then (circa 1885) that he decided to travel around his own country, always under the patronage of local princes – "I came to Hyderabad, receiving great patronage from the Nizam ... I also found that Secunderabad was the largest military station in India"[11] – in order to establish studios in Secunderabad, Bombay, Madras, Indore among others, and to carry out portrait and scene photography recording the uniqueness of each situation. In 1885 Dayal became the court photographer of the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, Mahbub Ali Khan (1866-1911), who became the ruler of the princely state of Hyderabad at the age of three (1869). During his childhood when the government was run by a regency special attention was given to the education of Mahbub Ali Khan. During his reign, he was a respected and dignified personality, known for his love of luxury and the arts, with a special interest in photography.

Between 1866 and 1884, Dayal learnt how to master the metier of photographer. As a result he obtained fame and fortune, and from the mid-1880s he internationally

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[8] Daly was a General and an Agent to the Governor-General for Central India. See Clark Worswick, *Princely India: Photographs, Lala Deen Dayal* (London: H. Hamilton, 1980), pp. 18-19.
[9] Maharaja Tukaji Rao II (Holkar) of Indore.
[10] No.138 – The Maharaja of Indore in *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (See Appendix G).
[11] Giles Eyre, 'Imperial Images' (London, December 1977), www.deendayal.com (September 2005).

expanded his firm – Raja Deen Dayal & Sons – by continuing working assiduously at his techniques and subjects.[12] He convinced both the British establishment at Calcutta and Whitehall in London of his talent, and presented Queen Victoria with an album of photographs; in 1887 he was appointed photographer to Queen Victoria. Like Bourne, his success was accompanied by his constant interest in improving his photographs artistically as well as technically. As his interest in the latest American technology in 1892 shows, he always tried to put his firm on the international scene, leading his work to gain overseas awareness and recognition. His firm had a wide range of specialisms, from marriages to funerals, social events to private portraits, Indian Princes to Western personalities; it accumulated many functions but always maintained high standards for highly placed clients. Undeniably by staying in the Nizam's court under the patronage of the nobility, Dayal stayed away from certain categories of Indian people. Although he was Indian, he became a very 'British servant.' The Nizam gave Dayal a sort of photographic exclusivity, he was only photographically portrayed by his court photographer "when it was customary for them [the princes] to be 'done' by either Bourne & Shepherd or Johnston & Hoffman."[13]

By the end of the nineteenth century, Dayal's work became acknowledged in numerous Western countries as an article published in *The Englishman* illustrates: "As illustrations of the various stages in the historical development of India, these photographs have a very special interest, while they will be universally admired for their artistic beauty."[14] He was attached to his work until the end of his life, passing the business on to his sons. After Dayal's death, his offspring lost their principal patron – the new Nizam was not much interested in photography. There followed difficult times for the firm and the family; they kept the studios open continuing their father's work. However Dayal's unique talent and fame were missing, and his studios lost the high status 'grandeur' of Princes' portraits to become an ordinary

[12] At the turn of the century, the firm employed over fifty people (a combination of men and women, British and Indians) including Dayal's two sons – Lala Gyan Chand and Raja Dharam Chand. Advertisement of the firm was made, for instance on the back of book covers on Indian Natives in the 1890s – it was often mentioned "Art Photographic Salon" and "A free Exhibition of Pictures, open to the public (...), the first of its kind that has ever existed in Bombay, views and types of India, largest and most complete collection."

[13] Clark Worswick, *Princely India: Photographs, Lala Deen Dayal*, p18. Because of this exclusivity one can notice that the Nizam is absent from Bourne & Shepherd's *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal* (See Appendix G).

[14] *The Englishman*, 15th March 1897. This article is a general assessment on Dayal's work.

firm amongst others in the twentieth-century development of Indian photographic studios.

Dayal and Indian photographers

Lala Deen Dayal started his career in an already favourable environment as regards photography in India. As has been highlighted in Chapter One, photography was well-developed and implanted in the subcontinent from the 1850s, and many European photographers active in India during the period have been identified. However the list of Indian photographers is much shorter. Although there was Indian photographical activity, few native photographers were noticed and remembered.[15] Dayal was thus an exception. Apart from a few figures discussed below, there is not much record to my knowledge of Indian photographers' productions. Also when there are works, often – as in the case of Dr Narain Dajee and C. Iyahsawmy – they were assimilated to some British photographers' productions which makes it very difficult to trace the Indians' works. Besides, there is no evidence of Indian photographers who were not assimilated into the Anglo-Indian elite; in the nineteenth century every Indian photographic studio obeyed the rules of the Western model. This was, of course, true of Dayal's business.

One is aware of Indian involvement in photography through the numerous creations of amateur societies counting many members. They were essentially based in the Presidencies and major cities; the Photographic Society of Bengal in Calcutta had a large number of Bengalis as members and contributors. In Bombay, the society – the oldest photographic society in India, formed in 1854 – had a great success including "several distinguished Indians ... among the founder members." One of the most important contributions to the society was made by Dr Narain Dajee – brother of the scholar Dr Bhau Dajee, who was also an active member of the society – who "in addition to the thirty-one portraits shown at the 1857 exhibition of the Photographic Society of Bengal ..., he was also a tireless contributor to the Bombay

[15] Judith Mara Gutman is the first to have conducted a study on Indian photographers with *Through Indian Eyes: 19th and Early 20th Century Photography from India* (New York: Oxford University Press and International Center of Photography, 1982). It is however only recently that researchers in India have begun to investigate more in depth on the sources concerning nineteenth-century Indian photographers. Malavika Karlekar interrogates for instance the Bengali photographic experience at the end of the nineteenth century in *Re-visioning the Past, Early Photography in Bengal 1875-1915* (New Delhi: OUP, 2005).

society's own exhibitions and from the mid-1850s to the 1860s practised as a professional photographer in addition to his medical duties."[16] These societies had British and European as well as Indian members, and there is no record of photographic societies only devoted to Indian photographers.

Besides the societies, classes were created in order to offer both theoretical and practical training.[17] These classes were a success for a while but then closed as a consequence of falling numbers. It is through these classes that Hurrichund Chintamon started his career as a commercial photographer, which lasted until the 1880s. He won the annual prize in Bombay for the best picture in 1855 and some of his views were selected for display at the Paris International Exhibition of 1867. Most of these photographs are studio portraits, and some of them, like *Studio portrait of a Parsee woman and a child, Bombay*, seem to be actually from the British photographer William Johnson's own production. One can also cite another Indian photographer who became successful thanks to his training in a photographic school, C. Iyahsawmy who was taught in Madras. After having been Tripe's assistant,[18] he built his own reputation as a skilled photographer.

There was however another category of Indian photographers, the Indian princes themselves. These ruling families had, as has already been seen, a high interest in Western progress and photography was considered 'fashionable'. However, although their curiosity was certain, their skills were not the best, and they often employed court photographers such as Dayal. Being in a prince's court was the best that an Indian photographer could have hoped for since it assured him[19] the possibility to portray the highest dignitaries and have some freedom in photographing other subjects. The financial aspect also remained very important; the fact of living at court enabled the photographer to have a regular assured income. Dayal had studios at Bombay, Indore and Secunderabad – in the latter fifty photographic specialists worked for him – he also opened a special studio in 1892 called 'zenana' for women to be portrayed. This studio was unique of its kind; it was

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[16] John Falconer, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900* (The British Library, London: 2001), p.30.

[17] "Photography in India – The officials at the Thomason College at Roorkee have decided upon introducing the study of photography therein, chiefly that natives may be instructed in the art for the purpose of recording the progress of public works" from "Photography in India", *BJP* 208 (February 15, 1864), p.59.

[18] Major-Colonel Linnaeus Tripe was one of the major British photographers in India. See Chapter One.

[19] There is no evidence of female Indian photographers in the Nineteenth Century.

under the supervision of Mrs. Kenny Levick – wife of *The Times* correspondent who was also editor of *Deccan Times* – and it became known that Indian women felt safe and secure to be photographed in a studio supervised by a woman. Dayal had the skills and knew how to innovate but all of these could not have existed without the financial aid of his patrons.

Dayal's recognition

The pictures Dayal took were admittedly of high quality, but what also distinguishes this Indian photographer was the world-wide recognition of his work by his contemporaries. He became known for works he produced for the Viceroys Lord Northbrook (in 1872-76) and Lord Dufferin (in 1884-88).[20] Also the honour accorded to his work by Lord Curzon, Viceroy of India, and by the Prince of Wales at different stages of his career through the confection of large albums – around 5,000 photographs – enabled Dayal to create a 'name' in the Western world. His reputation was thus fully established when he portrayed the Prince of Wales during his visit to India in 1875.[21] As a consequence, this Indian photographer exhibited some of his photographs at the World's Fair Columbian Commission at Chicago in 1893;[22] he not only presented his work but he was also given an award. Dayal was an exception and was renowned in India, Europe and the United States. The importance of this recognition goes further than just the merit of a talented photographer, the fact that Dayal was an Indian during the British Raj is a factor to consider. Why was Dayal an exception? How is it possible that this Indian native became one of the main rivals to Bourne & Shepherd's firm?

By having been pushed by his superiors at the Indian Civil Service to undertake a course in photography and having constructed a network of celebrities

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[20] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion, 1997), p.103.

[21] Ray Desmond, *Victorian India in Focus: A Selection of Early Photographs from the collection in the India Office Library and Records* (London: 1982), p.38.

[22] "May 1 to October 30, 1893. Organized to commemorate the 400th anniversary of Columbus's landfall in the New World, the World's Columbian Exposition became a defining moment in Chicago's history and the history of the United States as a whole." (from the 'Encyclopedia of Chicago', www.encyclopedia.chicagohistory.org/pages/1386.html, September 2006). However, Mitter remarks that Indian artists "were relegated to the ethnographic section" in Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922, Occidental orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), p.199.

Dayal established himself in the field of photography. His acceptance in European circles led him to obtain several appointments as official photographer for different projects, such as in architecture by accompanying Sir Lepel Griffin's Central Indian tour of 1882 and official events such as the Viceroy's tour. His strength was to have "a more varied record of Indian life than any European firm was able to do"[23] but only by following western criteria. This Indian photographer's work could indeed be compared with his British rivals', which allowed him to reach a large international clientele. Dayal's style and career are a fair example of an Indian-British culture. Beyond his truly artistic talent, does this mean that this Indian photographer's success was also due to his 'Western-like' work? Dayal could be categorised as being part of an assimilated colonial culture. His 'Western-like' techniques were also at the centre of his success, always participating in the leading edge of progress but also by being as meticulous and patient as his British peers. Until he died, he spent daily numerous hours, taking pictures, developing them and organising surveys for documenting India.

> They [other Indian photographers] do not bestow on their work the necessary amount of patience and care. As a consequence, therefore, native productions with very few exceptions do not possess such a good reputation as those turned out by the European firms. The best photographs turned out by a native of India are the Indian views executed by Lala Din Dayal of Indore.[24]

Two major honours were given to Dayal, one by Queen Victoria, the other by the Nizam of Hyderabad. In 1884, the Nizam elevated Dayal as 'Raja', the highest honour which could have been given by a prince. This title conferred the photographer a value for his work and as a person, he therefore reached the rank of the most important personalities at the court and in the state, and was eligible for the same rank in the whole subcontinent. However his renown did not stop there since three years later, in 1887, he received a royal warrant of appointment from Queen Victoria which was a high tribute for this Indian native, who was born in a small town, to be acknowledge by the 'Empress'; it was therefore an official recognition within the British Empire.

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[23] Ibid., p.32.

[24] 'An Indian critic of the time' from Clark Worswick, *Princely India: Photographs, Lala Deen Dayal*, p.18.

Two works in parallel: Samuel Bourne and Lala Deen Dayal

The aim of this section is to develop, understand and comprehend why and how this comparison might be useful to apprehend the formation and evolution of the representation of a British-Indian nineteenth-century society. [25]

A British and an Indian, two professional photographers

Although Dayal's celebrity started more or less at the time when Bourne was leaving India, both photographers are linked by their approach to photography as an artistic medium and their depiction of the Indian world, and also by the impact of their works on both the Indian and British societies. In the imperialistic context where both photographers developed and after the analysis of Bourne's work in this study which highlighted imperialistic features in his portraiture of the 'natives' – however sometimes balanced as it has been demonstrated by subtle positive details concerning the Indian population – it emerges that this 'nationalistic' difference might be after all not so anodyne. Both Bourne & Shepherd's and Dayal's studios were amongst the most successful photographic firms in nineteenth-century India. At the end of the century, Dayal accomplished a move towards what Bourne achieved in building the foundations of a wealthy business.[26] While the fact that Bourne and Dayal were both commercial photographers is surely not a sufficient justification to compare and interpret their works, it is nevertheless an important aspect; particularly when it comes to question on which level they can be compared as commercial photographers. By using western techniques Dayal established himself as the primary rival to one of the major colonial photographers, Bourne, but he also inevitably lost contact with traditional artistic criteria of his native culture.

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[25] The School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS) in association with the British Library organised "the first major exhibition in London of early photographs of India" titled *India, Pioneering Photographs, 1850-1900* (11 October – 15 December 2001). In the exhibition content Samuel Bourne and Lala Deen Dayal were gathered together under 'commercial photographers;' and Falconer highlighted in the catalogue of the exhibition that "of all Indian photographers, only Lala Deen Dayal has secured international attention on a scale comparable to Samuel Bourne, and in many ways their achievements reflect each other's: the establishment of several successful and fashionable studios, patronage from the highest quarters of society and the creation of a large body of surviving work produced to the highest technical standards."

[26] John Falconer, John, *India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900*, p27.

Photography is by definition a European technology. In this respect by adapting it Dayal aligned himself with the 'progressive' identity claimed by the imperial model of improvement through European techniques. In adopting photography Dayal also necessarily alienated himself from aspects of native Indian artistic traditions. While the western aesthetic conventions of perspective, chiaroscuro and picturesque composition are compatible with photography, the same cannot be said for the more decorative aesthetics of, for example, the Mughal miniature tradition. However, by the 1890s there was a movement to reassert "Indianness" in art, based on the revival of the miniature tradition by the Bengali artist Abanindranath Tagore and others.[27] Ironically, perhaps, this was also heavily influenced by the model of Whistler and the 'aesthetic movement' in Britain, indicative of the fact that what is perceived to be 'essentially' Indian is, at this time, profoundly influenced by modern western critiques of *earlier* western aesthetic norms. The complexity of this identity is mirrored by imperial ideology, which asserts Western superiority, but also often adopts the claim that these superior qualities are transferable – that India itself can become equal or even superior in the future once these gifts have been received and assimilated. This was of course Macaulay's vision in his famous *Minute on Education*, which recommended the teaching of English to the Indian elite so that they would "refine the vernacular dialects of the country, to enrich those dialects with terms of science borrowed from the Western nomenclature, and to render them by degrees fit vehicles for conveying knowledge to the great mass of the population."[28]

In this respect Dayal's apparently 'submissive' use of photography both fits this model and also asserts a native Indian modernity capable of assimilating Western techniques and taking control through them. Since Dayal's period of activity in India also extends well beyond Bourne's final departure from the country in 1870, he may also be linked to changes in technique and style that were evident in the 1880s and 1890s in a way that Bourne cannot, though Dayal shows little evidence of the influence of the Whistlerian 'pictorialist' style, which would have corresponded to the 'spiritual' vision of aesthetic Indianness promoted by Tagore. Nonetheless,

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[27] Partha Mitter, *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922: Occidental Orientations* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), pp. 308-10.

[28] Lachman Mulchand Khubchandani, *Plural Languages, Plural Cultures: Communication, Identity, and Sociopolitical Change in Contemporary India* (U.S.: University of Hawaii Press, 1983), p. 20.

photography was also an instrument of domination of one culture over another. Therefore it can also be argued that Dayal's success as a commercial photographer alongside Bourne was due to his westernised art and that the similarity between both photographical oeuvres is not so surprising.

Photography as an artistic medium

The subjects of Bourne's and Dayal's photographs were the foundation element in the creation of good businesses, but it was their artistic appeal which made both firms very successful. Although photographs of India did not bring the same 'dramatic' and 'theatrical' artistic elements as the engravings, sketches and paintings published in books or displayed in exhibitions,[29] in their work the more 'realistic' features of photography were accompanied with artful composition. It is very interesting, and yet not surprising, to see in Dayal's work the same use of light, the same position of the camera depending if it is a scene or a portrait, the same attitudes of the people portrayed, the same symmetries and balance used in landscape scenes and architecture topographies, the same use of reflection in water, and finally the same search for details in the composition of the photographs as Bourne's. For instance, Dayal's *Social Life: canoeing at Indore* (Photo 4.1.1.) reminds one of Bourne's *On the Dal Canal, Srinagar* (Photo 3.1.20.) because of the same effects given by the water and the reflection of elements from around the main focus. Another example of similarity can be ascertained in the depiction of the protuberance of old and imposing trees in Dayal's *Sally Port Gate, Seringapatam* (Photo 4.4.19.) and Bourne's *Monuments to Satis under Sacred Peepul Trees* (Photo 3.1.25.). This constant pursuit of an artistic creation along well-chosen subjects makes these two photographers the leaders of their discipline in nineteenth-century India. To a certain extent, it can be said that they demonstrated through their commercial accomplishment based on their 'documentary' and 'artistic' portraiture of India that photography was indeed more than simple scientific techniques but an art in itself.

[29] For instance one can underline the 'over-dramatic orientalistic' engraving scenes published in E.H. Nolan's two volumes entitled *The Illustrated History of the British Empire in India and the East* (London: James S. Virtue, c.1860); as well as William Simpson's sketches gathered in *Sketchbooks in India from 1859 to 1862.*

Two portraits of the Indian world

Bourne's photographs and texts display a characteristic Victorian imperialism. As we have seen, they also in contrast simultaneously radiate a positive oriental atmosphere. While Dayal's apparently evident western style participated in building the British supremacy, his work can also be regarded as containing an Indian nationalistic element mainly by showing some controversial scenes such as destructive famines. Moreover, while Bourne presented a largely 'stereotypical' view of India, it has been remarked that Dayal "photographed the [Indian] scene on a wider scale than any European firms did since he moved with ease between Indian and English worlds."[30] Nonetheless both photographers' works often seem to meet. Perhaps the main key difference which can be identified in their portraiture of India, is their demarcation in relation to the 'scenes' photographs.

'British modernism' and assimilation

Most of Dayal's portraits, being of princes and dignitaries or of ethnographic interest, share a common photographic culture with other commercial photographers and particularly with Bourne & Shepherd's work. In addition to the portraits, some of Dayal's other photographs also seem to have been largely influenced by Bourne.[31] First of all, the proportion of places and people photographed (décors and outside portraits, scenes, and topographies) is virtually the same in both photographers' works.

His photographic techniques and particularly his studio portraits of princes and dignitaries can be compared with Bourne & Shepherd's own production. In some cases the similarities are very striking, in terms of the décor and furniture, framing, pose and facial expression. The following examples are some of many which can be compared with Bourne & Shepherd's (Photos 1.6.): *H.H. the Nizam's daughter* (Photo 4.2.10.), *The Maharaja of Orchha, Sir Pratap Singh, with water-pipe bearer* (Photo 4.2.11.), *The Maharaja of Dhar, Anand Rao Pawar* (Photo 4.2.13.), *The*

[30] www.rajadeendayal.com/photography.php (March 2006).
[31] Falconer highlights that for decades after he left, Bourne "remained an inspiration" (*India: Pioneering Photographers 1850-1900*, p.29) for many photographers, particularly in India.

Maharaja of Bikaner, with members of his Regency Council (Photo 4.2.14.), *Prince, Hyderabad* (Photo 4.2.22.), *Prince* (Photo 4.2.23.) and *Sir Jayaji Rao Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior, with attendants* (Photo 4.2.24.). These portraits exemplify the process of assimilation highlighted by Cannadine, which, as we have seen, is central to the photographic representation the Indian Princes in general. They were composed with "Western principles."[32] For instance, the very British-looking Nizam – western-style suit and beard – with his permanent wish of conforming to British culture can also be noticed in *H.H. the Nizam, with the day's bag, Nekonda* (Photo 4.1.8.) where his clothes and posture next to two hunted tigers are typical of the British society in India and can be easily compared with another of Dayal's portraits *Gwalior: First Tiger shot by Lord Curzon in India (with Maharaja of Gwalior)* (Photo 4.2.2.).[33] Bourne's firm was one of the precursors of this trade; therefore by the end of the century it was not so surprising to see similar portraits by Dayal expressing a common understanding of the genre.

Dayal's portrayal of specific Indian characters and groups also had many similarities with Bourne's work. For example, Dayal's *Bhil aboriginals, Central India* (Photo 4.1.22.) can be compared to Bourne's *Tibetan women* (Photo 1.3.4.). In both these photographs representatives of an ethnic community are carefully posed sitting on the ground in an outdoor location without any definite landscape, placed centrally and in the foreground in a way that focuses on the portraiture of the 'natives' in each case. Portraits of characteristic members of the native entertainment professions also figure in the work of both photographers, and are treated in similar ways, as in, for instance, the female 'circus' entertainer with Dayal's *Lion tamer, Charteri Circus* (Photo 4.1.23.) and Bourne & Shepherd's *Female Acrobats* (Photo 1.5.4.).

Finally both photographers also embodied British 'hegemony' over the subcontinent through the illustration of 'modernism' and the memory of the Mutiny. Both took pictures of railways and bridges, Dayal's *Tunnel No.2, the Indore Station Railway* (Photo 4.4.21.) and Bourne's *Reversing station on the Bhore Ghat Incline* (Photo 3.2.2.) highlight the technological achievements of railway construction and the message of modernity behind it. Nonetheless in this case it is interesting to see

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[32] Judith Mara Gutman, *Through Indian Eyes: 19th and Early 20th Century Photography from India*, p.95.

[33] Appropriately, this photograph figures on the cover of the Penguin edition of Cannadine's, *Ornamentalism, How the British saw their Empire* (2002).

that the Indian photographer's inclusion of two fully dressed Indians in addition to a British character (wearing a white suit with a pith helmet) generates a different connotation to the image in comparison to the British photographer's insertion of a nearly naked Indian standing alone. In the first instance the three characters are contemplating the work together, and although the white of the British differentiates him from the two Indians, they all seem on an equal ground. While the second case, as seen in Chapter five, illustrates an opposition between British 'modernity' and Indian 'primitivism'. British memorials and buildings that were a testimony of the Mutiny were also photographed by Dayal. The case of his *Cawnpore Mutiny Memorial Well: Angel statue* (Photo 4.4.1.) shows similarities to Bourne's *Cawnpore: The Well* (Photo 3.1.12.). In this instance Dayal appears to have been reproducing a tried and tested formula – Bourne's photograph from the 1860s had already been copied several times in the following decades by British photographers including V. Pont in the 1870s and W. L. H. Skeen in the 1880s.

Dayal's portraiture of an Anglo-Indian world as an alternative to Bourne's vision

The principal difference between Dayal's and Bourne & Shepherd's studio portraits can be found not in the portraits of Indian Princes but in photographs of British officials and soldiers. It is noticeable that in Bourne & Shepherd's production only a few portraits were taken of the British people in India while Dayal's production is close to half Indians' portraits, half British people's portraits – without mentioning the several photographs which portray both Indians and British on the same picture. This difference seems important to highlight; while Bourne and his firm mainly portrayed an Indian world under British rule, Dayal depicted an Anglo-Indian world. Liz Wells recalls that photographic representation "simultaneously depicts and symbolises."[34] Both Bourne and Dayal seem to depict the same world, but their symbolisation of that world is not always identical. One can argue nonetheless that it is not within his techniques that Dayal had an Indian eye and was thus different from Bourne but with the choice of certain of his subjects and scenes.

[34] Liz Wells (ed.), *The Photography Reader* (London: Routledge, 2003), p.376.

Although Dayal's representation often coincides with Bourne's western representation of the Indian world, he also portrays some problems and events which occurred at the time that the English photographer had neglected, such as scenes of famine,[35] military practice, historical and social events – see most of the photographs in the group 4.3. For instance, *Famine relief work, the Nizam's dominions* (Photo 4.3.17.) depicts a mass of Indians working on a public project in order to feed victims of drought; it is not the horror of the famine that is shown here but an attempt to find a solution. *Race stand, Malikpett, Hyderabad* (Photo 4.3.8.) and *"The Retreat," Panipat Maneuvers* (Photo 4.3.13.) portrays a world where British encounter Indians customarily following the norms of Victorian culture, but as active agents. Dayal's uniqueness in picturing crowded places and scenes – for instance *Langar Procession, Hyderabad* (Photo 4.3.1.), *Viceregal visit to Hyderabad: the Kotwal Saluting Moti bungalow* (Photo 4.3.13.), *Sir Mahbub Ali Khan, the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, with a contingent of his Arab irregular soldiers* (Photo 4.3.14.), *Tomb, Bijapur* (Photo 4.3.15.), and *British baggage train, Jhansi Fort* (Photo 4.3.16.) – distinguishes him from most of the photographers of the time. Dayal depicted military manoeuvres and parades, such as *New Year's Parade Past, 49th Battery, Royal Artillery* (Photo 4.3.24.), but also portrayed officers and soldiers. *Sergeant-Instructor Shaw, "S" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, group of gymnasts, Secunderabad* (Photo 4.2.30.), which shows 'rough' British soldiers with tattoos, is a good example of the whole spectrum of Dayal's portraiture of the British army that was not only the middle- and upper-class population that Bourne and his firm often tried to bring to light. Where Bourne preferred landscape views nearly bare of humans or when he portrayed the crowded Benares expressed some disgust for such places, Dayal, quite the reverse, seems to enjoy photographing such activities. Moreover, it is notable that though Dayal is stylistically close to Bourne, his sense of grouping and composition differs. Far less prominent are the rigidly controlled, distanced or isolated figures. A photograph such as *Purana Pul in Hyderabad* (Photo 4.3.33.) depicts a bustling scene on the old bridge – as group of soldiers marching in one direction, while a convoy of carts moves in the other, and local citizens traverse the bridge purposefully in both directions. One young man looks up at the photographer. Here Indians are active and independent figures. Even the impressive

[35] Famines were one of the biggest problems touching the Indian population during the second half of the nineteenth century; see also 'Famine in India', *the Illustrated London News* (20 October 1877).

bridge they cross is not a sign of 'western' improvements. It dates to the sixteenth century.[36]

Although it is a largely western-influenced world that is portrayed by Dayal, it is an Anglo-Indian society which Bourne has ignored. Whether depicting assimilation or difference, the British photographer rarely represented both societies encountering in his portraits or 'native' scenes. Dayal in contrast did portray this mixed-society, for instance by illustrating a tea party where the Nizam gathered with his relatives and British officers – *H.H. the Nizam and staff, at tea party on 'Shikar' near Warangal* (Photo 4.1.7.), and the evidence of the installation of new customs such as the *Masquerade, Secunderabad* (Photo 4.2.29.). As Clark Worswick has pointed out, masquerades were a regular feature of British social life under the Raj but images such as this, showing Indians participating in the entertainment, are very rare.[37] Was Dayal merely recording an unusual example of the mixing of the two coexisting societies, or was this a kind of propaganda on his part? Perhaps both. Over Dayal's whole work, it seems that he was keen on photographing the British within the Indian world – or the British and Indians in a British looking colonised world, and in this aspect his work differentiates itself from Bourne's. Nonetheless it is also common within the Indian photographer's portraits and scenes to discern a sort of gloriousness and positivism regarding the relationship between the rulers and the colonised natives; a good example of this is the 'friendly' portrait of *Ayah (nursemaid), with European child* (Photo 4.2.43.).

The impact of both works

In relation to the above, the most interesting aspect of the impact of their work is probably the fact that both photographers are considered as a sort of image of their respective societies, although, as we have seen, both had many common aspects in their works. Bourne often represents the Victorian imperialist photographer from the second part of the nineteenth century while Dayal is considered as a nationalistic

[36] Syed A. Bilgrami, *Landmarks of the Deccan, A Comprehensive Guide to the Archaeological Remains of the City and Suburbs of Hyderabad* (Hyderabad: Government Central Press, 1927 – Asian Educational Services, 1992), p.12.
[37] Clark Worswick, *Princely India: Photographs, Lala Deen Dayal*, p.83.

Indian symbol of the Raj.[38] Dayal is certainly seen as the representative of an Indian elite in the nineteenth century who absorbed the colonial culture to create their own, which led to a modern Indian culture mixing and transforming influences from the Western world and the Indian tradition. Through this comparison, the notion of 'transculturation' fits with one of the principal aspects of that concept, which is that the "autoethnographic representation (...) in which colonized subjects undertake to represent themselves in ways that *engage with* the colonizer's own terms"[39] has been a medium to reflect the creation of their own independent identity. Dayal's studio portraits, landscape and architecture photographs are comparable to Bourne and his firm's own production; in that sense he was assimilated to an Anglo-Indian elite, obeying Western rules of representation. But by also photographing scenes of famine and Indian social events and crowds, Dayal went beyond Bourne's Westernised-orientated portraiture of India. We might say that he used Bourne's Western 'less noisy guns'[40] to reveal the condition of his own people during the British presence. As a result, it appears that in their commercial work both photographers emphasise the same sorts of features and cultural elements, but at the same time the English photographer gives more a feeling about the Indians while the Indian photographer portrays more fully the British in India.[41] Therefore while their "representational processes"[42] and thus "stereotyping" engaged with the same country they differed in their symbolisation and meaning.

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[38] Partha Mitter in *Art and Nationalism in Colonial India, 1850-1922, Occidental orientations* argues that Indian artist from the 1850s mimicked the Western influence but then brought a new sort of national feeling and identity to India. They were not always to the taste of later nationalists who sometimes considered them either too close to British culture or not conforming to their own values.

[39] Louise Mary Pratt, *Imperial Eyes, Travel Writing and Transculturation* (London: Routledge, 1992), p.7.

[40] It is a reference I use regarding a comment that Bourne wrote in an article, see Chapters II and V.

[41] It shall be acknowledge that Dayal worked in a later phase of the Raj than Bourne, and this might already show the evolution of the representation of India toward the last decades of the nineteenth century.

[42] Liz Wells explains in *The Photography Reader* that "representational processes became understood as oscillating complexly between visible stereotyping and more invisible subjective processes of accommodation within social and domestic hierarchies." (p.376).

Conclusion

Bourne is now recognised as one of the major photographers in India during the early years of full imperial British rule after the Mutiny. He is cited in every general study on photography in India in the nineteenth century. His work is displayed around the world in every exhibition on that period, and carefully preserved by libraries, institutions and private collectors.[1] The continuing appeal of his photographs to collectors can be perceived in the simple fact that currently a print, which does not belong yet to one of the chief libraries, would sell at a minimum price of £300 in an art gallery.[2] Following this examination of the substance of the photographer's production, it seems legitimate to wonder why is Bourne not sufficiently studied or represented in current research with regard to British colonial culture. Could an answer to this under-representation of Bourne in general scholarship be found in the complexity and duality of his representation of the 'imperialist culture'?

In some respects Bourne's work is a typical product of the period, evidence of the contradictions and uncertainties in British attitudes to post-Mutiny India.[3] Was Bourne's work no more than a mirror of the stereotypical positions adopted within mid-nineteenth-century British imperialism? Did it, to a significant extent, help to *constitute* the high imperial discourse on either "Orientalist" or "Ornamentalist" models? Certainly, his sales indicate that his photographs entered into some upper-middle- and upper-class homes, with his exhibitions and the museum collections his pictures were also seen amongst the middle- and some of the working-class. His work undoubtedly had an impact on the visualisation of the Indian people within

[1] Just to name a few: the British Library, the Washington Congress Library, Kolkata National Library, Bath Photographic Museum amongst others, and private collectors such as Howard and Jane Ricketts have numerous albums and loose photographs which were taken by the Bourne.
[2] On the international art-market in 2005.
[3] Bernard Porter in the introduction of *The Lion's Share: A Short History of British Imperialism, 1850-1983* (London: Longman (4th edition), 2004) highlights the fact that defining British imperialism is a demanding and difficult matter. It is confusing, unclear and perhaps primarily diversified; there is no 'one-way' to apprehend this period, this 'feeling' and 'cultural' notion.

Britain. The previous chapters highlight the significance of Bourne and his firm's participation in Western visual culture, the dual representation of the 'Natives' in India: the depiction of an exotic, traditional and 'different' world while in the meantime producing the views of a modern British rule with its precepts of 'control' and 'assimilation'. But this duality is, itself, challenged by the various visual codes through which Indian peoples are depicted. The visual narrative of the 'oriental' Indian might be stereotypical but was not always negative. Here again there is a mixture of signs: elements of a cultural 'governmentality' promoting the need for British imperial dominance and the contrasting attractions of local authenticity and the picturesque.

The photographer's work, here, plays with imperial visions borrowed from existing imaginative geographies of India. Indeed Ryan insists that despite "the reality that [Bourne] claimed to be revealing truthfully was in fact one of his own culture's making."[4] To an extent this is a truism (he cannot but belong "to his own culture"), but it also involves a one-directional conception of the act of photographic representation, as if Bourne could wholly construct visual facts and codify "messages" out of whole cloth. Nonetheless, his visualisation of Indian life in the context of a newly constructed political era reveals that Bourne's work was also an element of the creation of a British-Indian culture which was still in the process of being formed. At the time, the photographer's conception of his medium as a scientific instrument to reveal objective truths justified his perception of his work as a sort of 'documentary' on Indian life for the general and private eyes. Bourne however also emphasised his aim to develop 'artistic' photographic images: to form a pictorial creation from the subjects portrayed, and to this extent he recognised himself the intrusion of aesthetic factors in his portraiture of 'reality'. Bourne's portrayal of Indian people is therefore a set of different layers that constructed the British perception of India in the 1860s and 1870s. His representation of the Indian world under post-Mutiny British rule is an 'assemblage' of current theories and practices. Our reading of his work is also, in a sense, an "assemblage", one which draws on critical theories and interpretative practices which have been developed and contested in the past thirty years: both Said's and McKenzie's interpretations of *Orientalism*, both Metcalf's theory of *Difference* and Cannadine's concept of

[4] James R. Ryan, *Picturing Empire, Photography and the Visualization of the British Empire* (London: Reaktion, 1997), p.51.

Assimilation, all within the context of Foucault's general concept of *Governmentality* and Bhabha's account of *Ambivalence*.

This nineteenth-century personage, his writings, his photographs, and his partnership with Charles Shepherd should be regarded as a significant historical source to understand the culture of the British presence in India. Photography is sometimes discarded as being a good representation of a historical period, regarded either only as an artistic craft or as a manipulative representation. Here the point is made that photography in colonial India – particularly through Bourne's legacy of the powerful tension between myth and reality – is making a 'historical reconstruction', comparable to writing history in light. The duality in the representation of Indian 'Natives' in the decades following the Mutiny and its impact on the creation of an 'imperial' culture is therefore still in the centre of an on-going debate. As we have seen, Bourne had indeed a clear view of colonial instruments of power and knowledge that, as he said, "attained their objects with less noise and smoke".

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The Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection in addition to other collections (such as the Collection from the Congress Library, Washington) and publications which have catalogued photographs (see secondary sources). Those photographs have also been used as primary sources.

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SAMUEL BOURNE AND INDIAN NATIVES
AESTHETICS, EXOTICISM, AND IMPERIALISM

XAVIER GUEGAN

PhD

Three Volumes
[Volume Two]

2009

Samuel Bourne and Indian Natives
Aesthetics, exoticism, and imperialism

Xavier Guégan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the
University of Northumbria at Newcastle
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the
School of Arts and Social Sciences

Three Volumes
[Volume Two]

March 2009

Appendix A: Samuel Bourne's Photographs
Bourne & Shepherd Firm's Photographs

The first category deals with portraits and has been divided into six groups for the purpose of the study. Here is the way the photographs have been grouped: outside portraits taken by Bourne, in a natural décor during the 1860s; portraits taken by Bourne with a specific décor during the 1860s; outside portraits taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd, in a natural décor during the 1860s; portraits taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd with a specific décor (studio) during the 1860s; outside portraits taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd, in a natural décor during the 1870s; portraits taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd with a specific décor (studio) during the 1870s. The second category deals with scene pictures, and has been divided into two groups for the purpose of the study: scene photographs taken by Bourne and scene photographs taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd. Finally the third category deals with topographical photographs, and has also been divided into two groups for the purpose of the study: topographical pictures taken by Bourne and topographical pictures taken by the firm Bourne & Shepherd.

Photo 1.1.1. *Group of Kashmiri women*
British Library

Photo 1.1.2. *Kashmiri women*
British Library

Photo 1.1.3. *Natch girls of Srinagar, Kashmir*
British Library

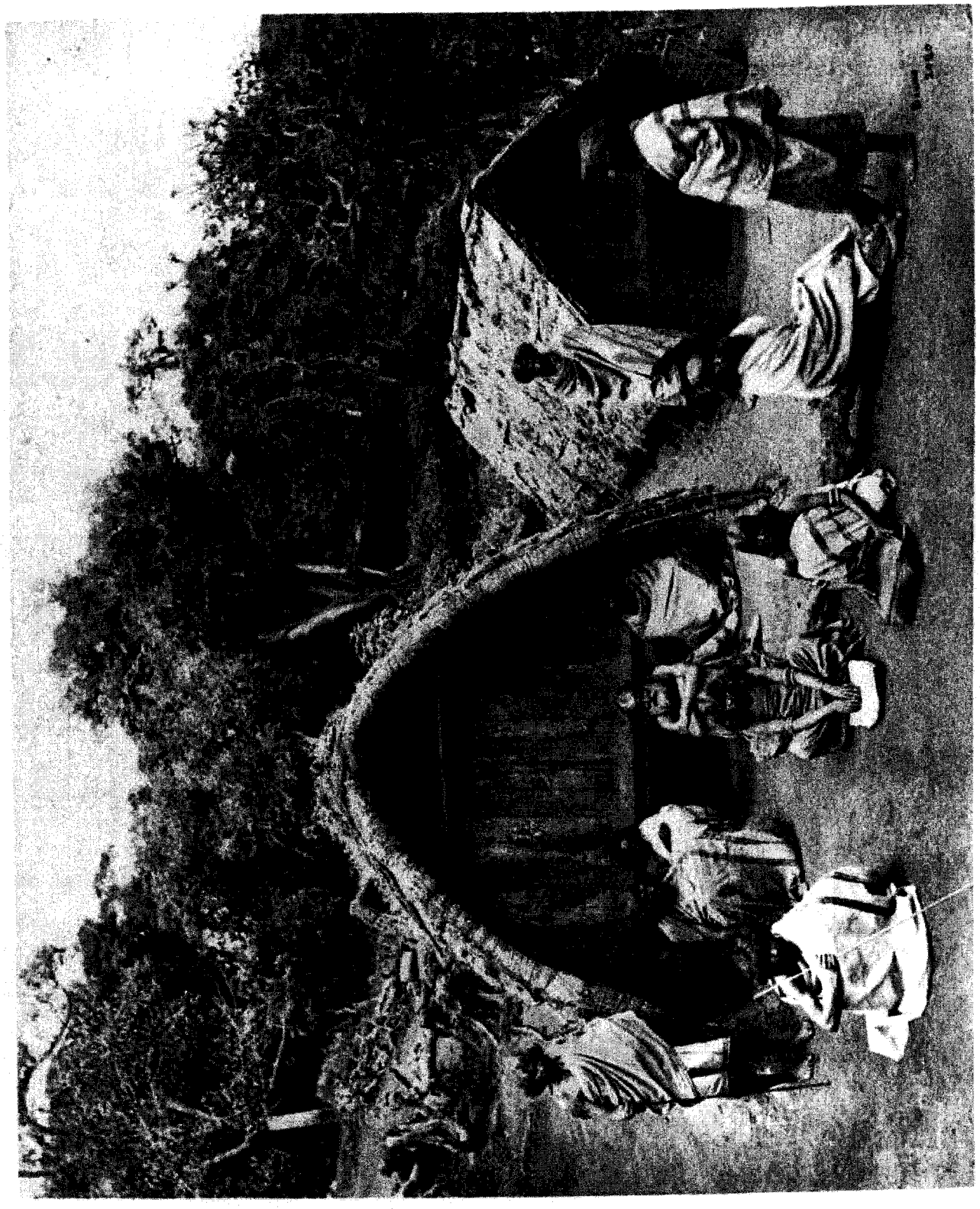

Photo 1.1.4. *Toda Mund*
British Library

Photo 1.1.5. *Group of Bhutias, Darjeeling*
British Library

Photo 1.1.6. *Group of Bhutias and Nepalese*
British Library

Photo 1.1.7. *Rajah of Chamba*
British Library

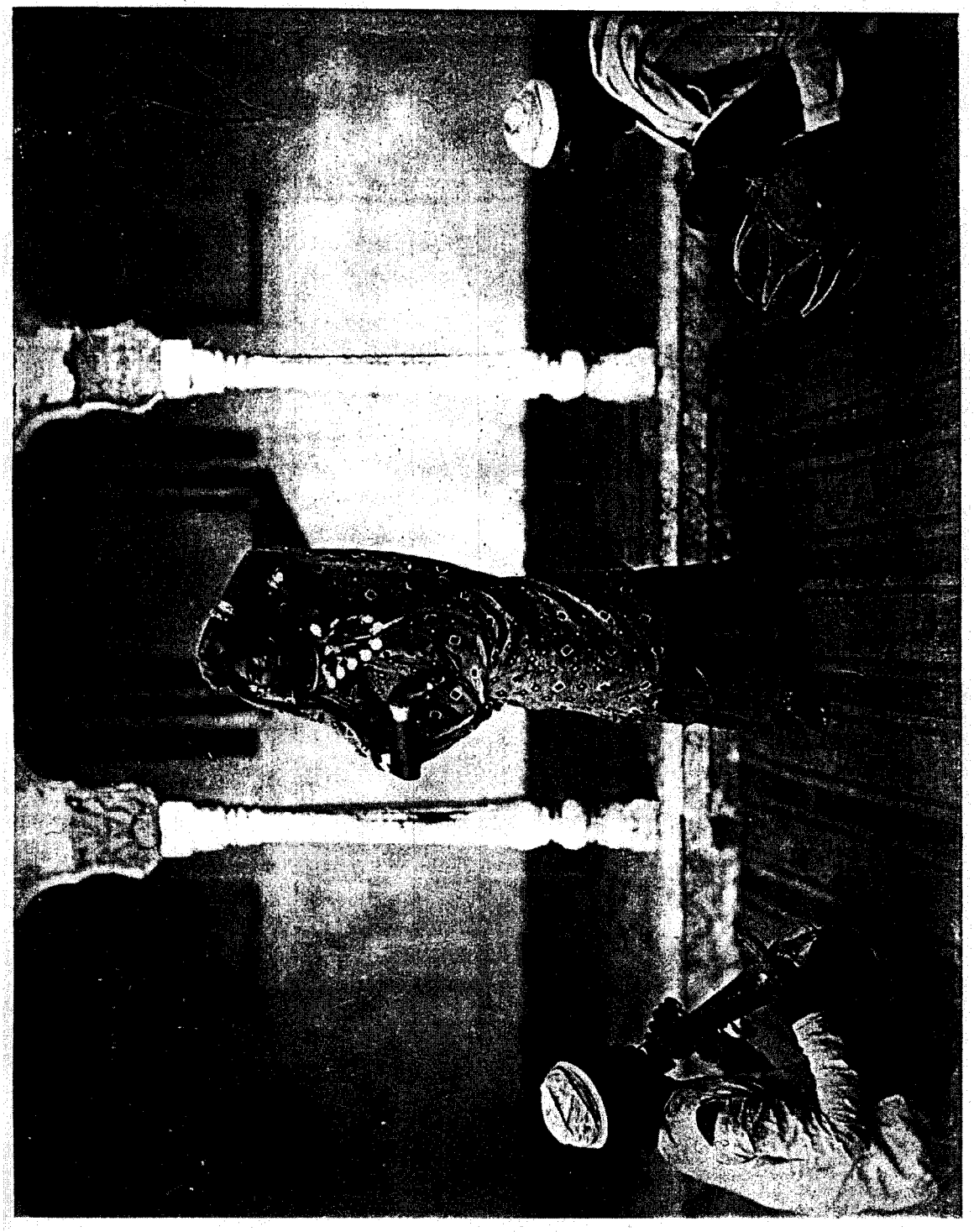

Photo 1.1.8. *Nautch Girl and Musicians, Kashmir*
British Library

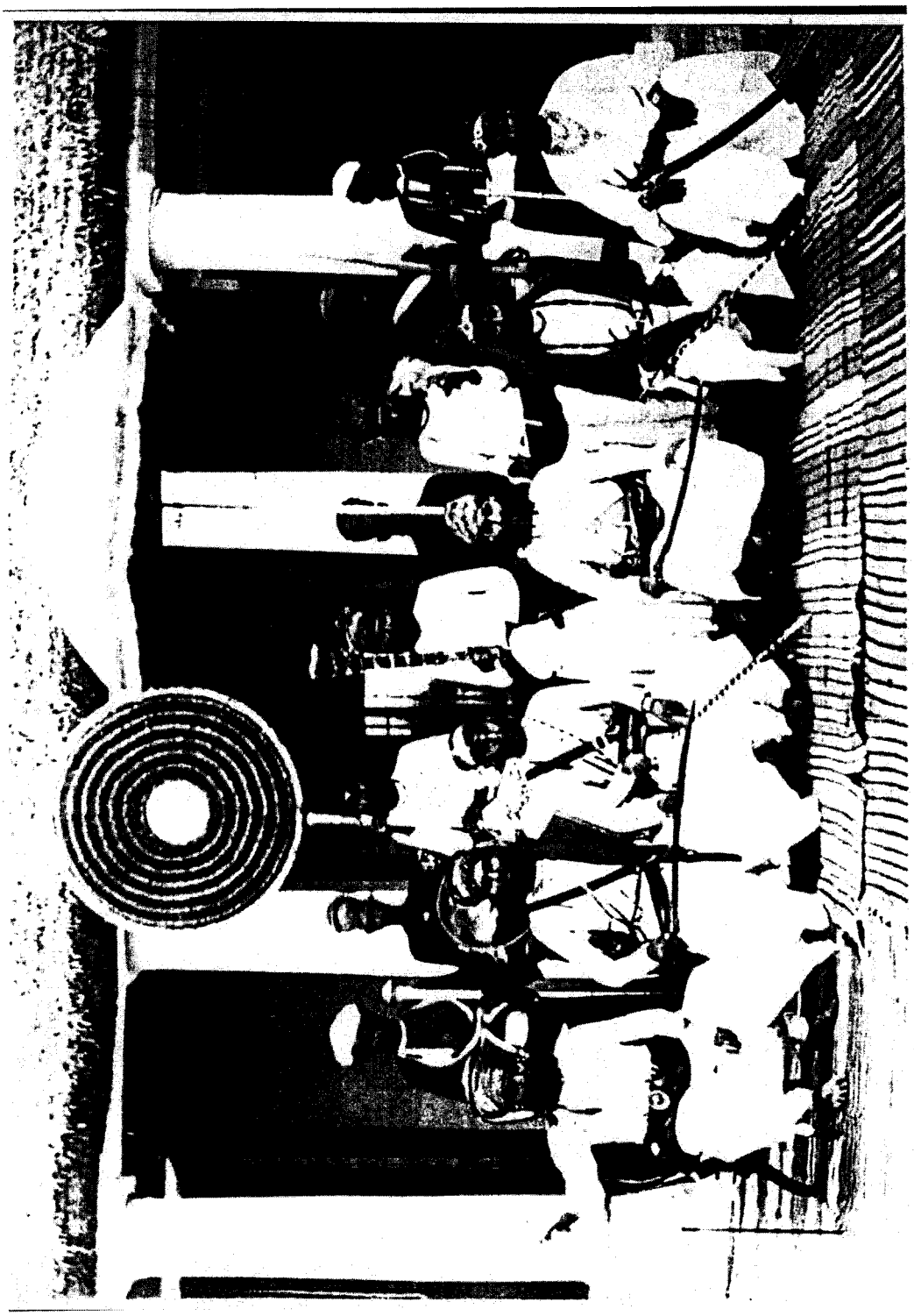

Photo 1.1.9. *The Raja of Bundi and Suite*
British Library

Photo 1.1.10. *The Viceroy's country residence, Barrackpore*
Desmond's

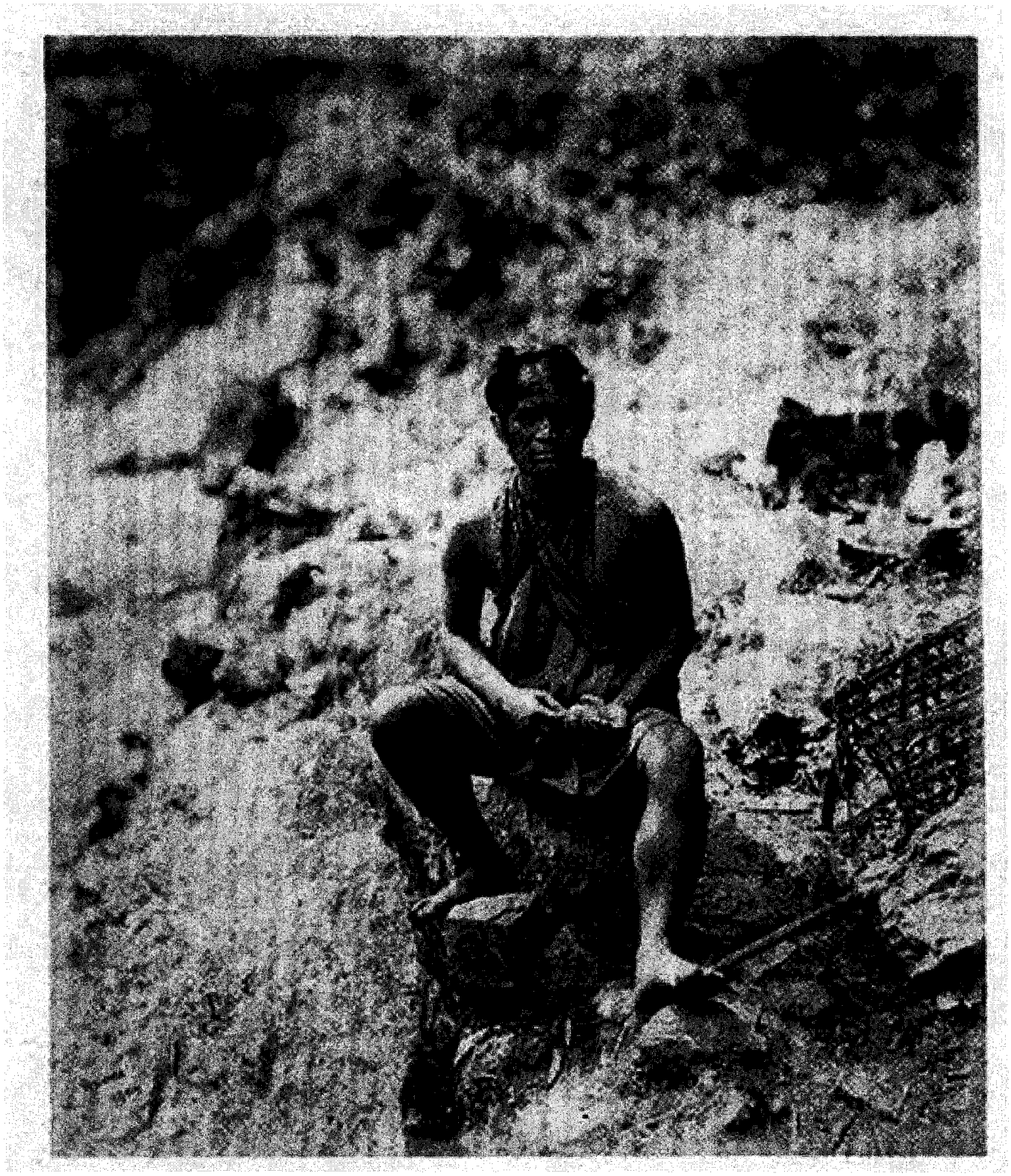

Photo 1.1.11. *Lepcha Man, native of Sikkim, Darjeeling*
Ollman's

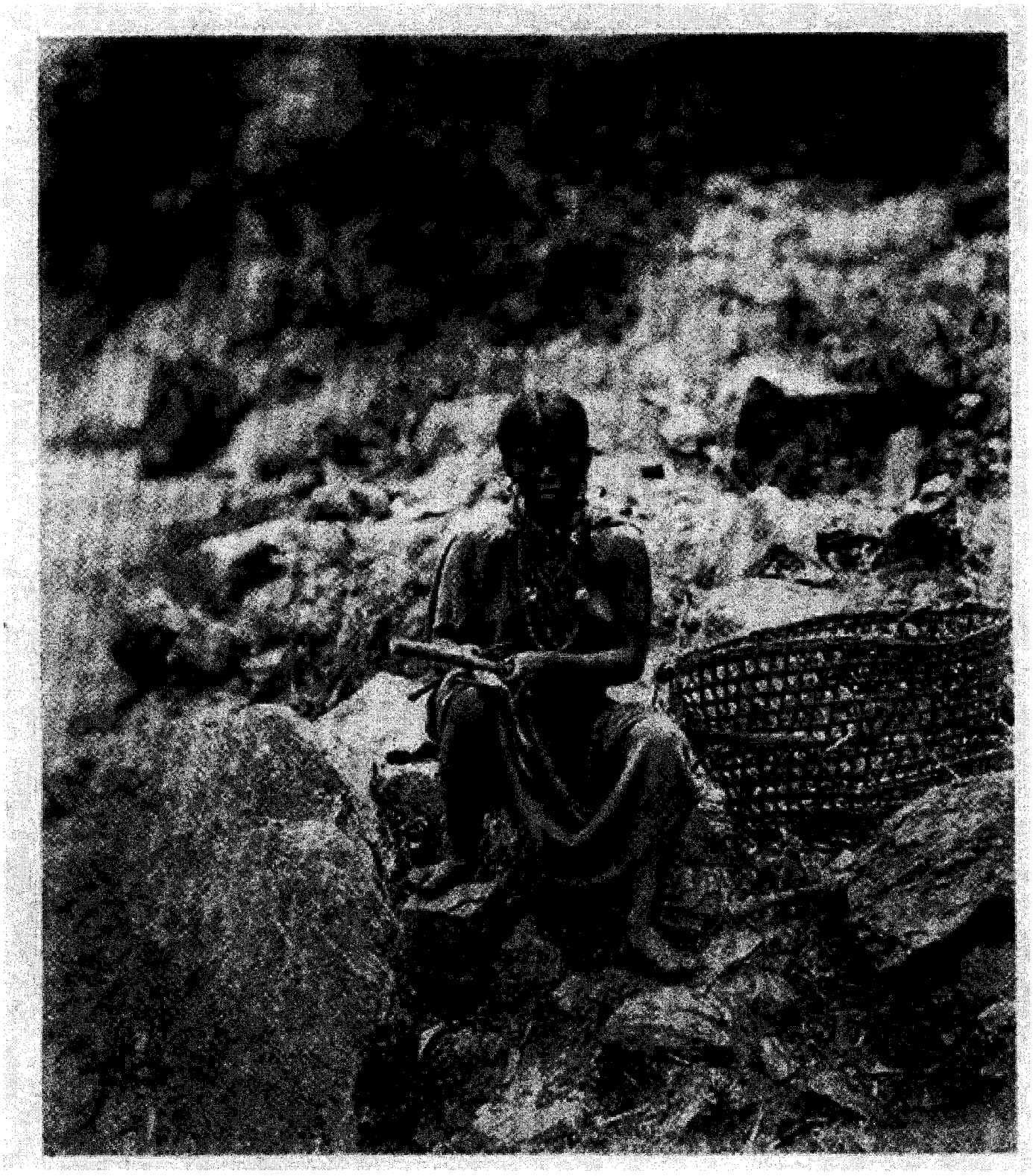

Photo 1.1.12. *Lepcha Woman, native of Sikkim, Darjeeling*
Ollman's

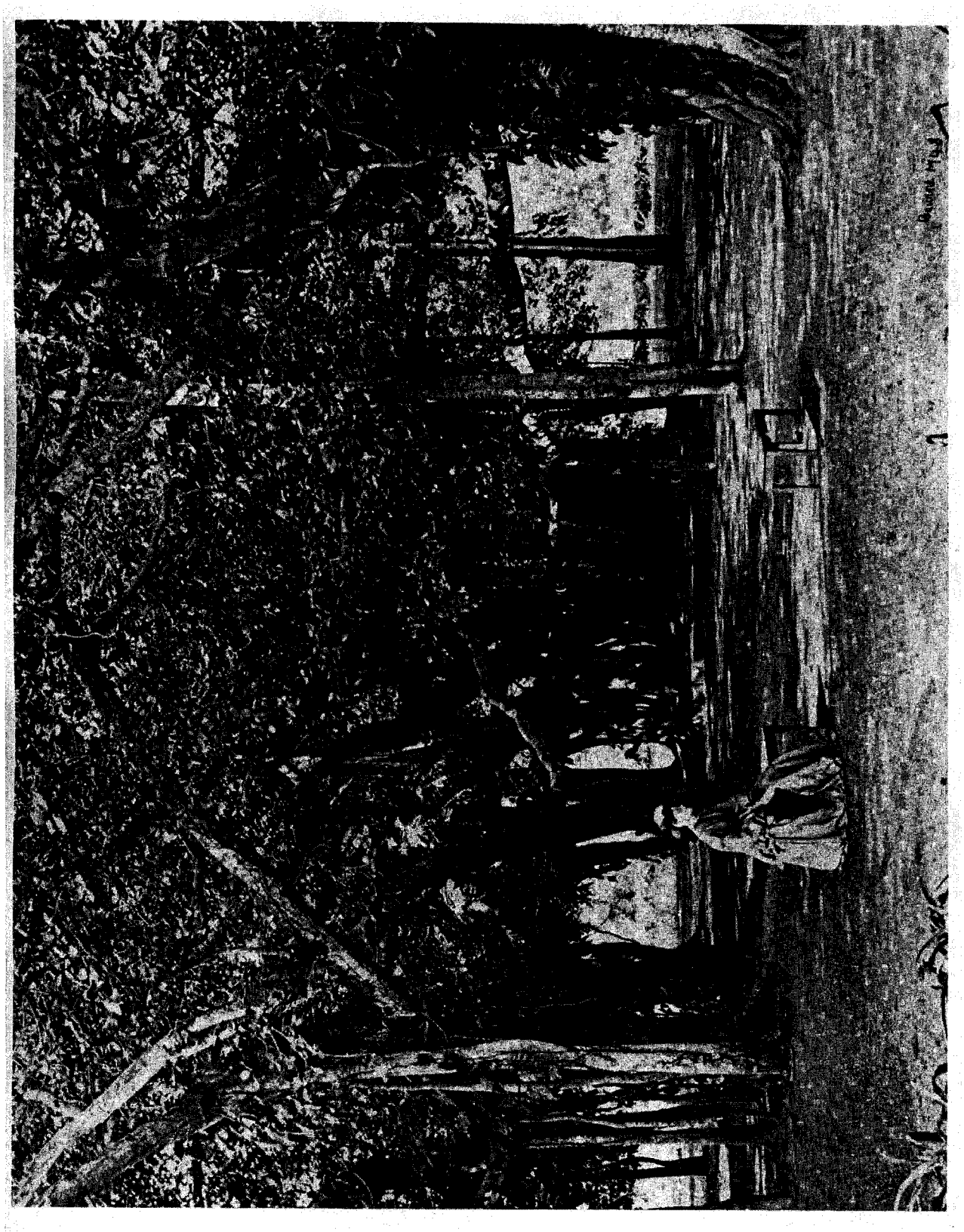

Photo 1.1.13. *Giant Banyan Tree, Barrackpore Park, Calcutta*
Woswick's

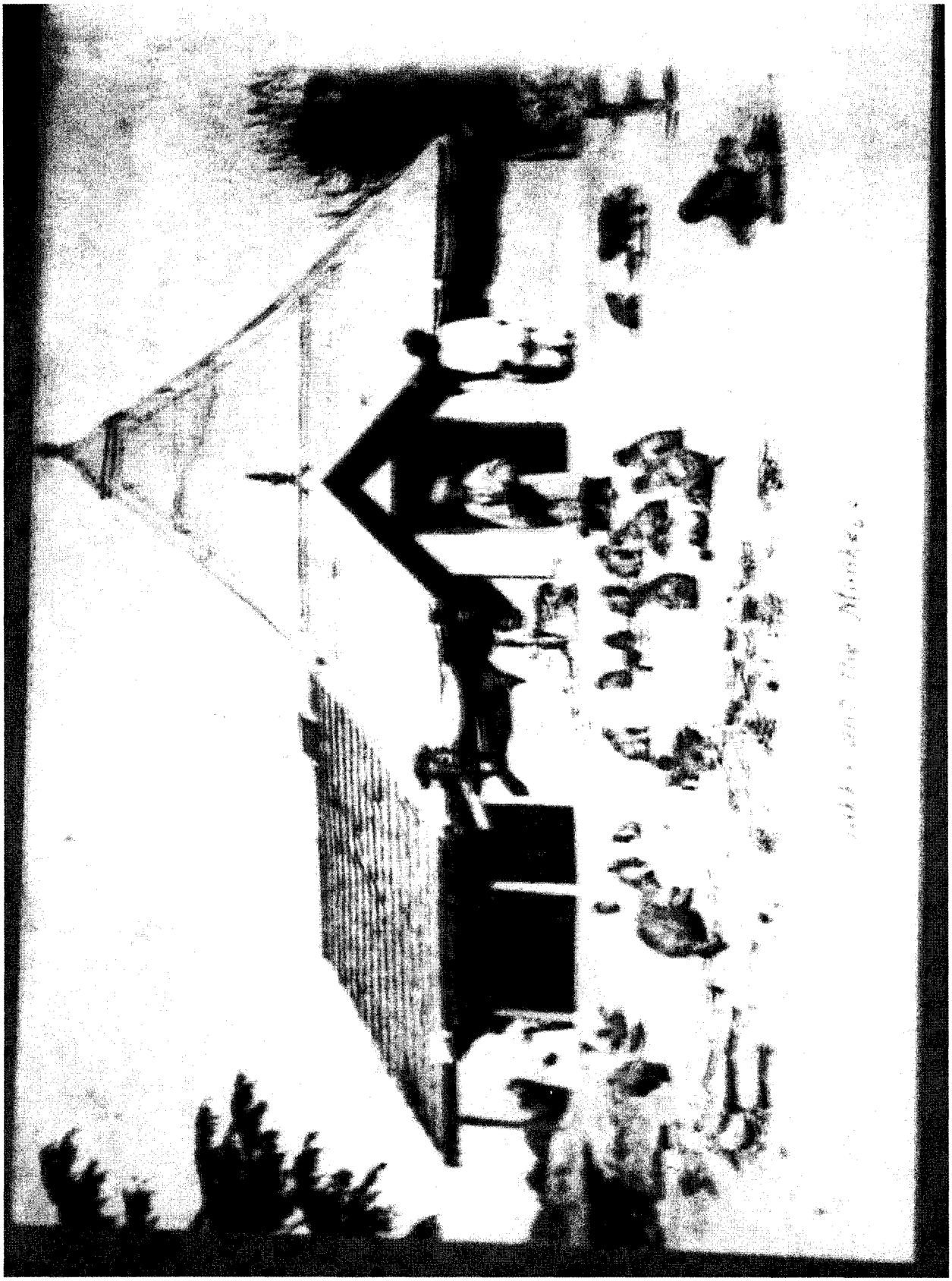

Photo 1.1.14. *Jakko and the Monkeys*
National Library at Kolkata

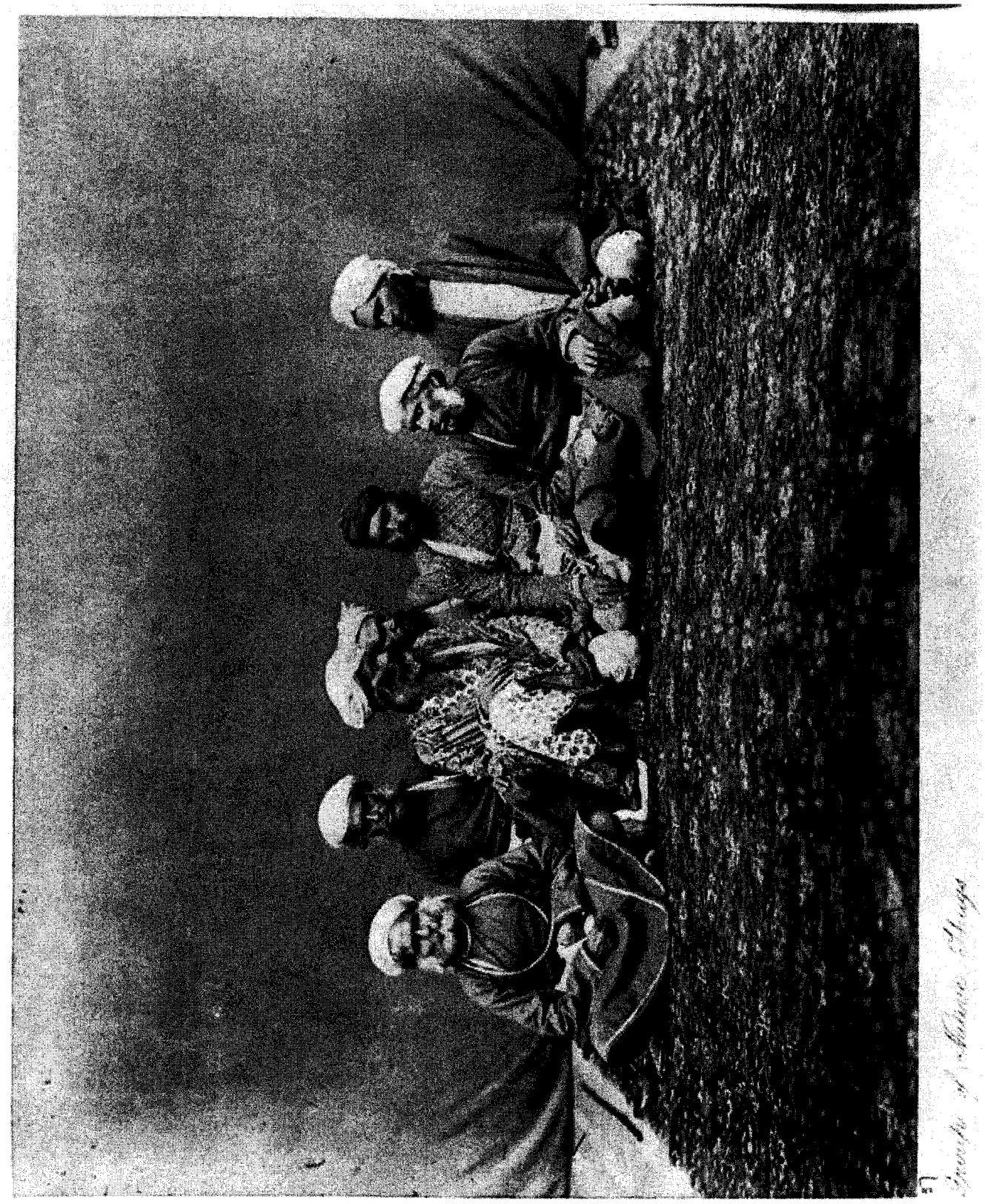

Photo 1.2.1. *Group of Native Thugs*
British Library

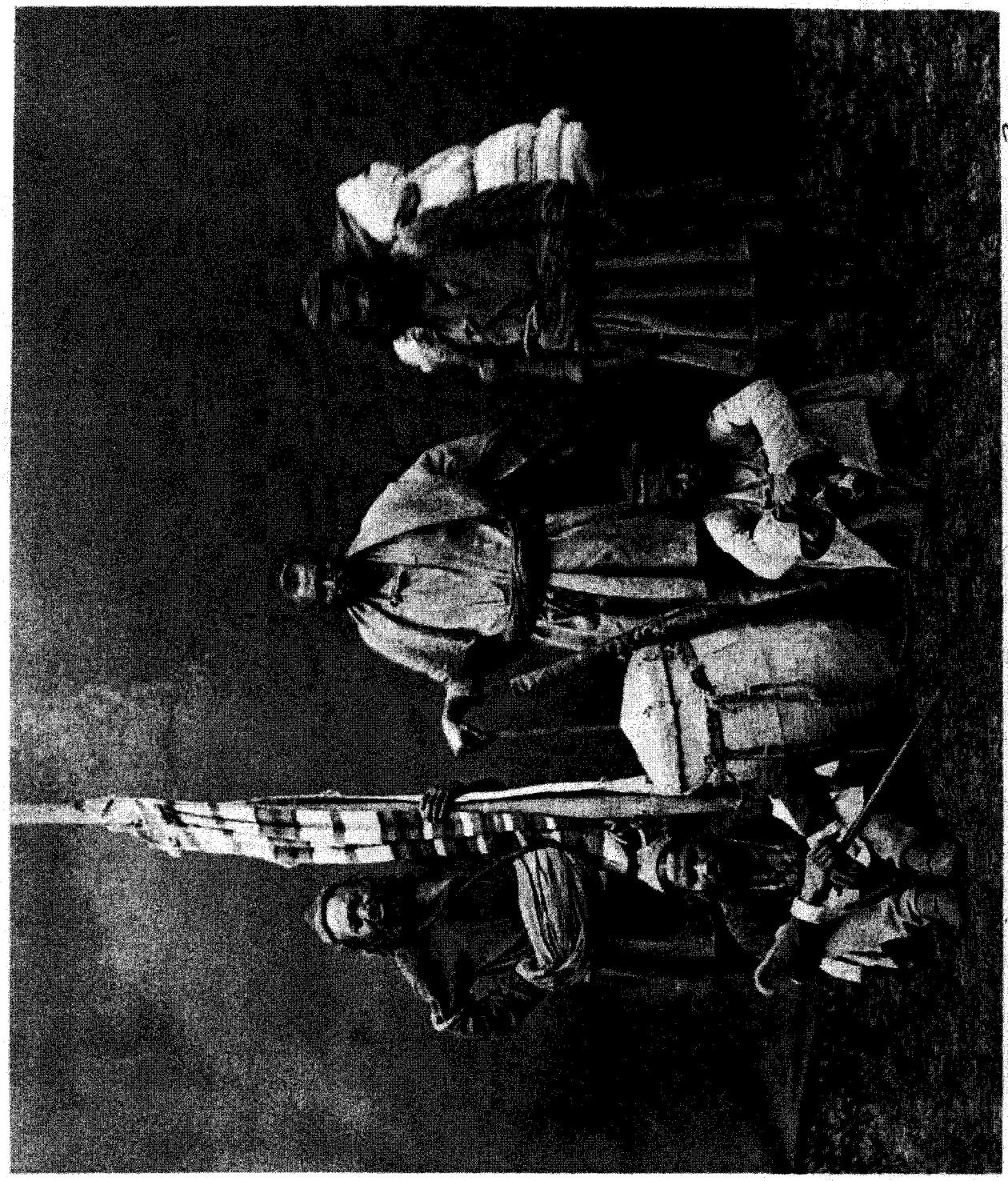

Photo 1.2.2. *Hill Coolies*
British Library

Photo 1.2.3. *The Maharaja of Benares and Suite*
British Library

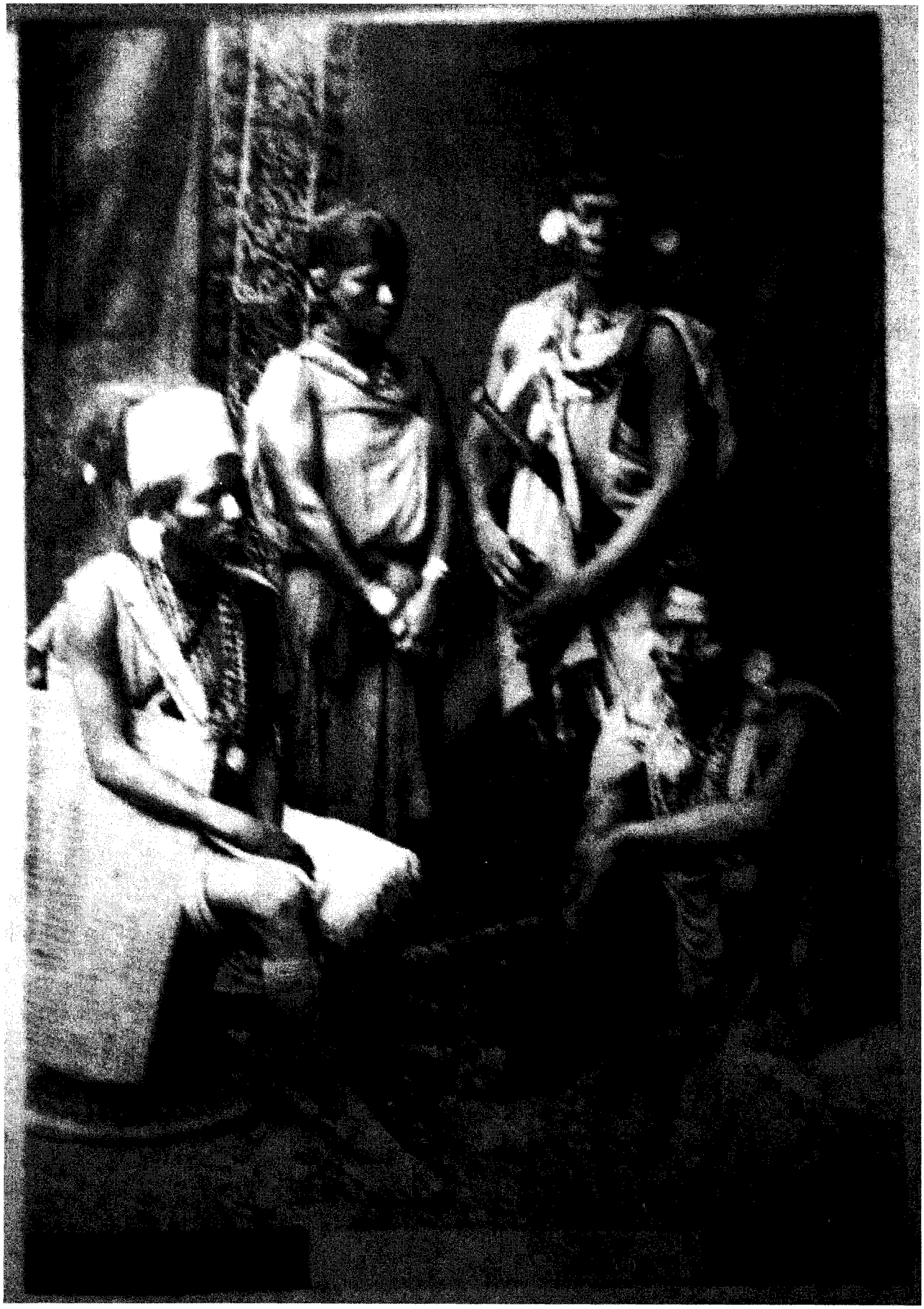

Photo 1.2.4. *'Dufflars'* (?), *Natives of Dunkar*
National Library at Kolkata

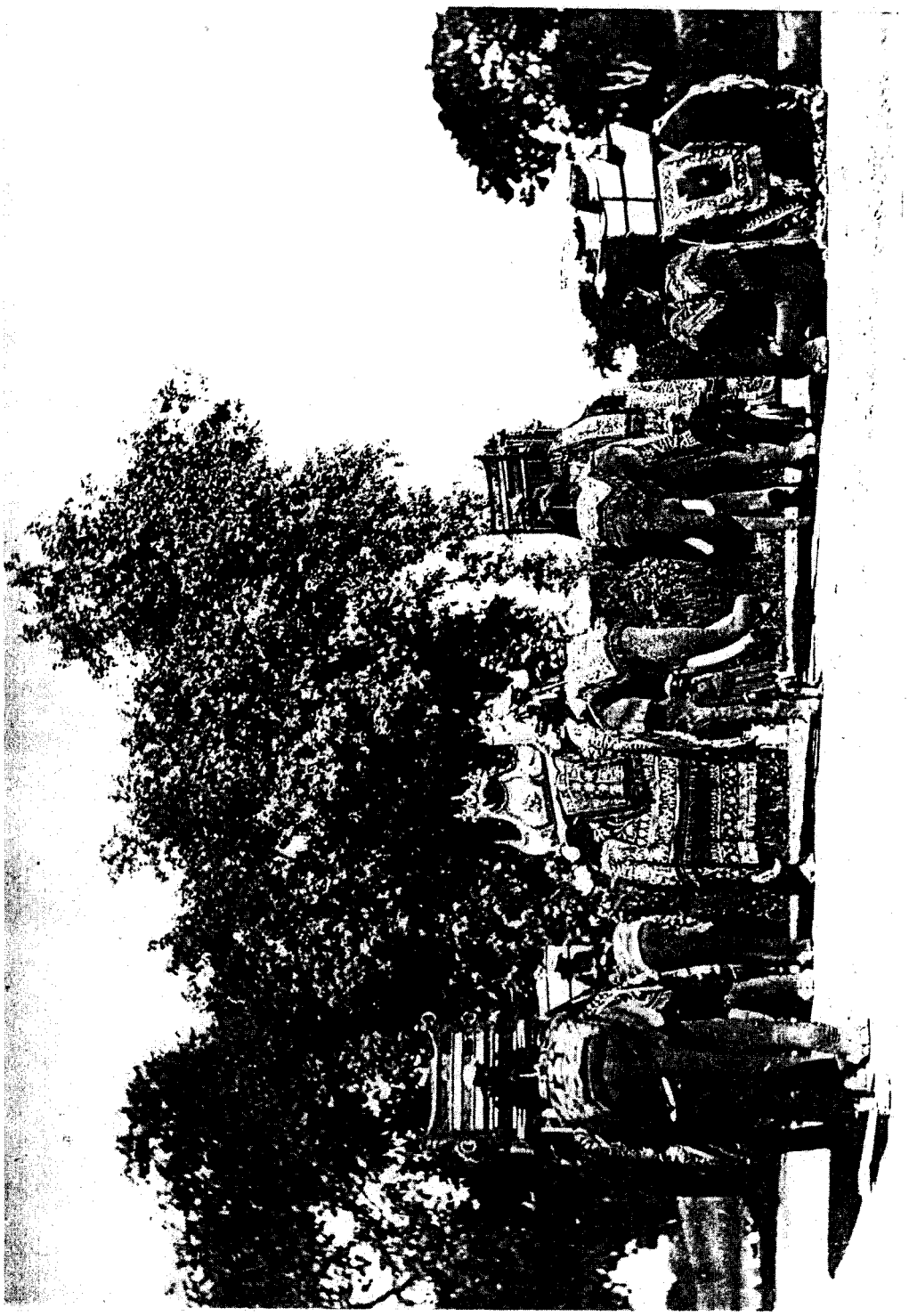

Photo 1.3.1. *Viceroy's Elephants with their State Trappings*
British Library

Photo 1.3.2. *An Indian Carriage and bullock pair*
British Library

Photo 1.3.3. *Pathans of the Peshawar Valley*
British Library

Photo 1.3.4. *Tibetan women*
British Library

Photo 1.3.5. *19th Lancers, Officers and Men*
British Library

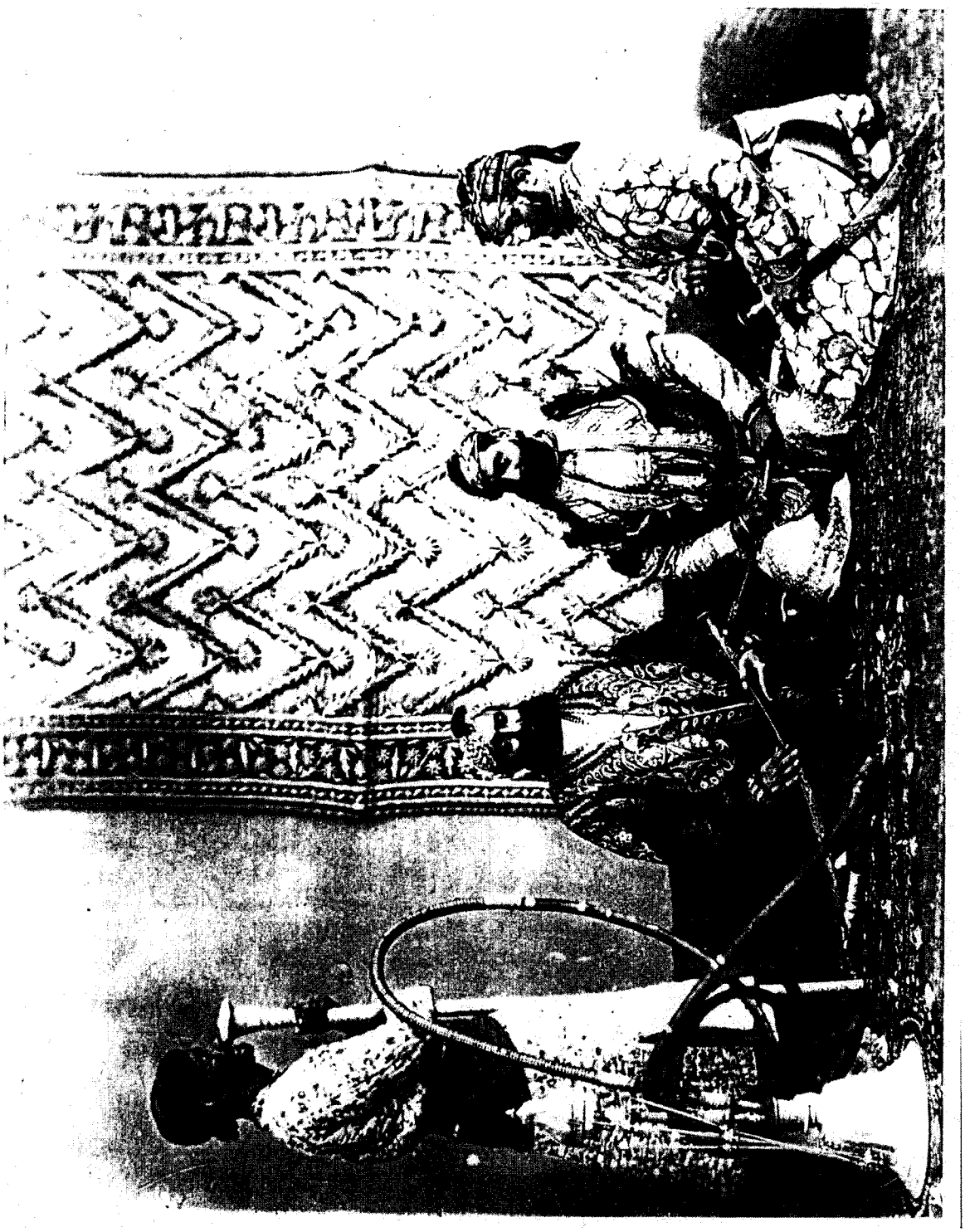

Photo 1.4.1. *Jat Zeminders, Bharatpur*
British Library

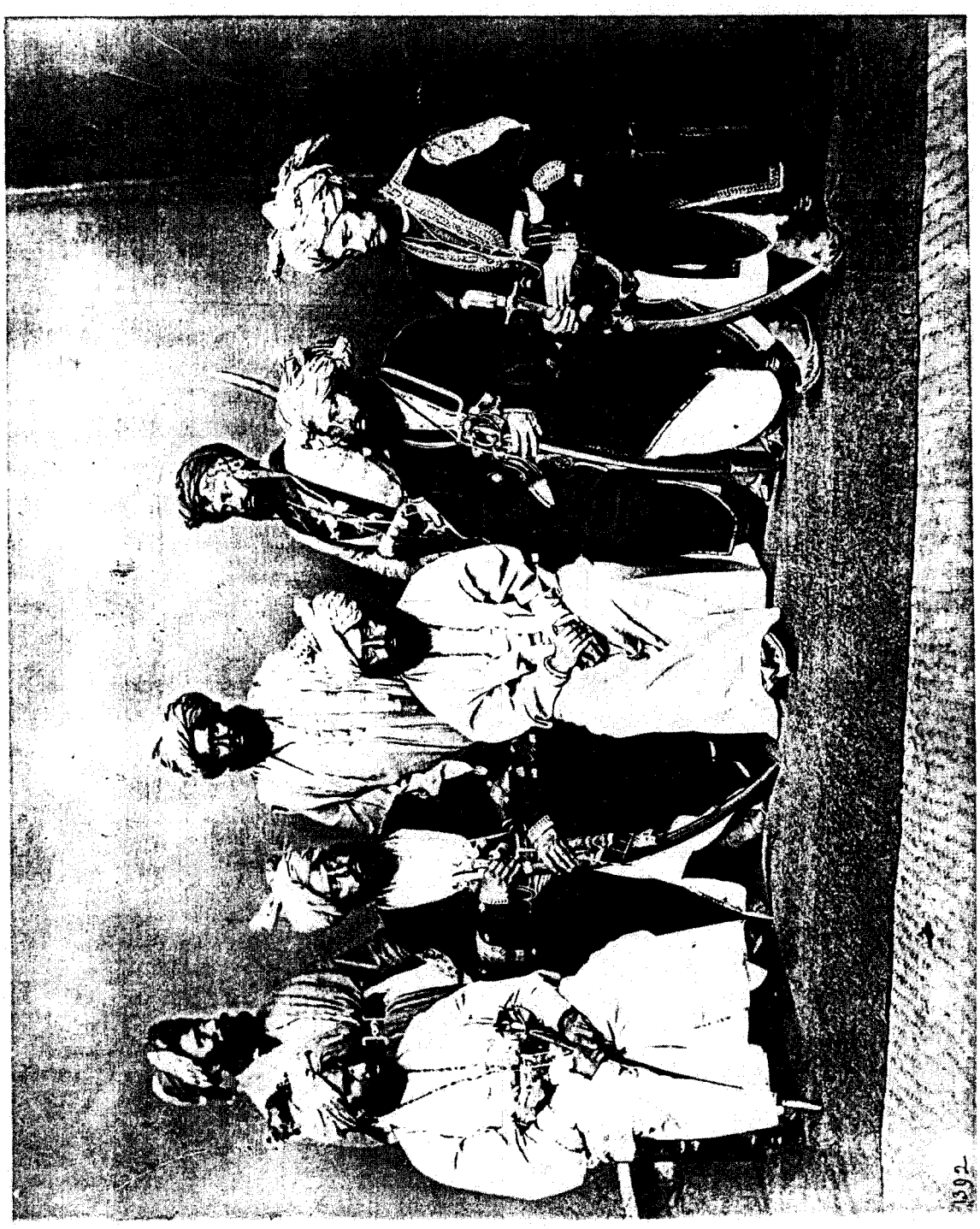

Photo 1.4.2. *Pathan Chieftens, Peshawar Valley*
British Library

Photo 1.4.3. *The Nawab of Bahawlpur and suite*
British Library

Photo 1.4.4. *Jat Sirdars, Bharatpur District*
British Library

Photo 1.4.5. *Group of Bankers, Delhi*
British Library

Photo 1.4.6. *Sikh Courtiers, Bharatpur*
British Library

Photo 1.4.7. *The Begum Shah Jahan of Bhopal*
British Library

Photo 1.4.8. *H.H. the Begum of Bhopal*
British Library

Photo 1.4.10. *Muhammadans, Delhi*
British Library

Photo 1.5.1. *Nepalese Coolies*
British Library

Photo 1.5.2. *Bombay Brahman shopping*
British Library

Photo 1.5.3. *Bhisti, water carrier for the garden*
British Library

Photo 1.5.4. *Female Acrobats*
British Library

Photo 1.5.5. *Snake Charmers*
British Library

Photo 1.5.6. *Palanguins, Palki bearers*
British Library

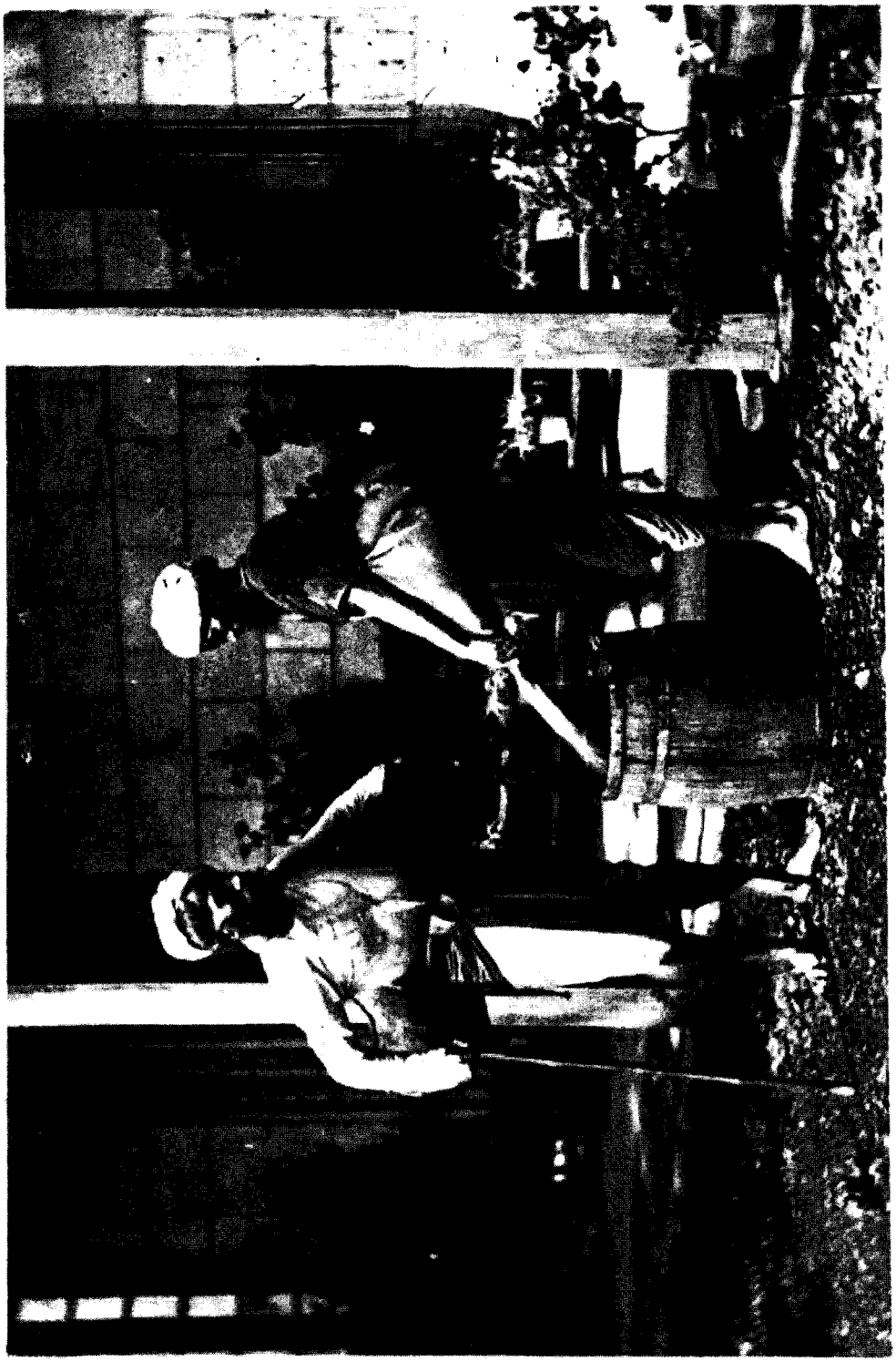

Photo 1.5.7. *Bheesties*
British Library

Photo 1.5.8. *Indian Carpenter*
British Library

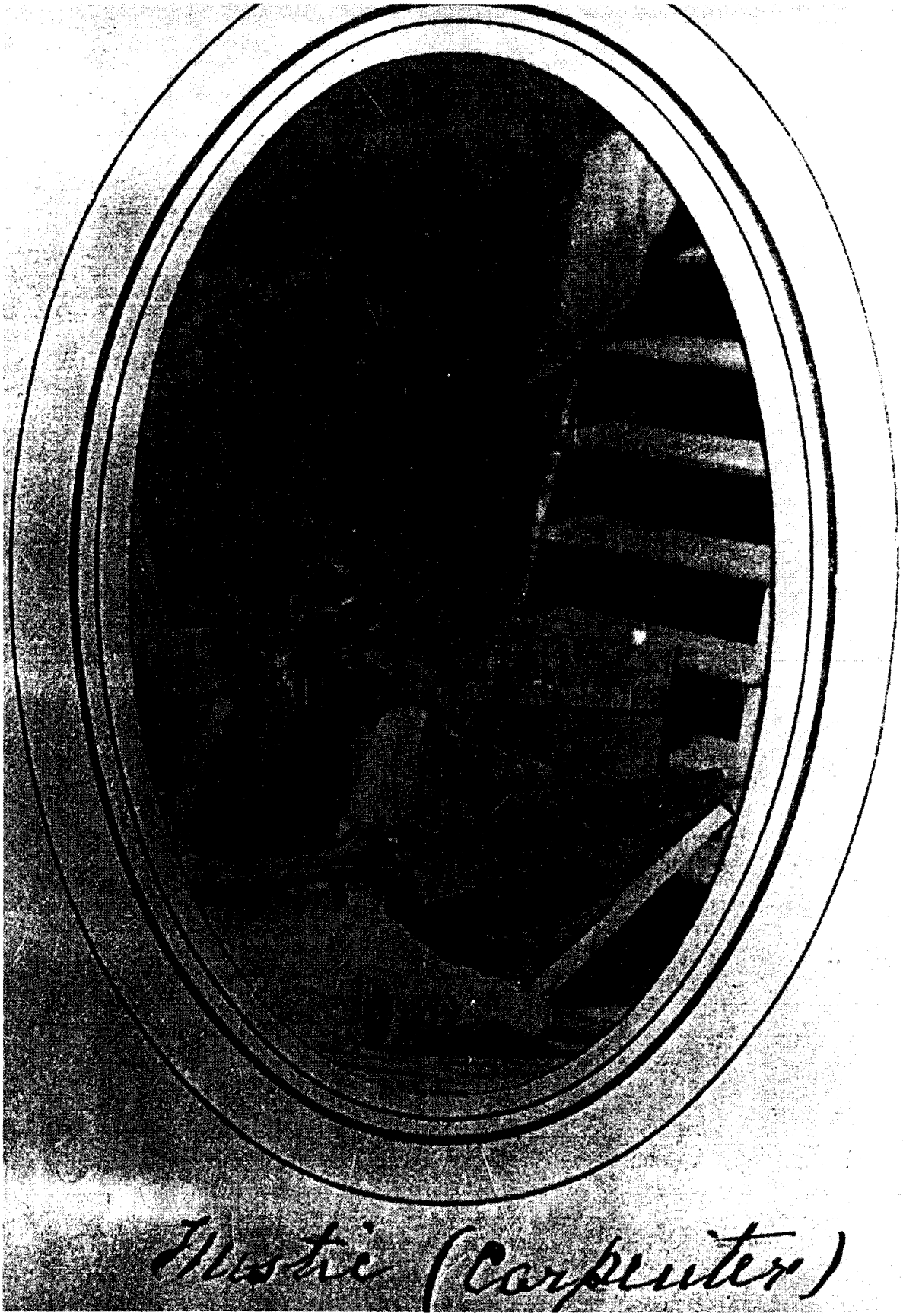

Photo 1.5.9. *Mistri, carpenter*
British Library

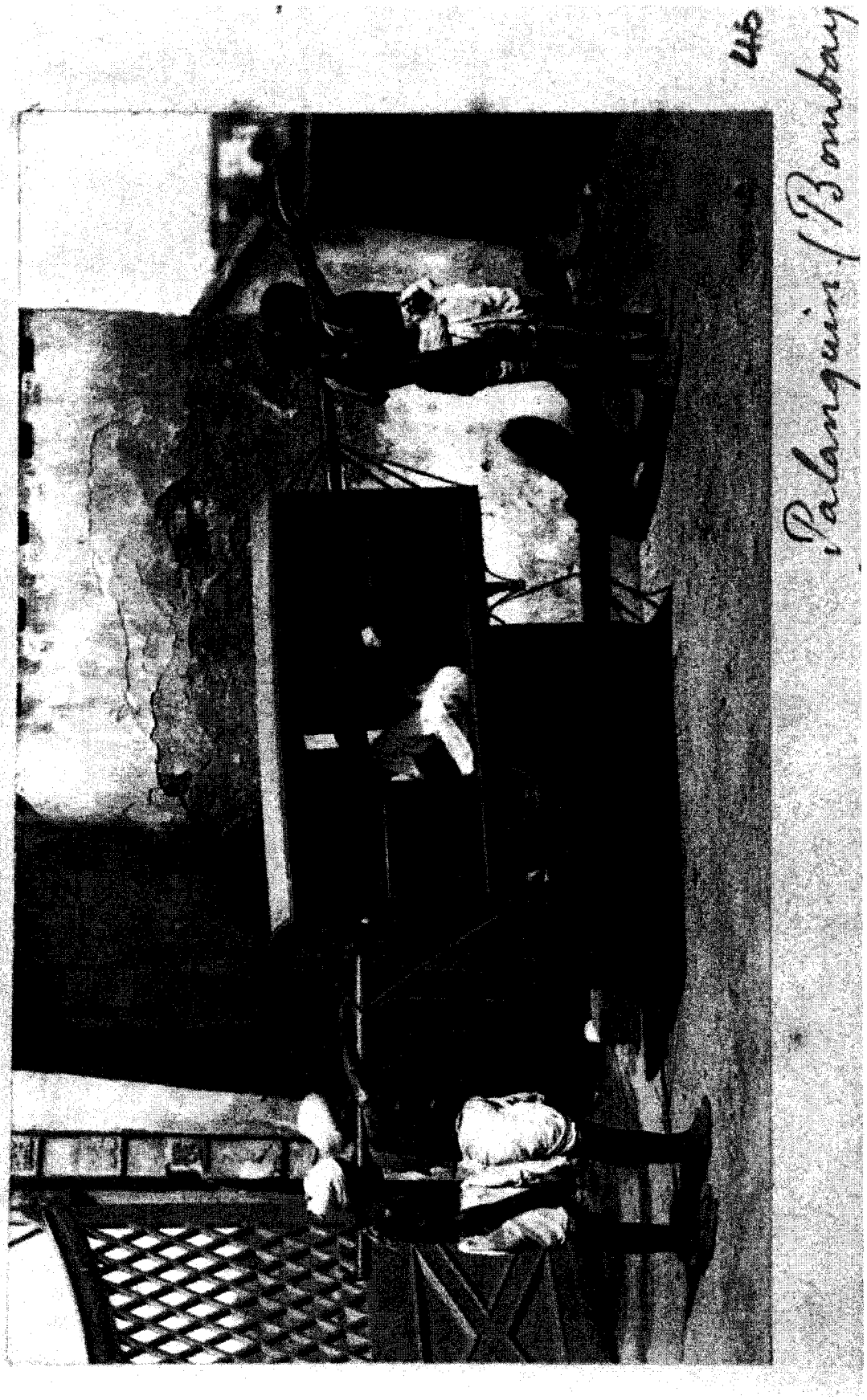

Photo 1.5.10. *Palanquin, Bombay*
British Library

Photo 1.5.11. *Palanguins, Palki and bearers*
British Library

Photo 1.5.12. *The home of the Fakir*
British Library

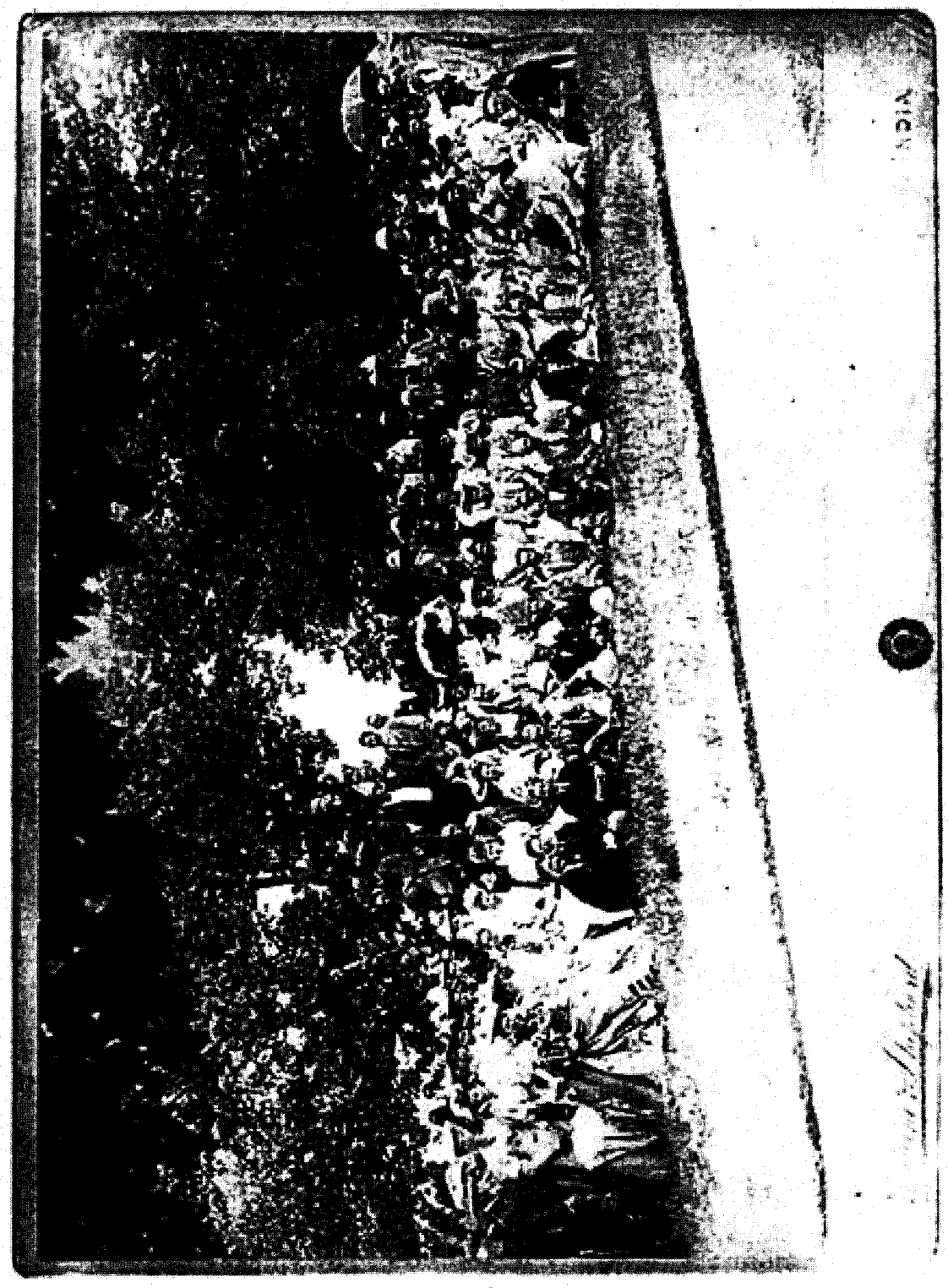

Photo 1.5.13. *Garden Party Group, Calcutta*
British Library

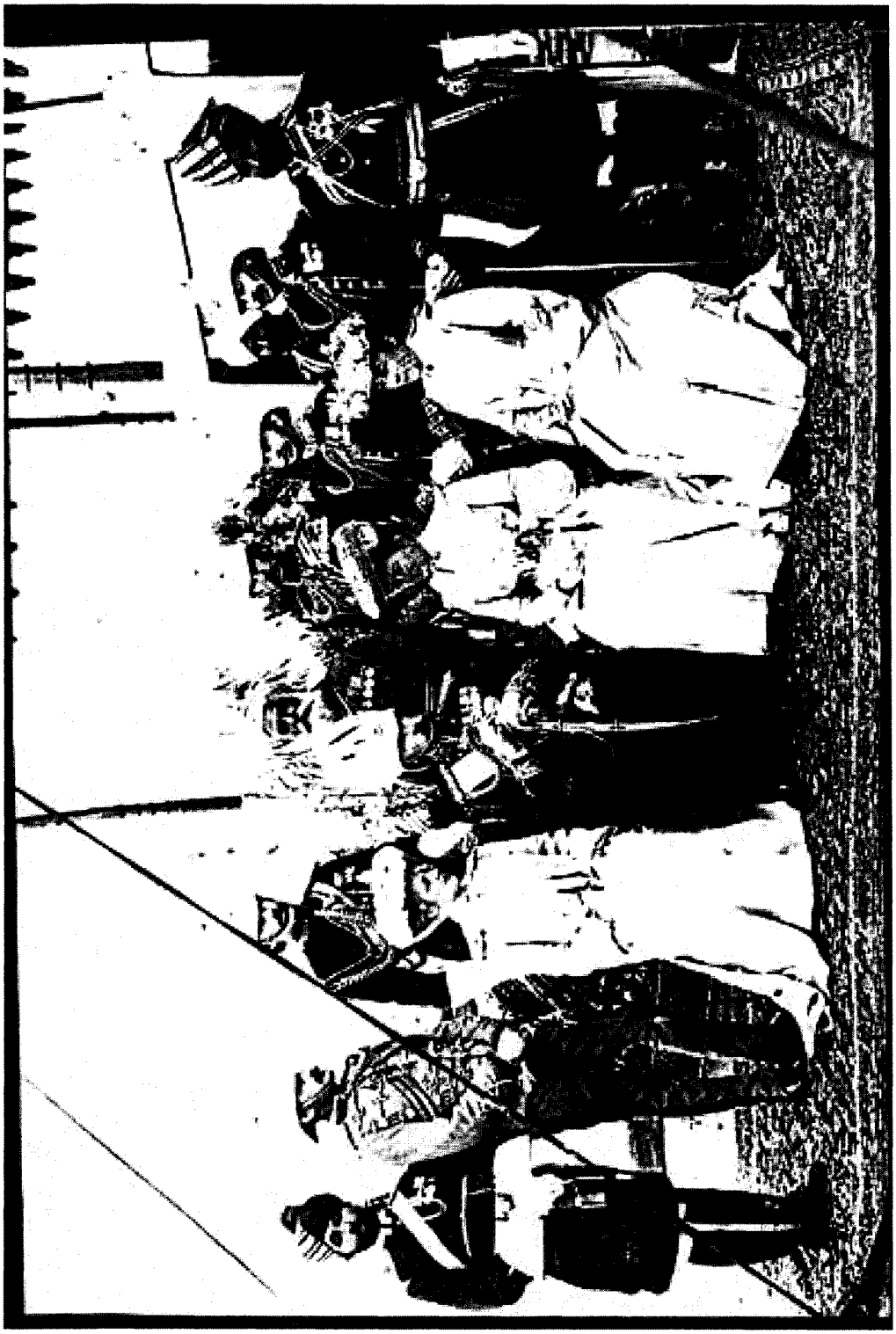

Photo 1.5.14. *Duke and Duchess of Connaught with members of the Delhi Durbar household*
British Library

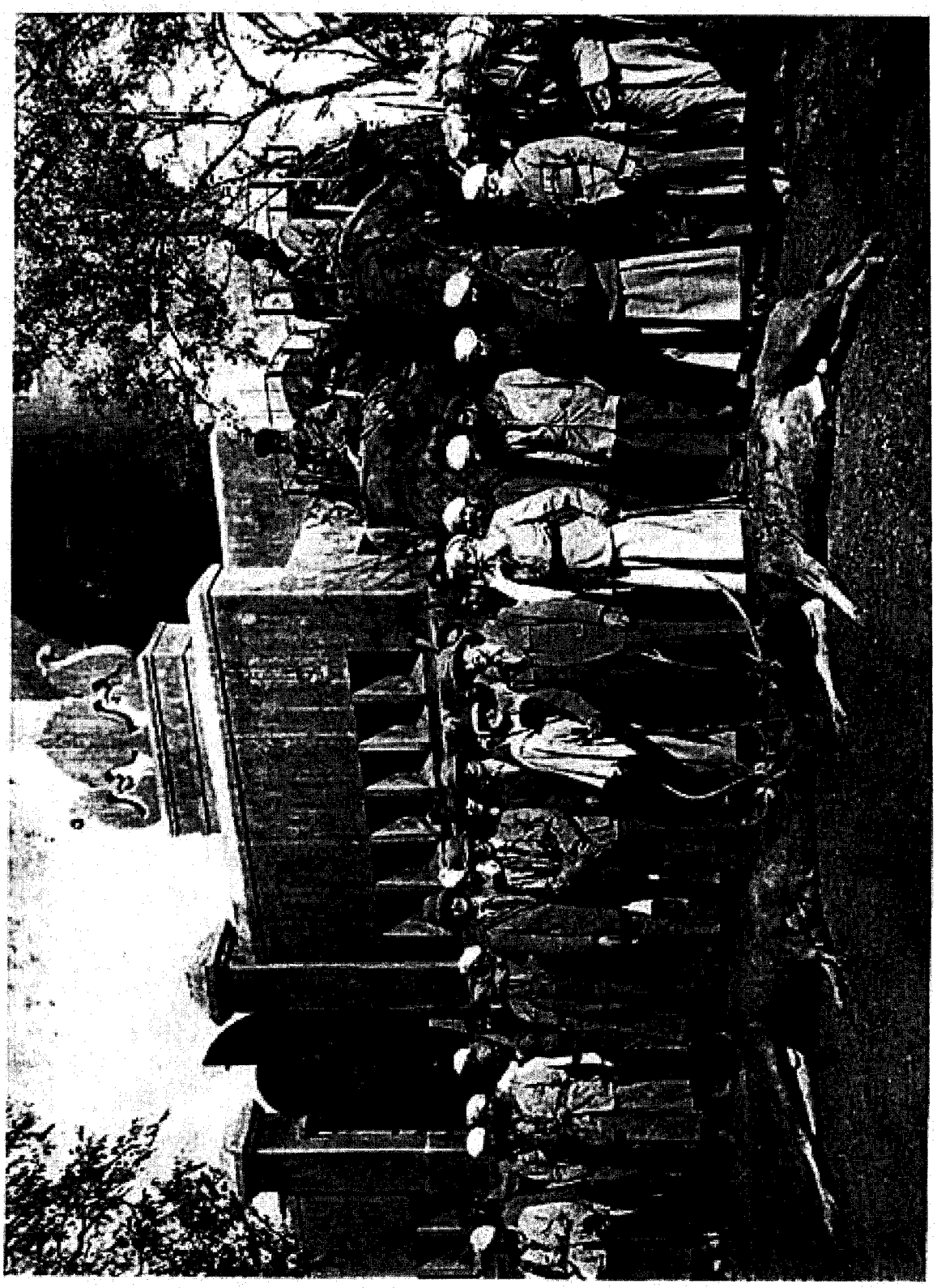

Photo 1.5.15. *Lord Reading's visit to Shikar, Jaisamand, Udaipur*
British Library

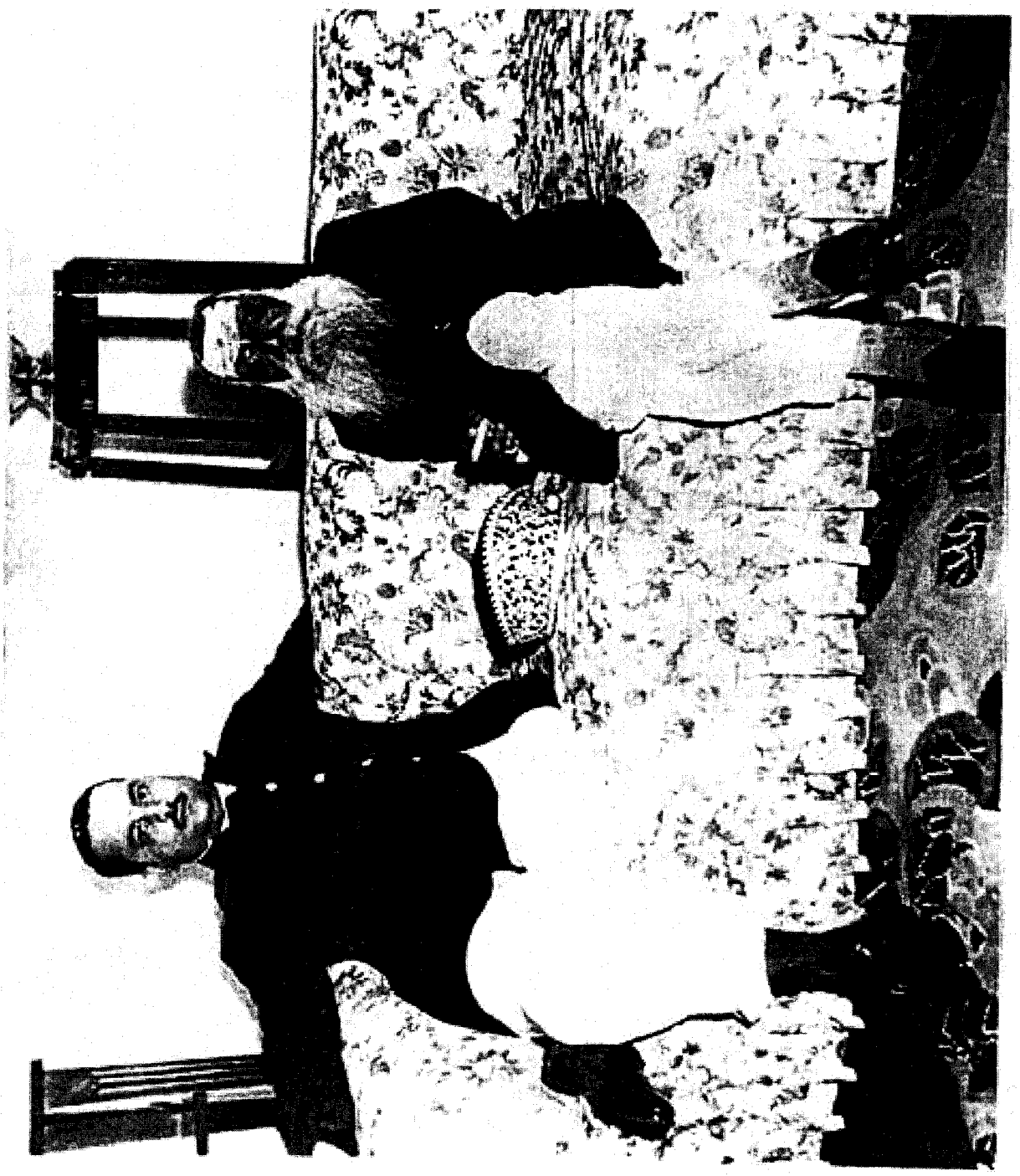

Photo 1.5.16. *Maharajadhiraj of Darbhanga (left) and Raja of Chota Nagpur (right) at party given by the former after the building of his house at Ranchi*
British Library

Bourne & Shepherd, *The photographic staff at the Delhi Durbar*, 1903.

Photo 1.5.17. *The photographic staff at the Delhi Durbar*
Roger's

Photo 1.5.18. *Dancing Gadis*
National Library at Kolkata

Photo 1.5.19. *Thibetan Mendicants*
National Library at Kolkata

Photo 1.6.1. *Ladies of Sir Bahadur's household*
British Library

Photo 1.6.2. *The Maharaja of Kashmir*
British Library

NO. 134. THE BEGUM OF BHOPAL.

Photo 1.6.3. *The Begum of Bhopal*
British Library

Photo 1.6.4. *Shah Jehan Begum, Begum of Bhopal*
British Library

Photo 1.6.5. *Sir Hira Singh Raja of Nabha*
British Library

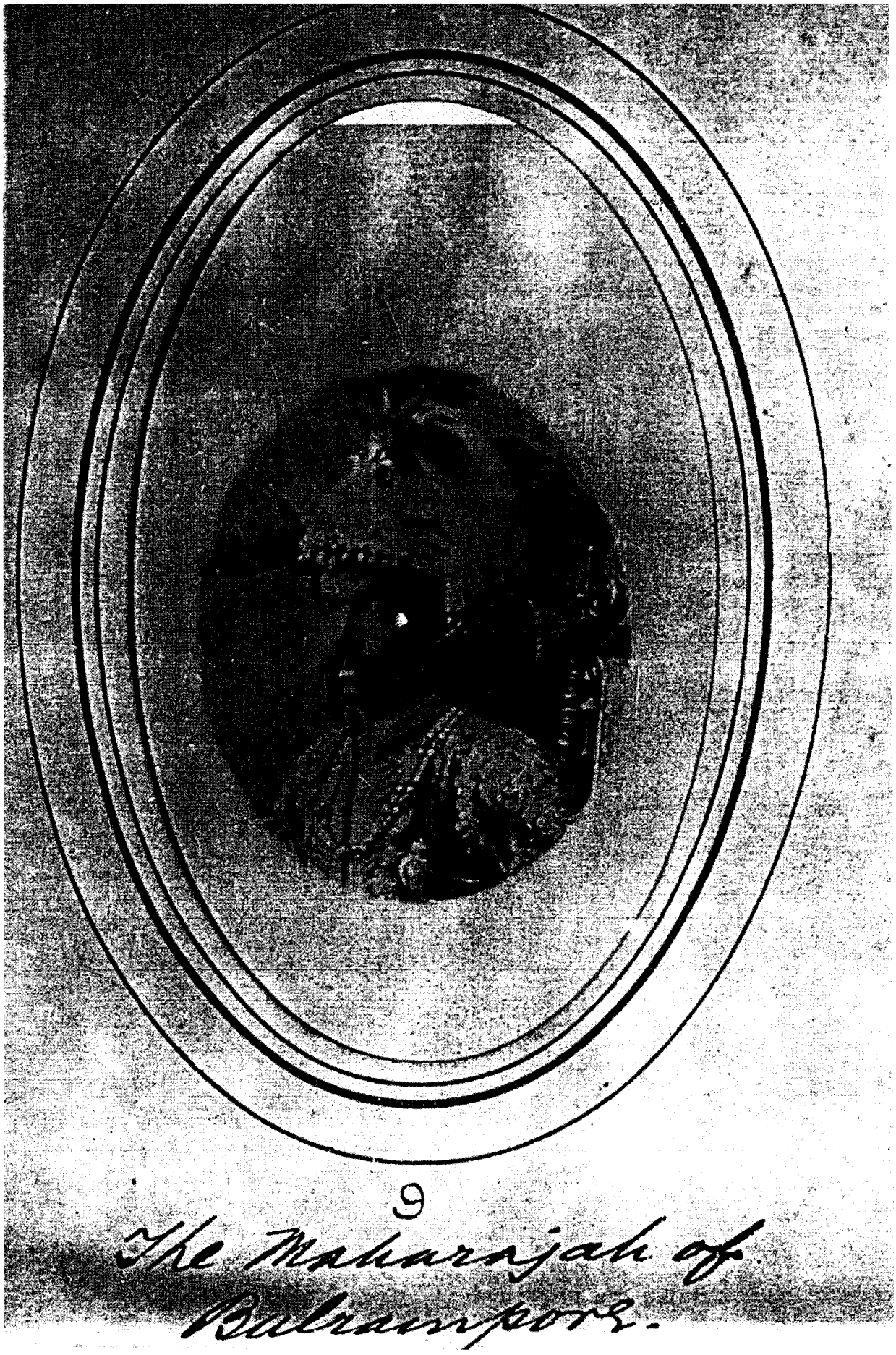

Photo 1.6.6. *Sir Drigbijai Singh, Maharaja of Balrampur*
British Library

Photo 1.6.7. *Sir Jung Bahadur of Nepal*
British Library

Photo 1.6.8. *Mahendra Singh Maharaja of Patiala*
British Library

Photo 1.6.9. *Singh Sheodan, Maharaja of Alwar*
British Library

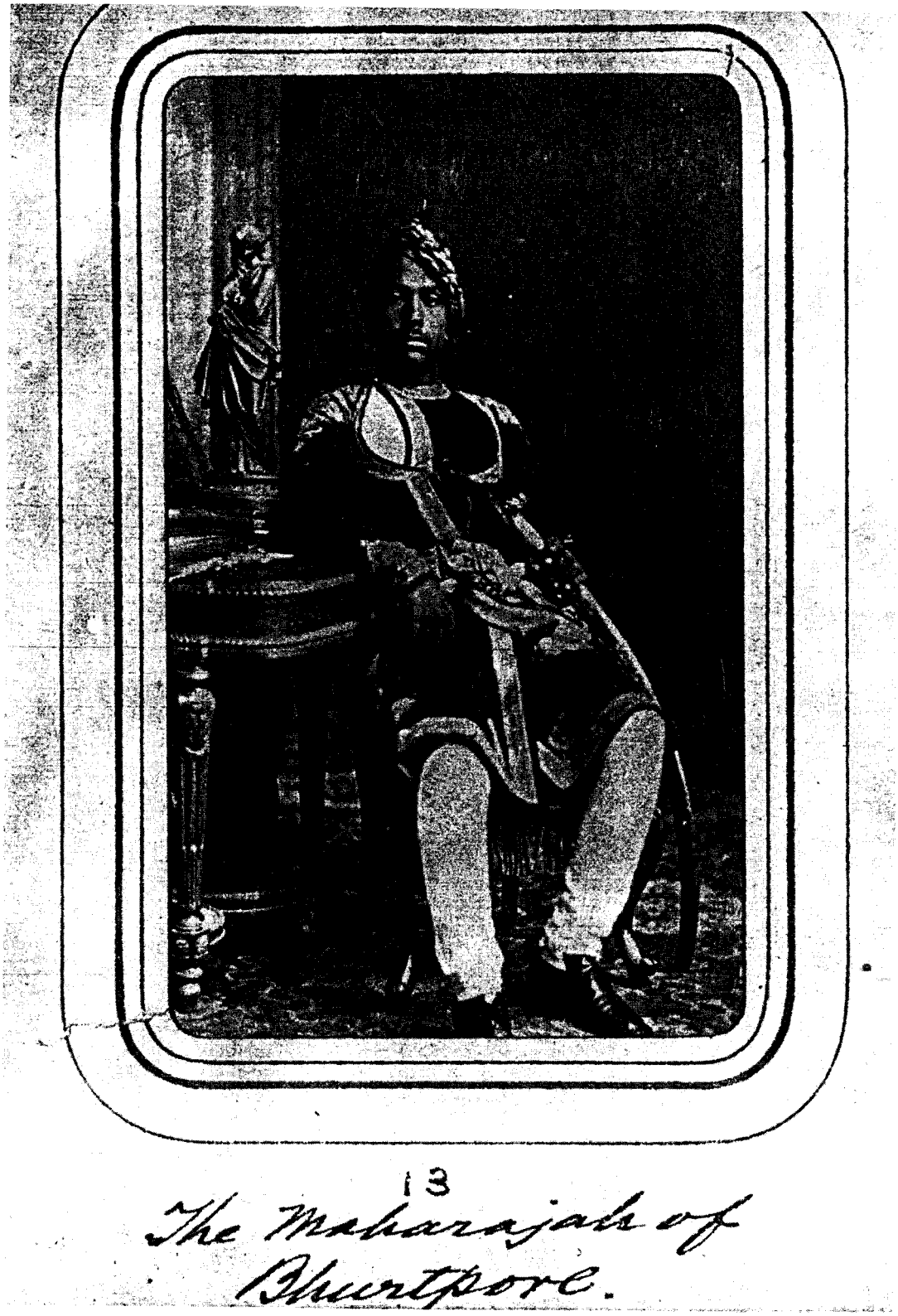

Photo 1.6.10. *The Maharaja of Bharatpur*
British Library

Photo 1.6.11. *The Begum of Bhopal*
British Library

Photo 1.6.12. *The Sultana of Bhopal, daughter of Shah Jehan Begum, and afterwards Begum 1901-26*
British Library

Photo 1.6.13. *The Nawab of Balasinor*
British Library

Photo 1.6.14. *The Thakur of Bhavnagar*
British Library

Photo 1.6.15. *Man Singh, Raja of Dhrangadhra*
British Library

Photo 1.6.16. *Thakur of Morvi*
British Library

Photo 1.6.17. *Sahib Jai Singh, Thakur of Dhrol*
British Library

Photo 1.6.18. *Venkatroo Bala Sahib Chief of Mudhol*
British Library

Photo 1.6.19. *Maharao Moreshwar, Chief of Bewar*
British Library

Photo 1.6.20. *Gunpatrao Chief of Miraj*
British Library

Photo 1.6.21. *Maharawal of Bariya*
British Library

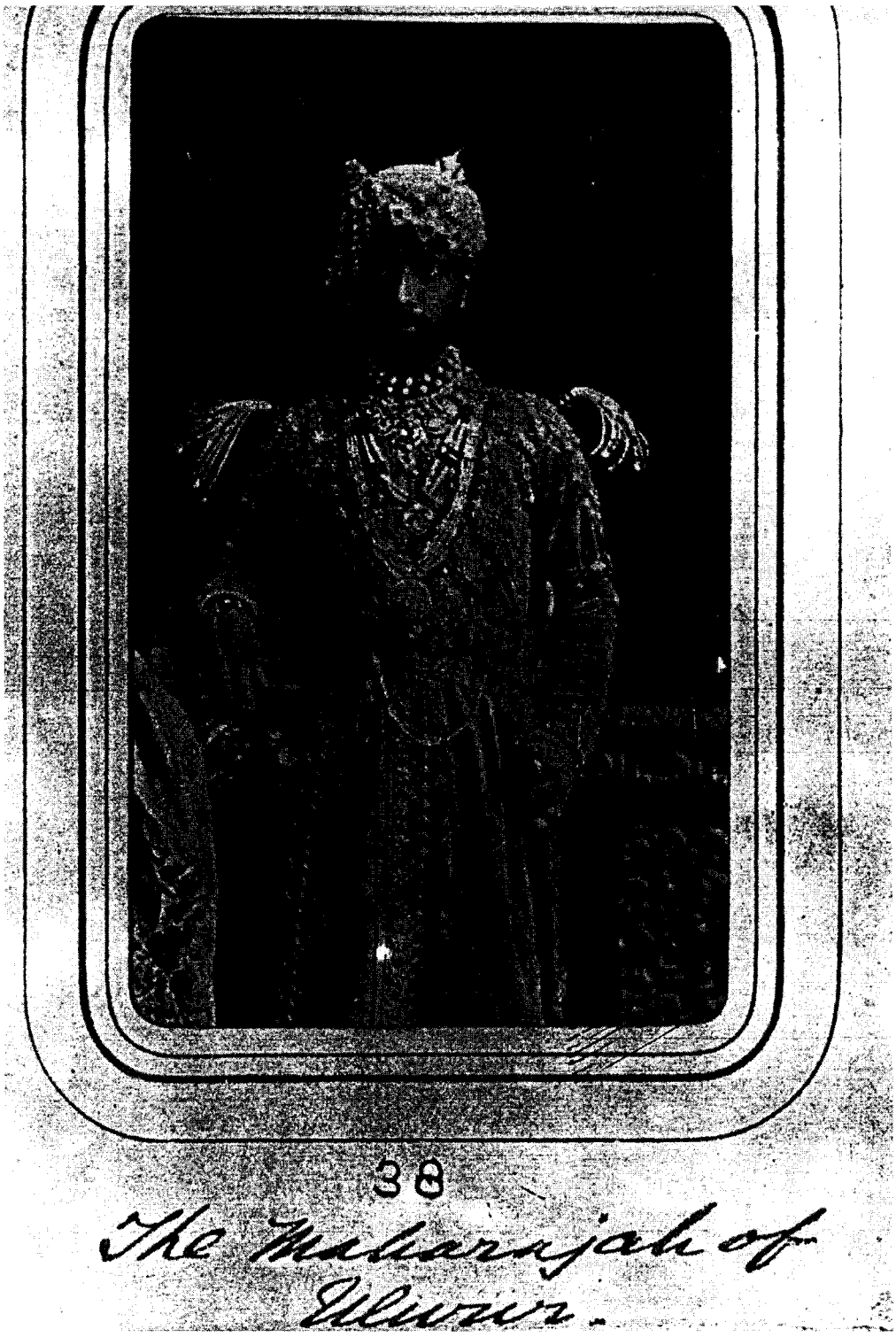

Photo 1.6.22. *Sheodan Singh, Maharaja of Alwar*
British Library

Photo 1.6.23. *Sher Ali, Amir of Afghanistan*
British Library

Photo 1.6.24. *Sir Sadik Mol Khan, Nawab of Bhawalpur*
British Library

Photo 1.6.25. *Bijay Sen Raja of Mandi*
British Library

Photo 1.6.26. *Sir Bhaghwant Singh, Maharaja Rana of Dholpur*
British Library

Photo 1.6.27. *Raja of Chamba*
British Library

Photo 1.6.28. *Sheodan Singh, Maharaja of Alwar*
British Library

Photo 1.6.29. *Mr Merwanjee Framjee, Pandoy of Bombay*
British Library

Photo 1.6.30. *A Jewess in tradional dress, Calcutta*
British Library

Photo 1.6.31. *Jorav'var Khan, Nawab of Balasinor*
British Library

Photo 1.6.32. *Group of Thugs*
British Library

Photo 1.6.33. *Kashmir Boatmen*
British Library

Photo 1.6.34. *Hill Coolies with dandy and Kilta, Himalayas*
British Library

Photo 1.6.35. *Kashmir Nautch girl*
British Library

Photo 1.6.36. *A Peon, messenger, Bombay*
British Library

Photo 1.6.37. *A Butler, Khansamas*
British Library

Photo 1.6.38. *Street Vendor, Sweet-meat seller*
British Library

Photo 1.6.39. *An Ayah, South India*
British Library

Photo 1.6.40. *A Parses Dustors (priest)*
British Library

Photo 1.6.41. *Hindu fakirs, Holyman*
British Library

Photo 1.6.42. *Cloth and embroidery Sellers*
British Library

Photo 1.6.43. *An elderly Dhobi ironing*
British Library

Photo 1.6.44. *Khitmatgar, Table Servant*
British Library

Photo 1.6.45. *Surate Mat Weavers*
British Library

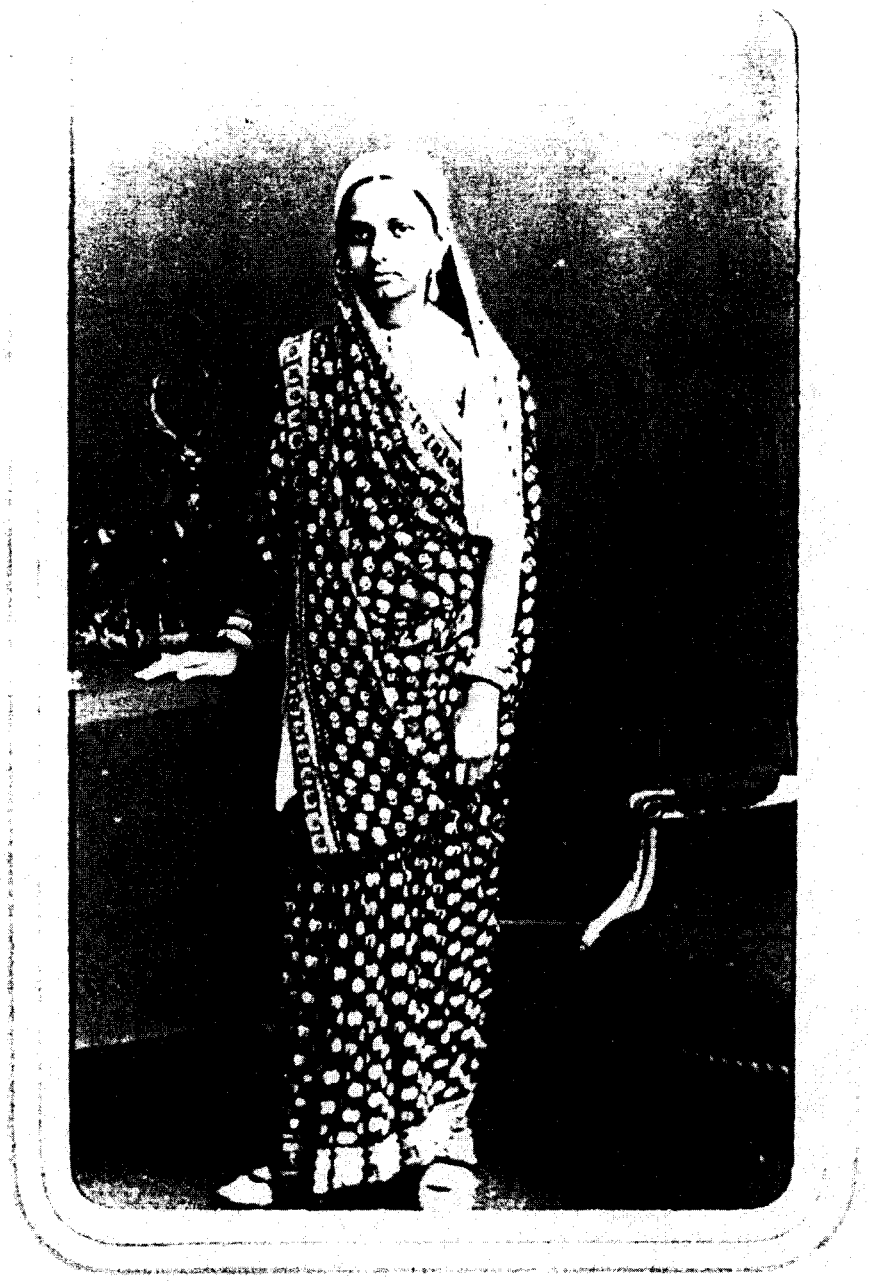

Photo 1.6.46. *A young Parsis woman*
British Library

Photo 1.6.47. *Sindi Priest, Holyman, Bombay*
British Library

Photo 1.6.48. *Miss Patel, a young Parsis woman*
British Library

Photo 1.6.49. *Maha Caste women, Bombay*
British Library

Photo 1.6.50. *A Bhatia merchant, Bombay*
British Library

Photo 1.6.51. *A young Gentleman, Madras*
British Library

Photo 1.6.52. *A Bearer, Domestic Servant*
British Library

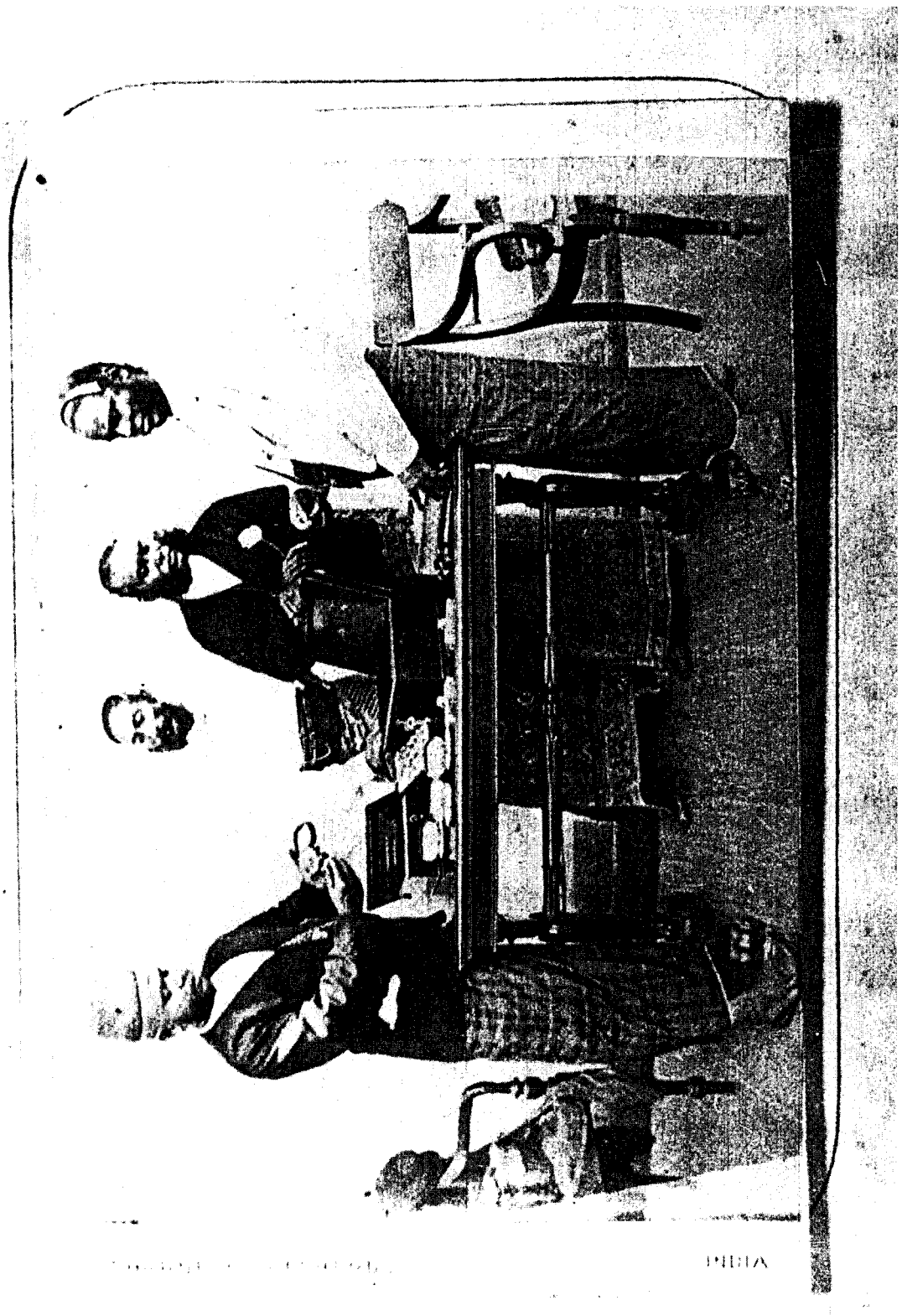

Photo 1.6.53. *East African or Seychellois curio dealers*
British Library

Kunwur Arjun Sing of Du
younger brother of H.H. the Mal
of Duttia.

Photo 1.6.54. *Kanwar Arjan Singh of Datia, younger brother of Maharaja*
British Library

Photo 1.6.55. *Maharaja of Mysore*
British Library

Photo 1.6.56. *Ranbir Jang Lieut-General of Nepal*
British Library

Photo 1.6.57. *King Chulalongkorn of Siam during a visit to Bombay in February 1872*
British Library

Photo 1.6.58. *Sir Udaji Rao Ponwar, Raja of Dhar*
British Library

Photo 1.6.59. *Her Excellency The Lady Curzon*
British Library

Photo 1.6.60. *Lady Curzon*
British Library

Photo 1.6.61. *Lord Curzon*
British Library

Photo 1.6.62. *Sir Hugh Barnes*
British Library

Photo 1.6.63. *The Maharaja of Rewah*
Royal Photographic Society

Photo 1.6.64. *Maharaja Tukoji Rao of Indore and Attendant*
Woswick's

Photo 1.6.65. *Maharaja Sindia of Gwalior*
Woswick's

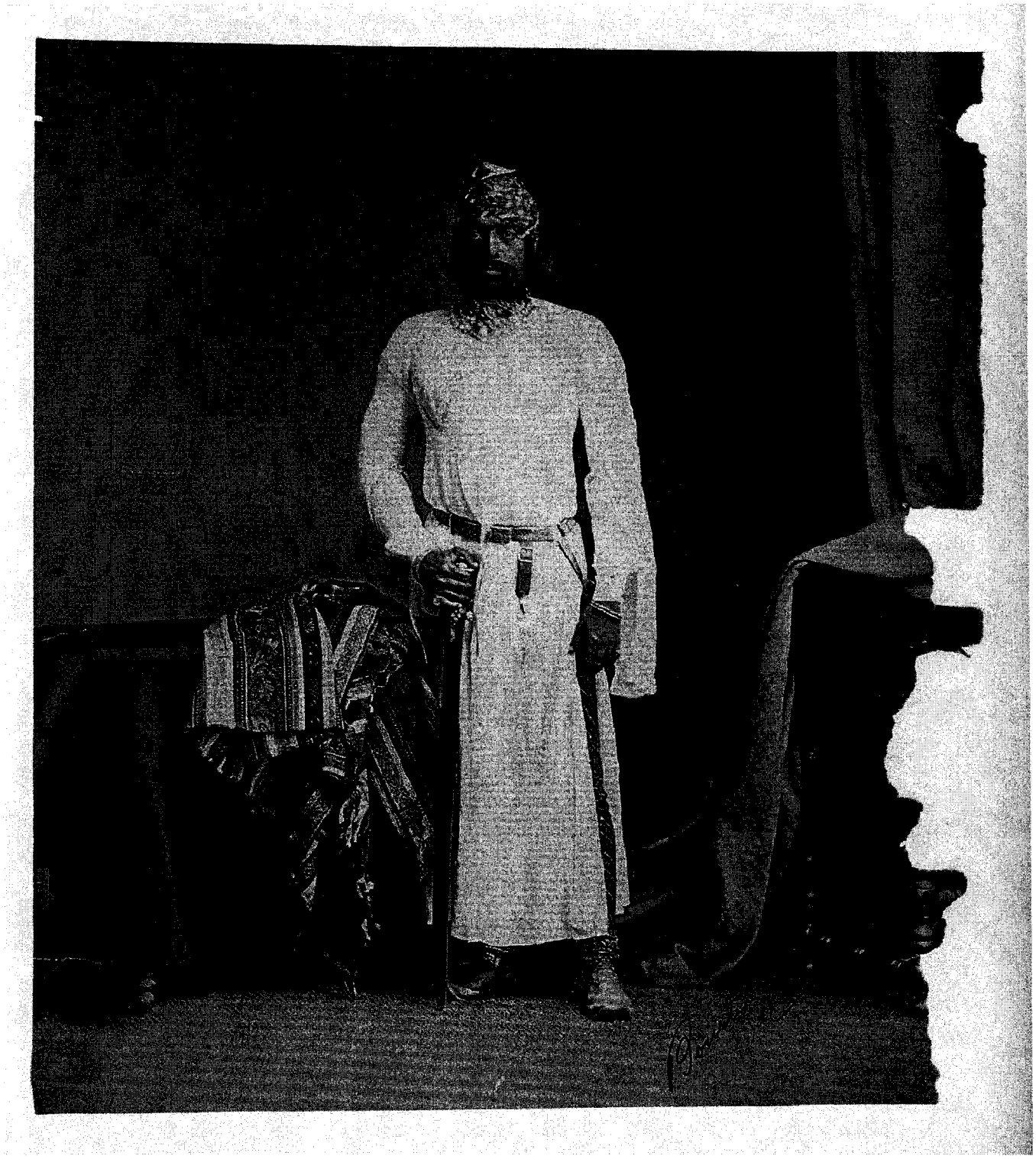

Photo 1.6.66. *Jaswant Singh, Maharaja of Jodhpur*
British Library

Photo 1.6.67. *Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur*
British Library

Photo 1.6.68. *Gaekwar Sir Sayaji of Baroda*
British Library

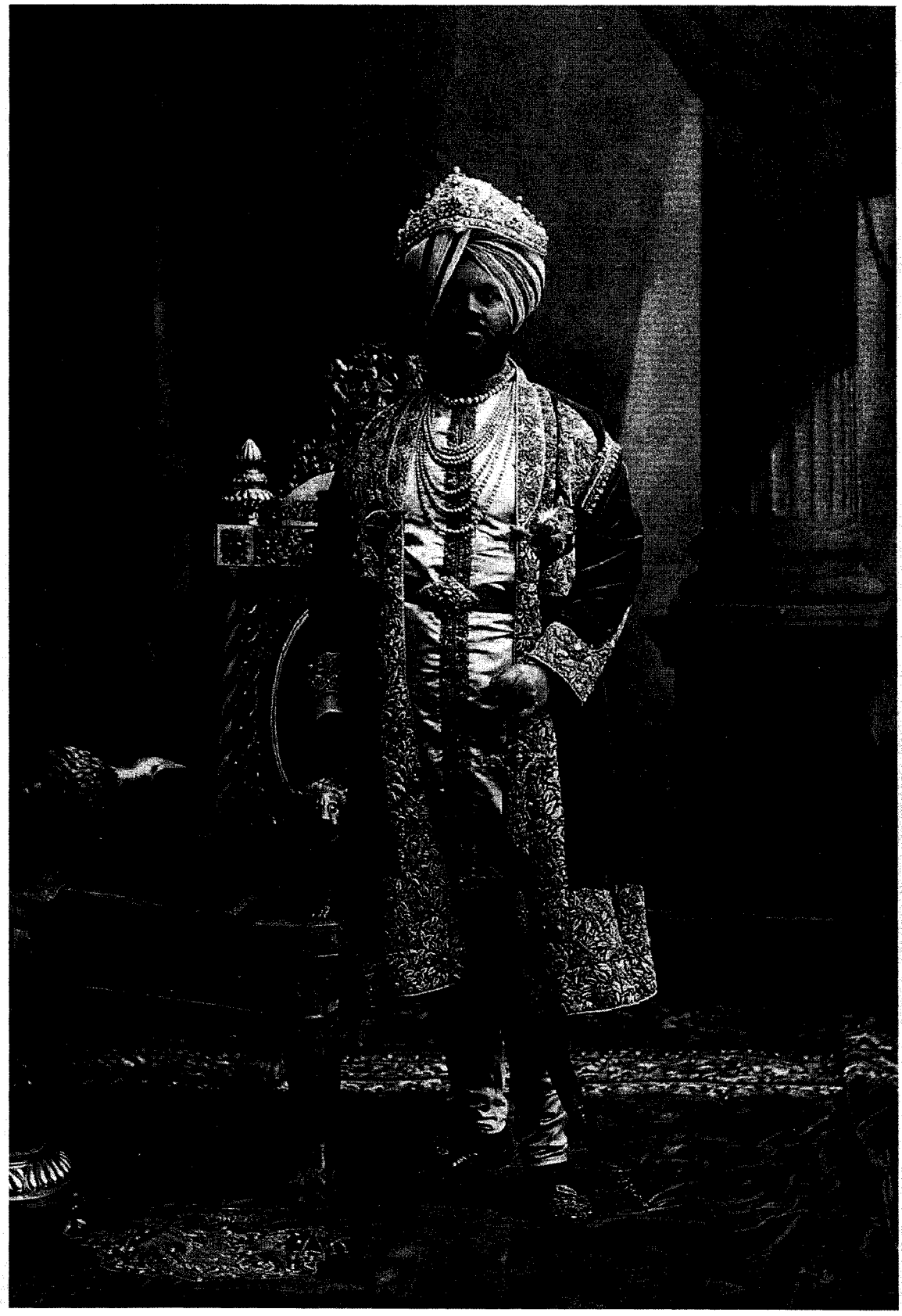

Photo 1.6.69. *Maharaja Sir Jagajit Singh of Kapurthala*
British Library

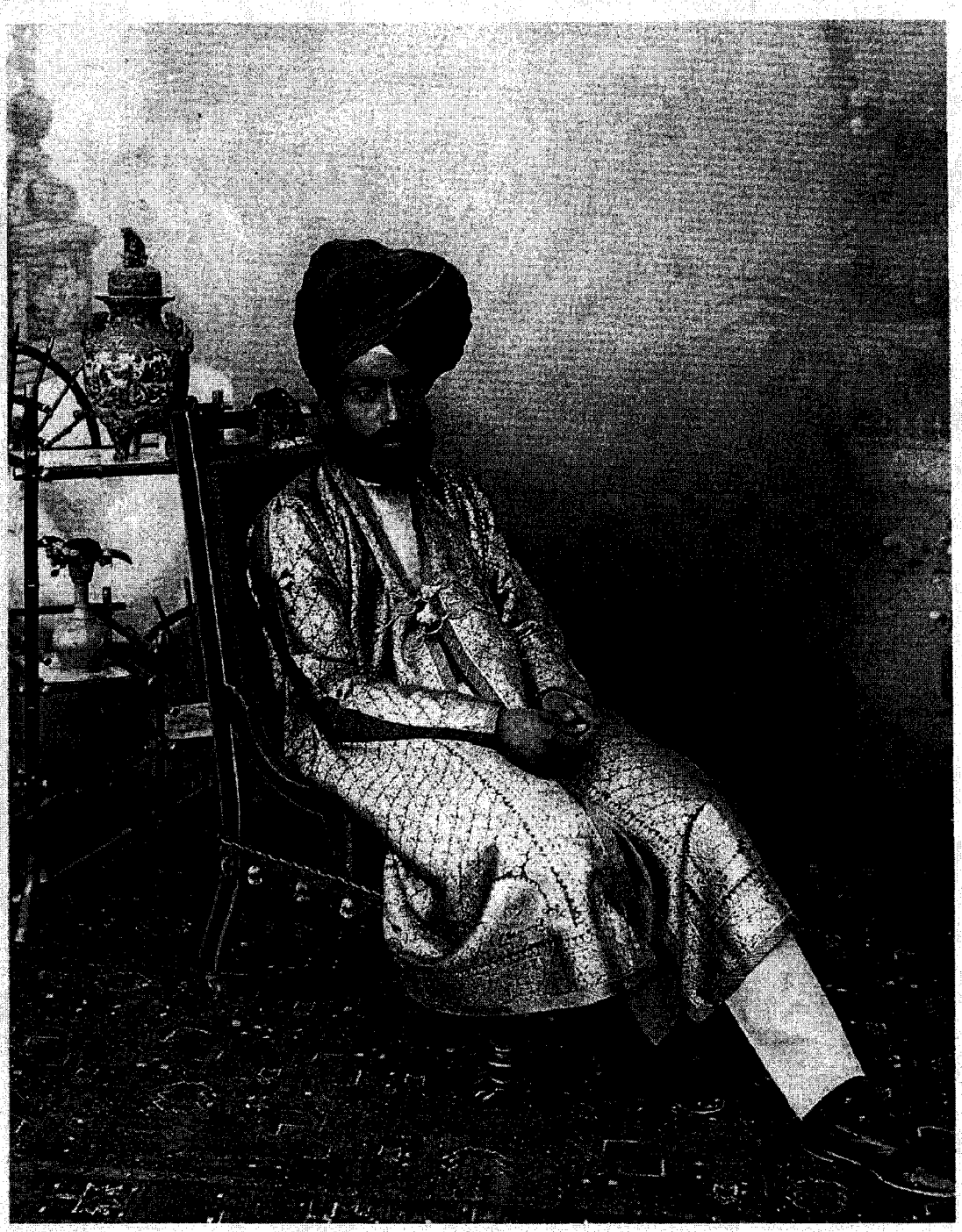

Photo 1.6.70. *Maharaja Sir Ranbir Singh of Jind*
British Library

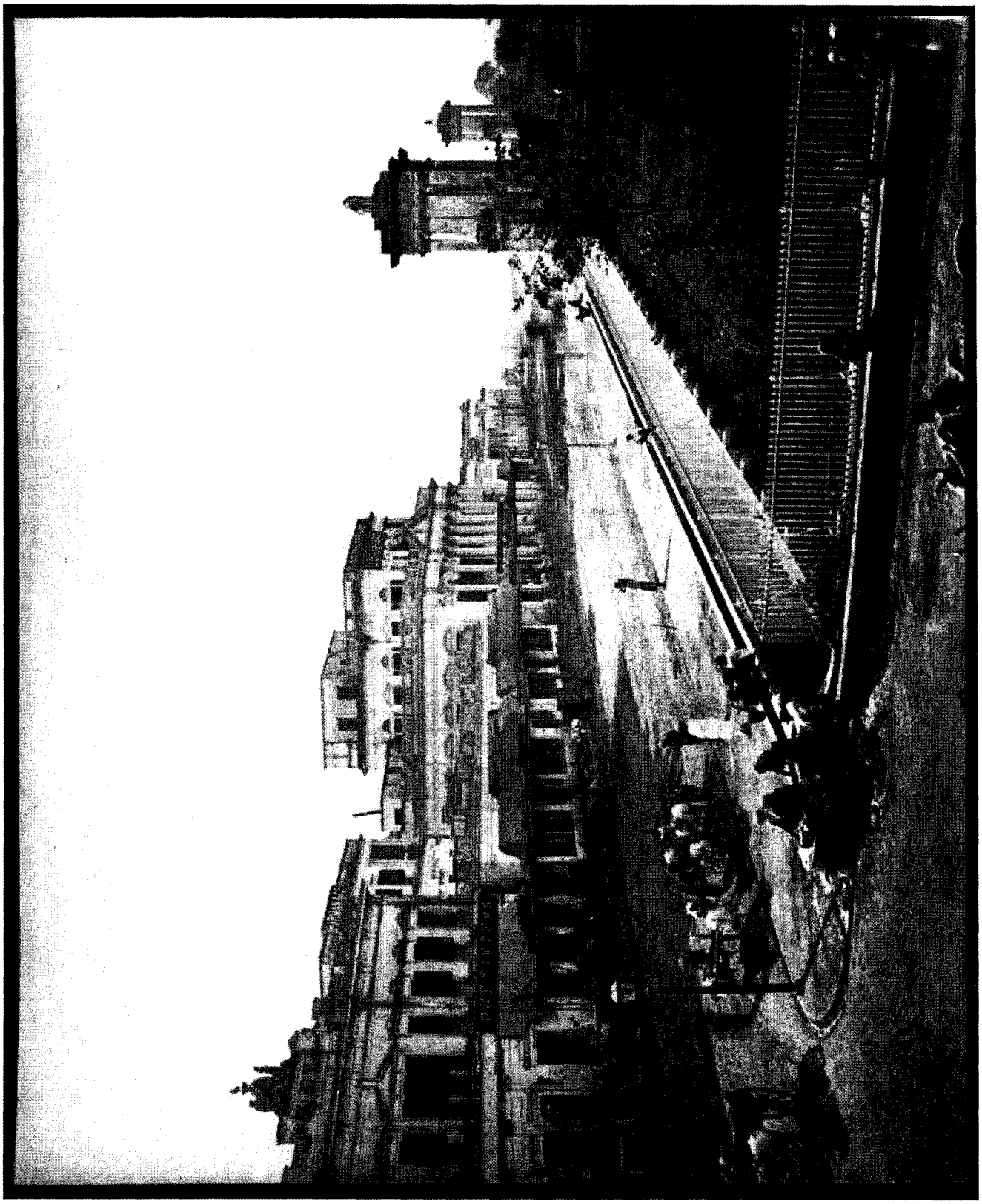

Photo 2.1.1. *Old Court House street, Calcutta*
British Library

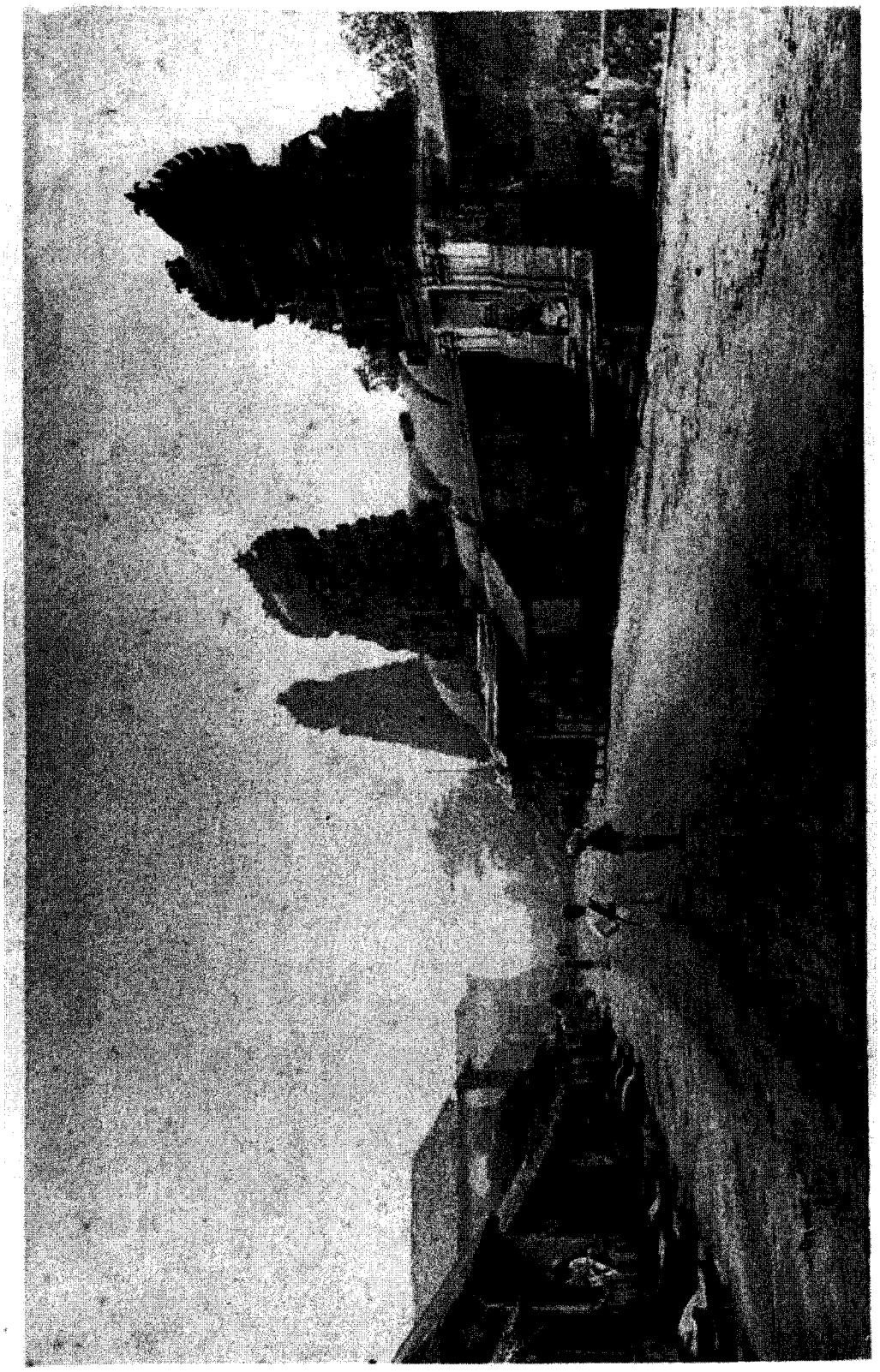

Photo 2.1.2. *Street view in Tanjore showing three small pagodas*
British Library

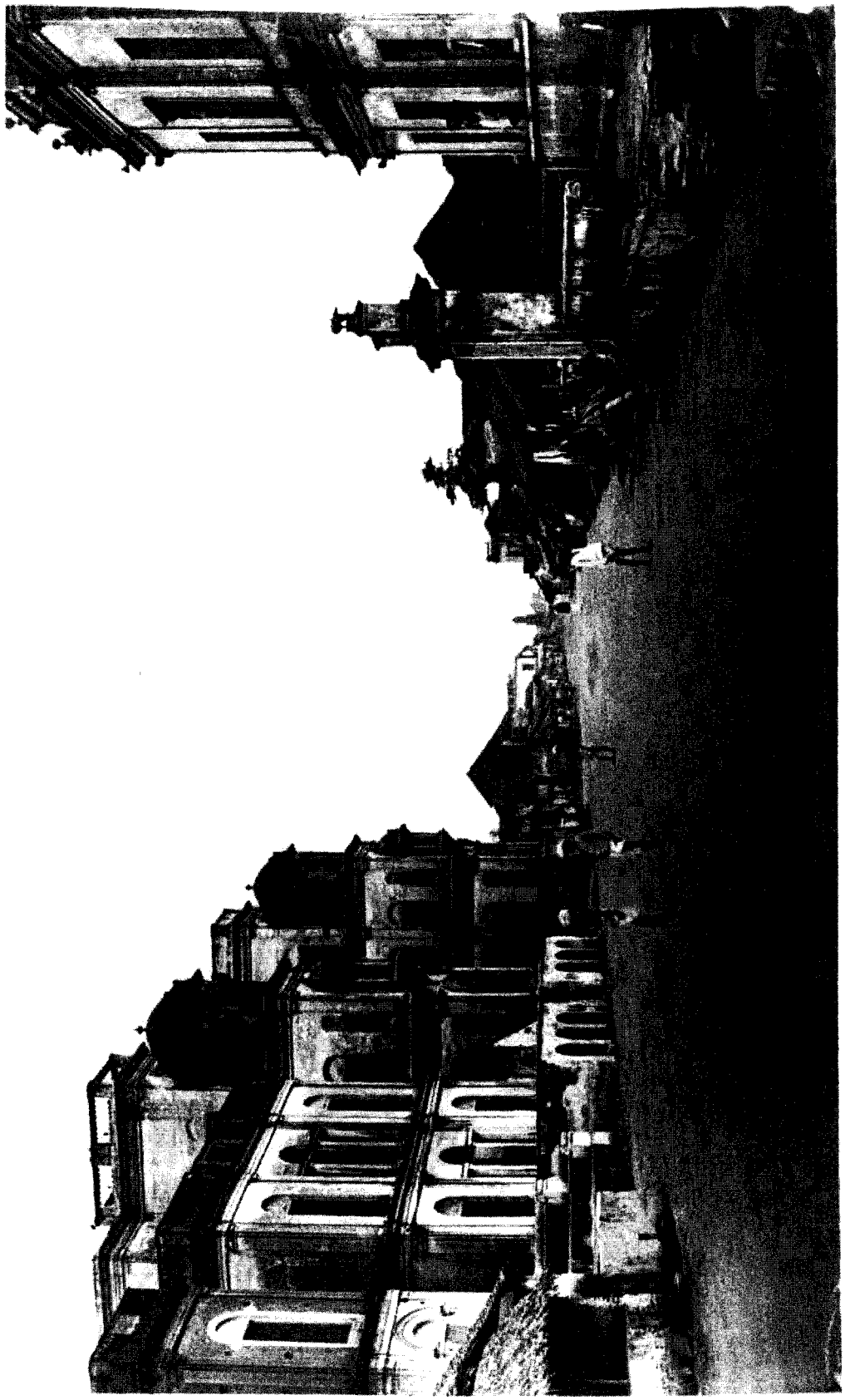

Photo 2.1.3. *Street view in Tanjore showing one of the native palaces*
British Library

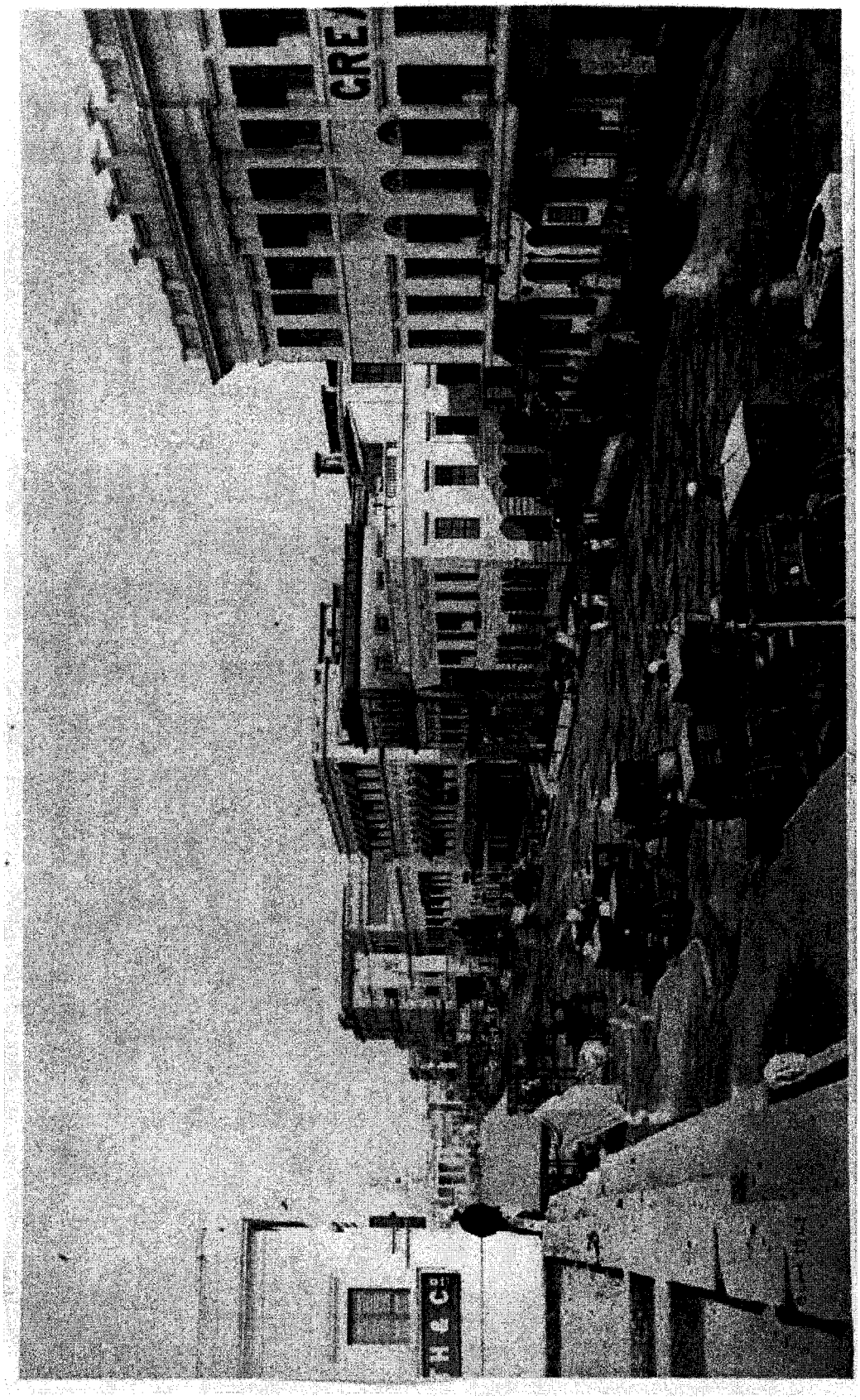

Photo 2.1.4. *Old Court House street looking north, Calcutta*
British Library

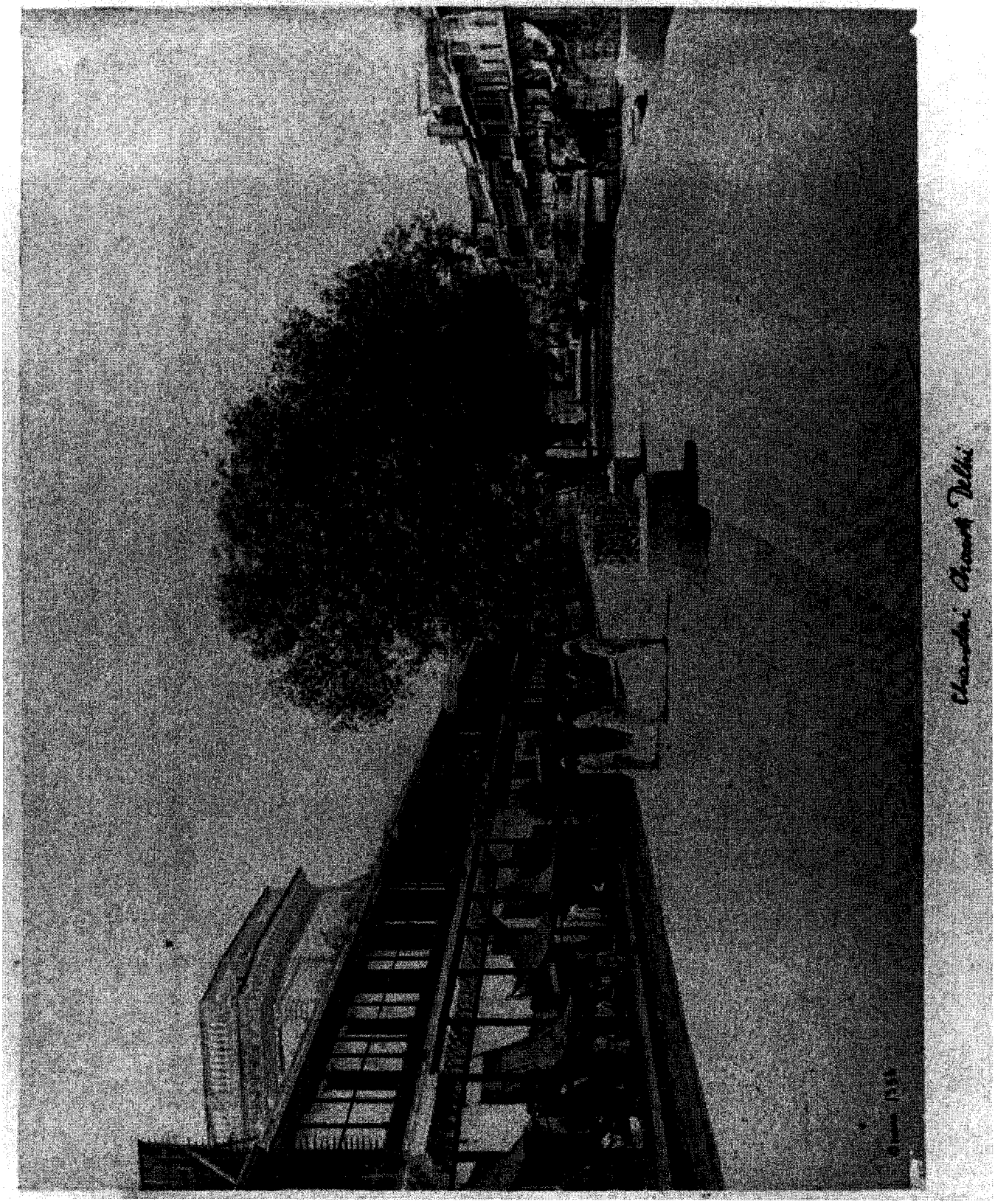

Photo 2.1.5. *Chandni Chawk, Delhi*
British Library

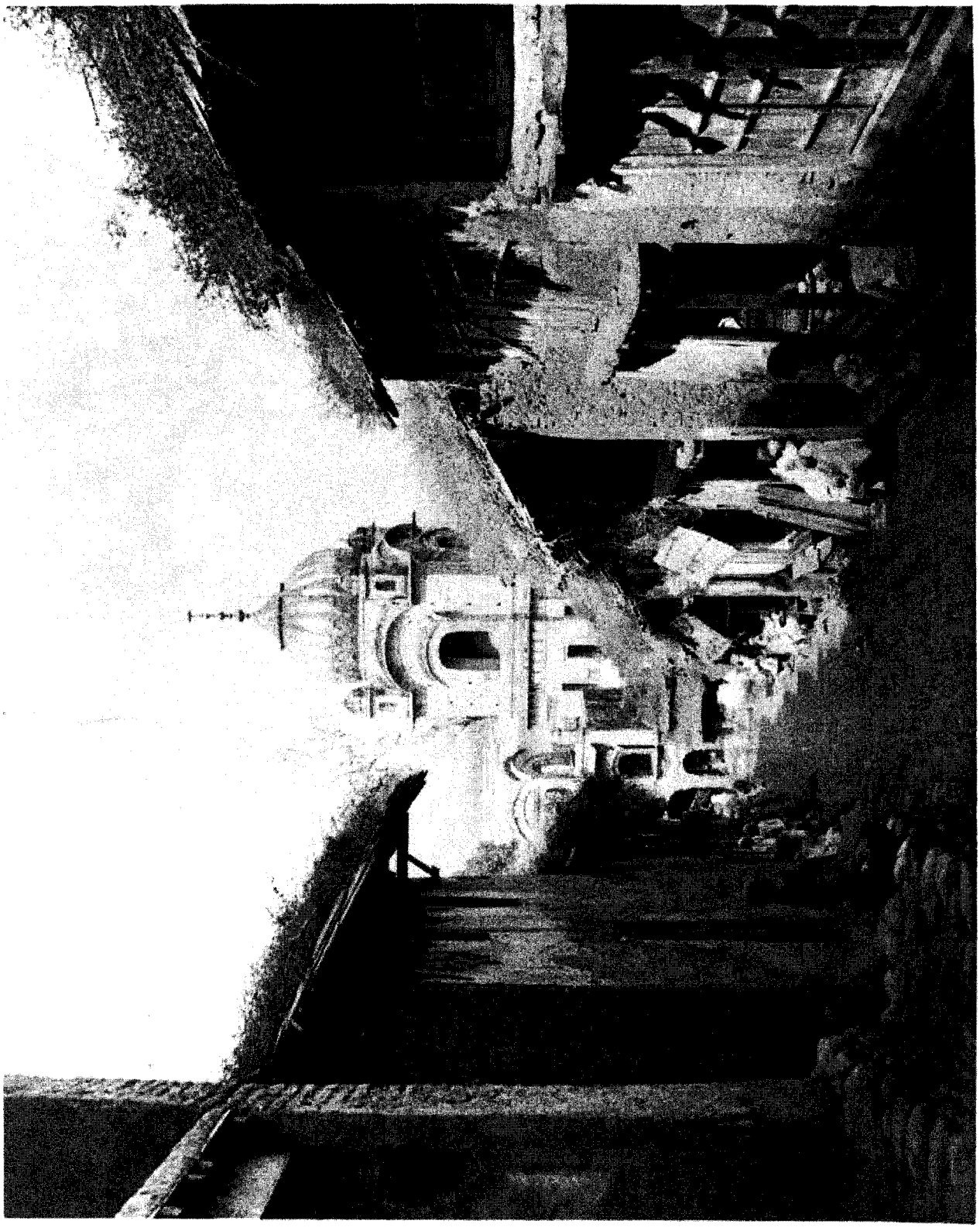

Photo 2.1.6. *Golden domed temple, Kangra*
British Library

Photo 2.1.7. *Rustic scene in Bengal*
British Library

Photo 2.1.8. *Dhobee's house and tank*
British Library

Photo 2.1.9. *Village life in Bengal*
British Library

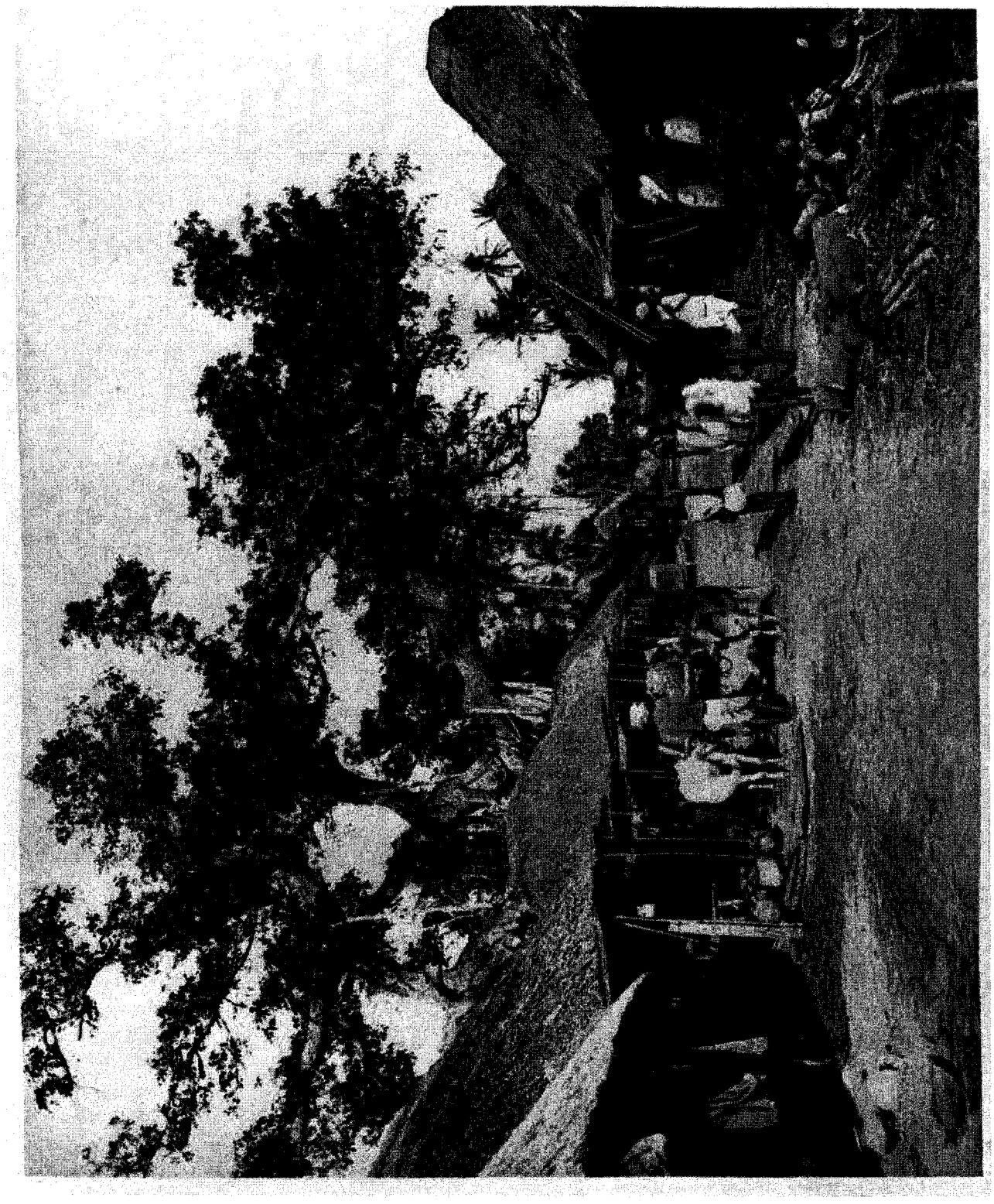

Photo 2.1.10. *Rustic life in Bengal, Native bazaar*
British Library

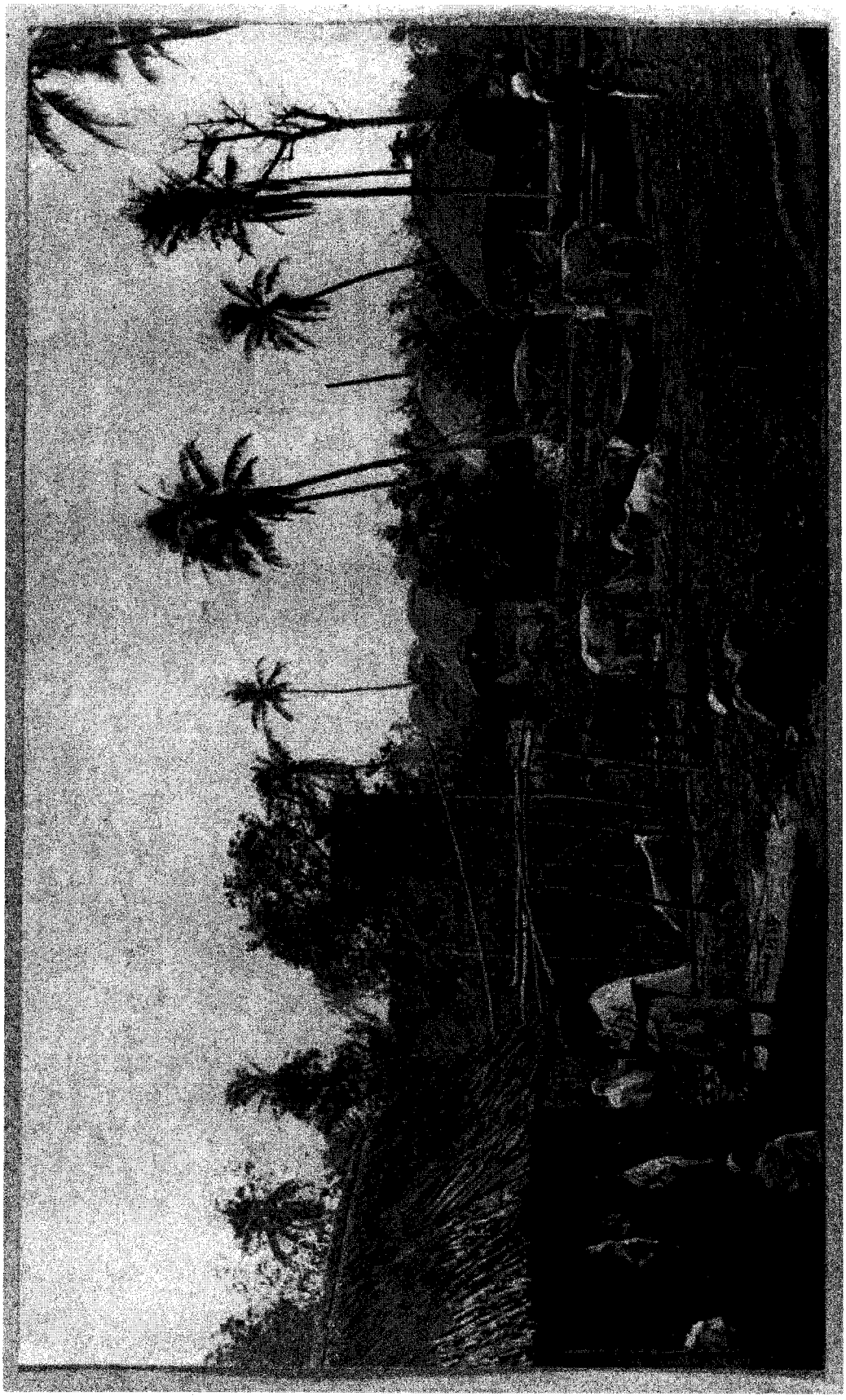

Photo 2.1.11. *Native butcher's shop and cattle for slaughter*
British Library

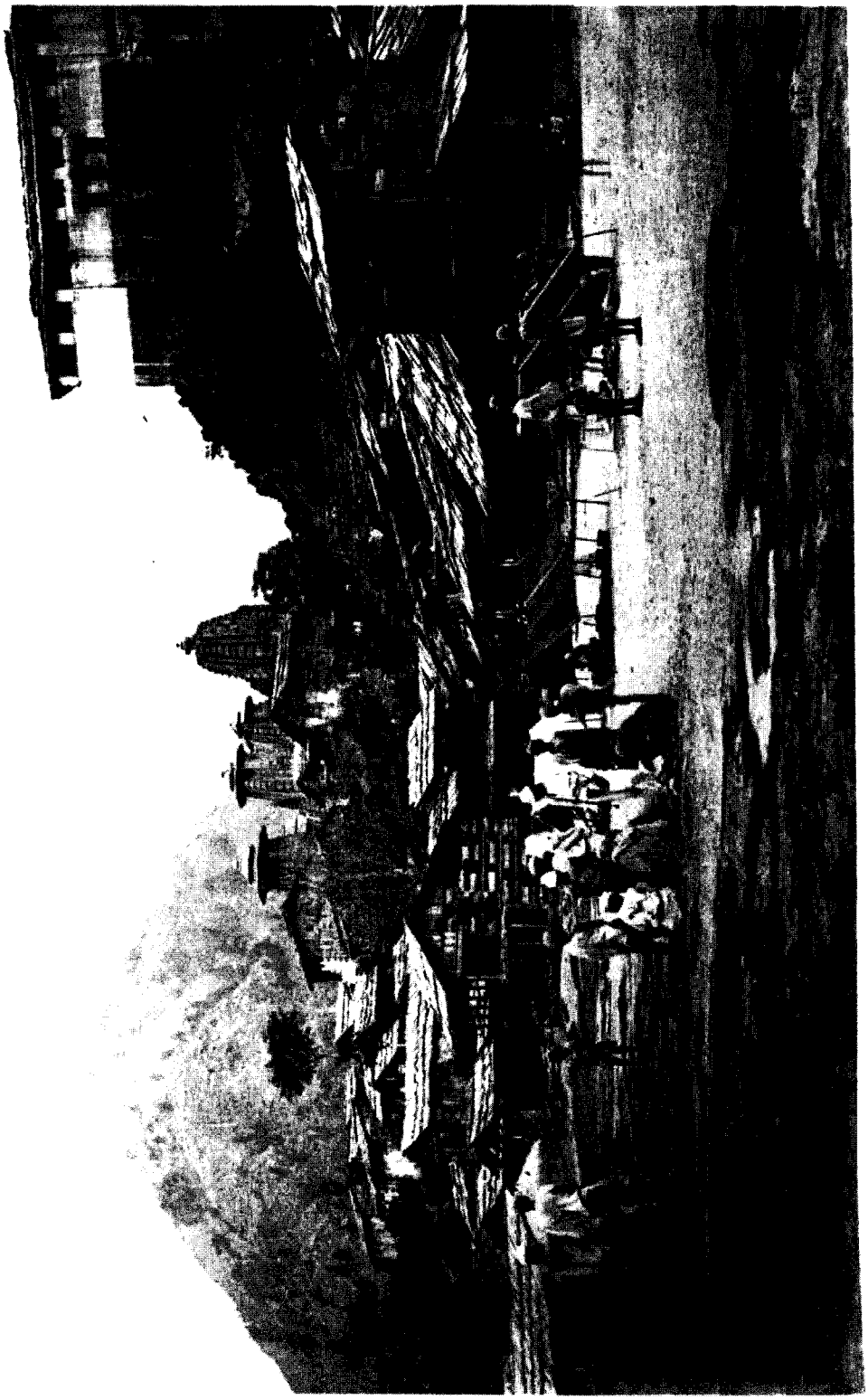

Photo 2.1.12. *Chumba, bazar and temples*
British Library

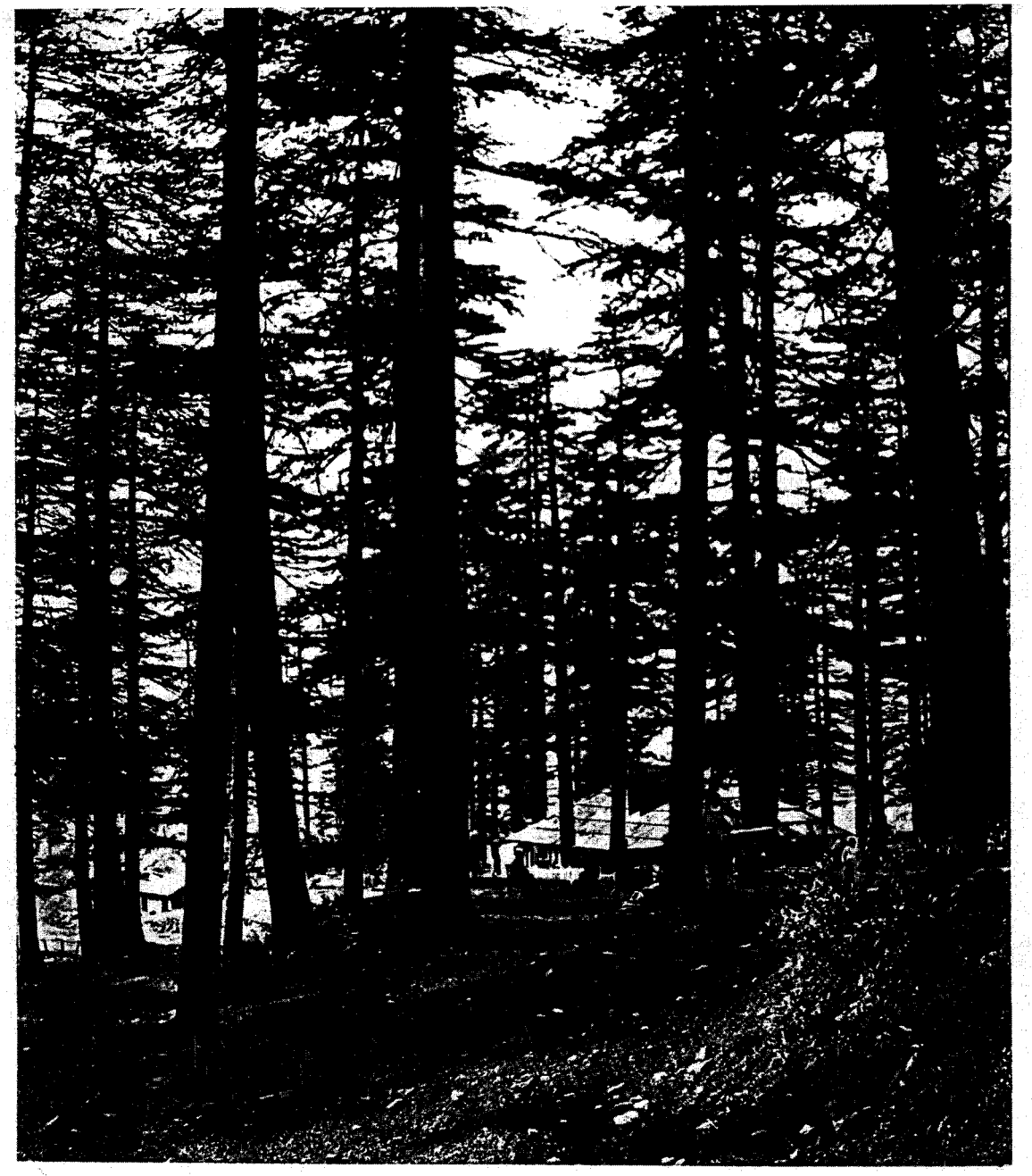

Photo 2.1.13. *Picnic amongst the trees at Annandale, Simla*
British Library

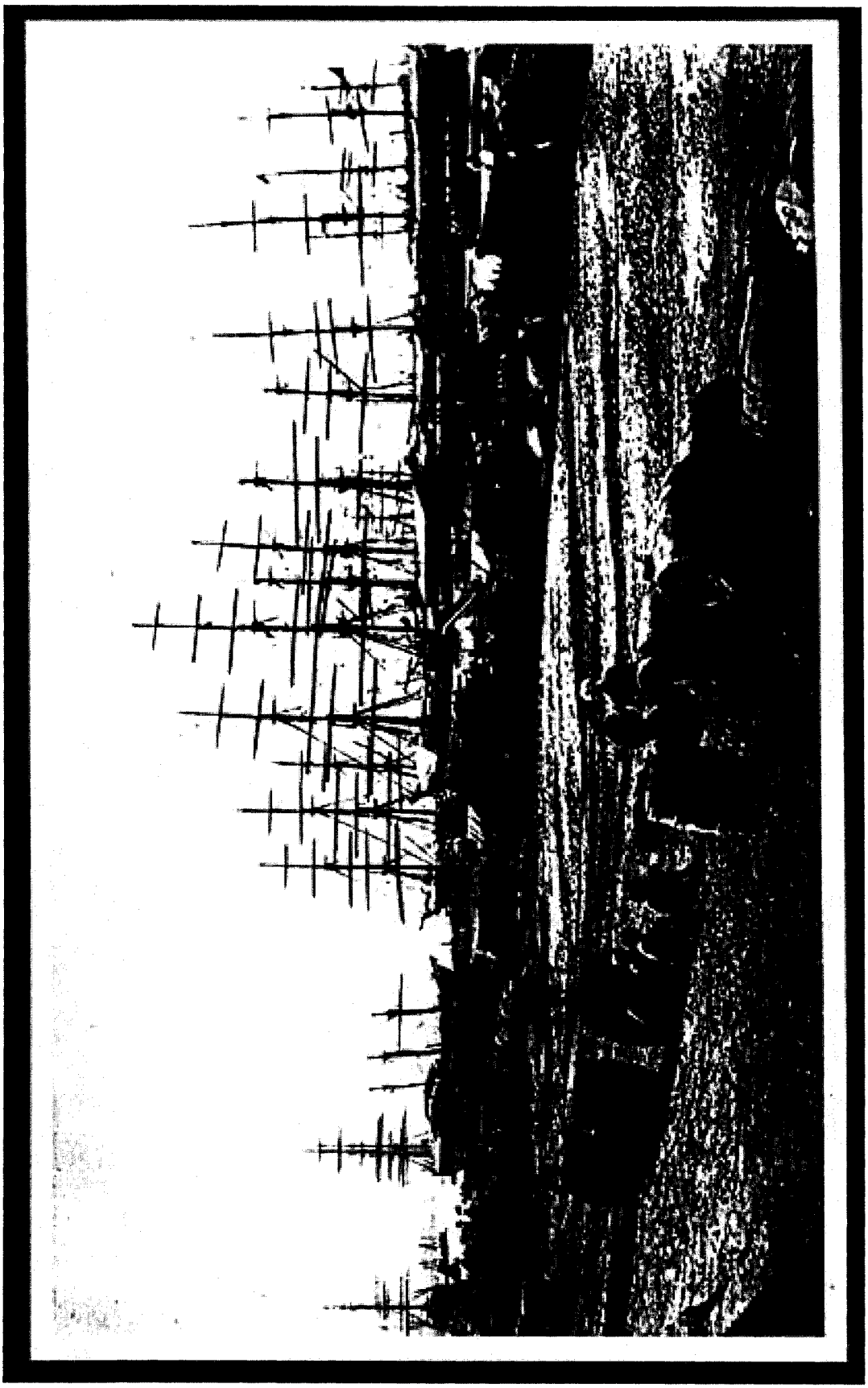

Photo 2.1.14. *Low Tide, Customs House Ghat, Calcutta*
British Library

Photo 2.1.15. *Camp at Srinagar*
Gordon's

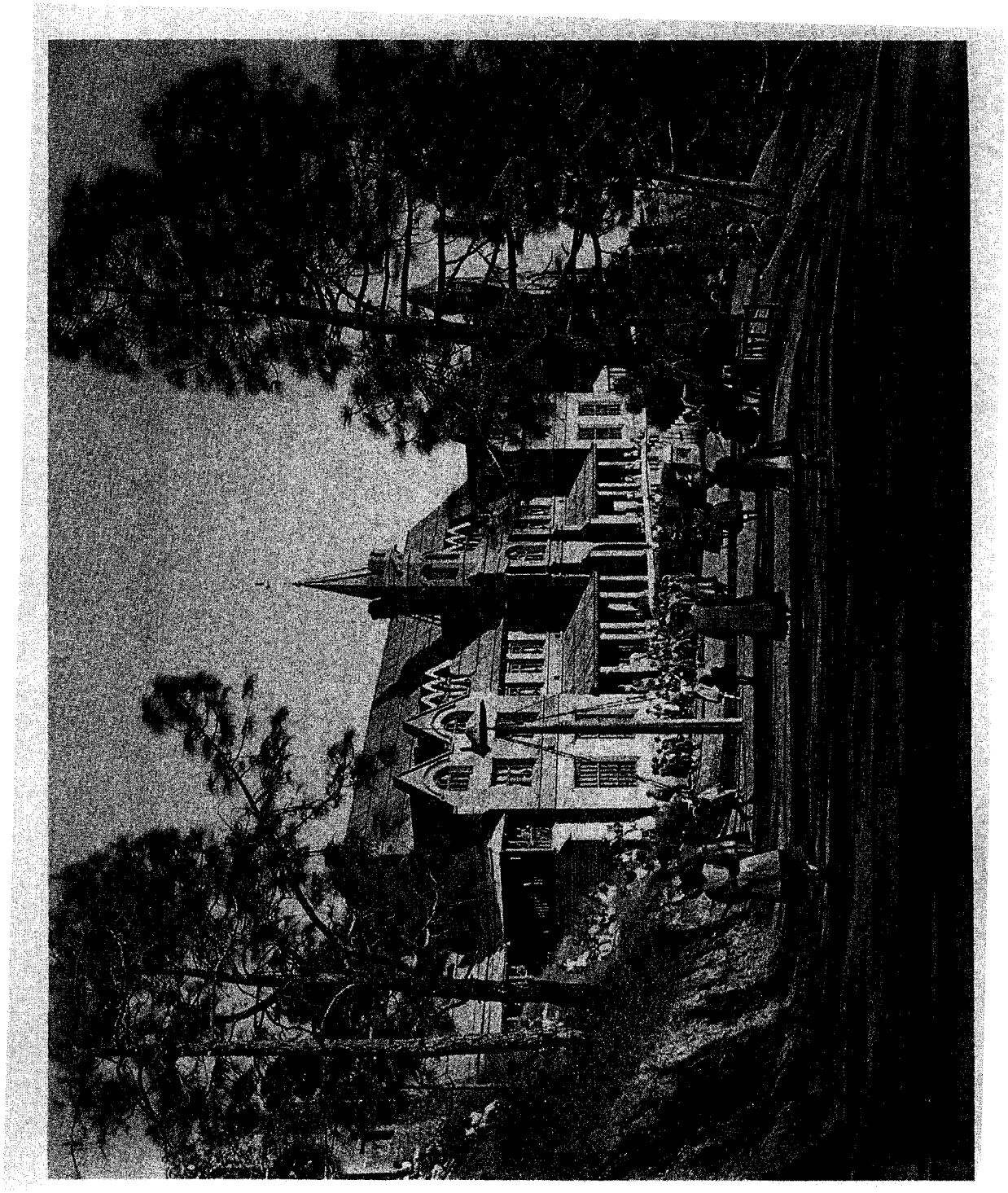

Photo 2.1.16. *The Lawrence Military Asylum, Sanawar girls at play in front of the school*
Falconer's

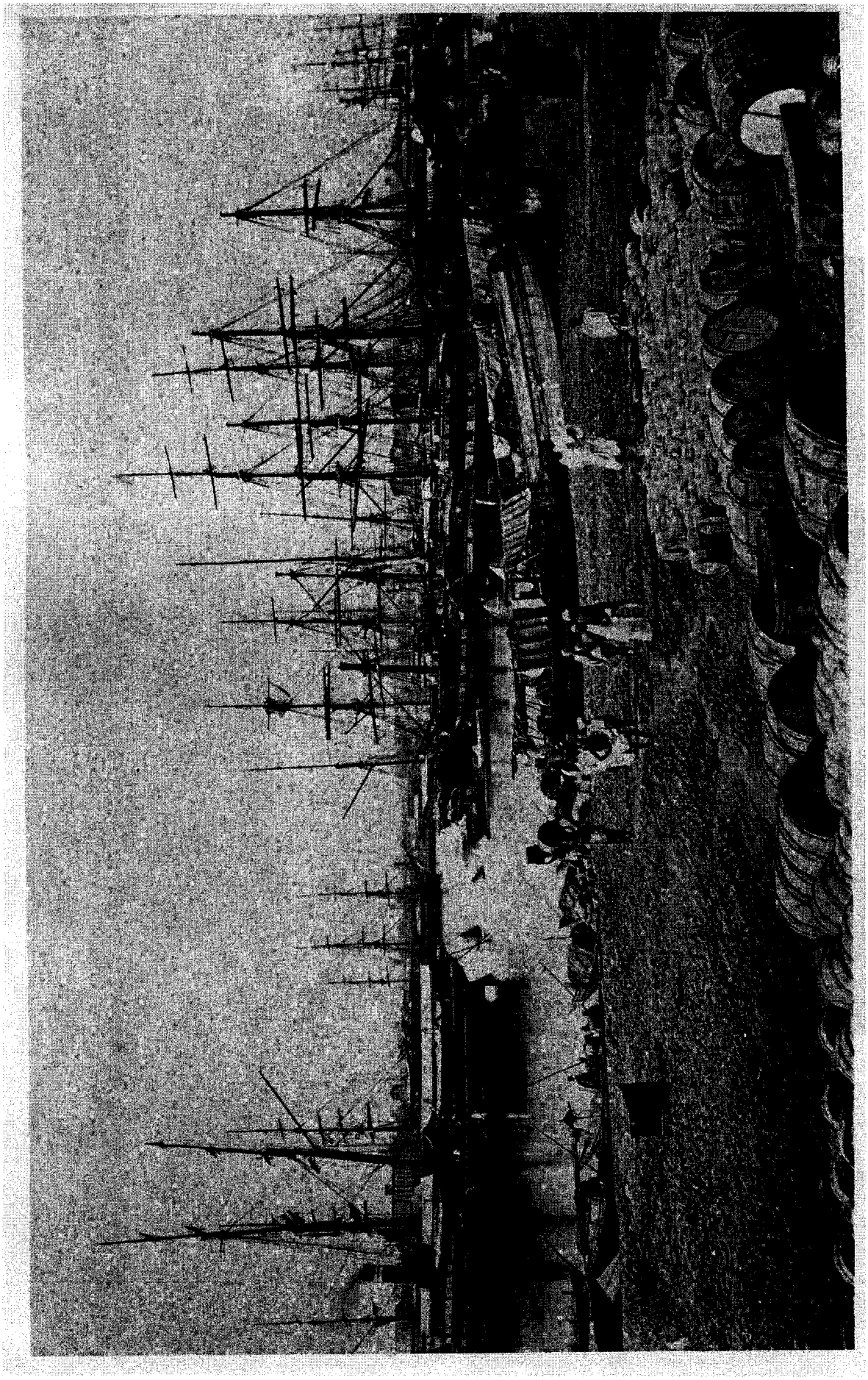

Photo 2.1.17. *Landing goods near the Customs House, Calcutta*
Desmond's

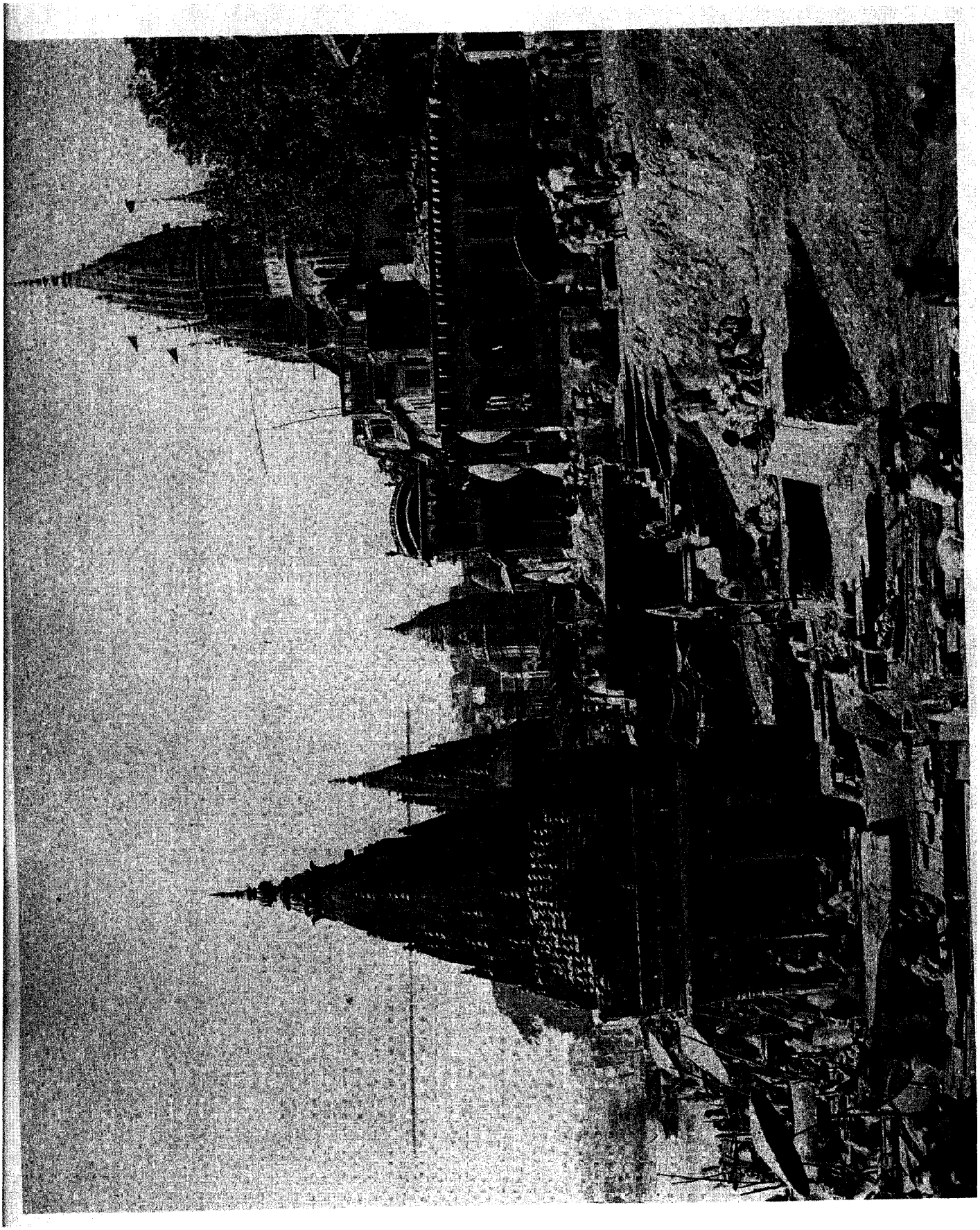

Photo 2.1.18. *Temples on the Banks of the Ganges at Benares*
OR *Vishnu Pud and other temples near the Burning Ghat*
International Museum of Photography, N.Y. OR British Library

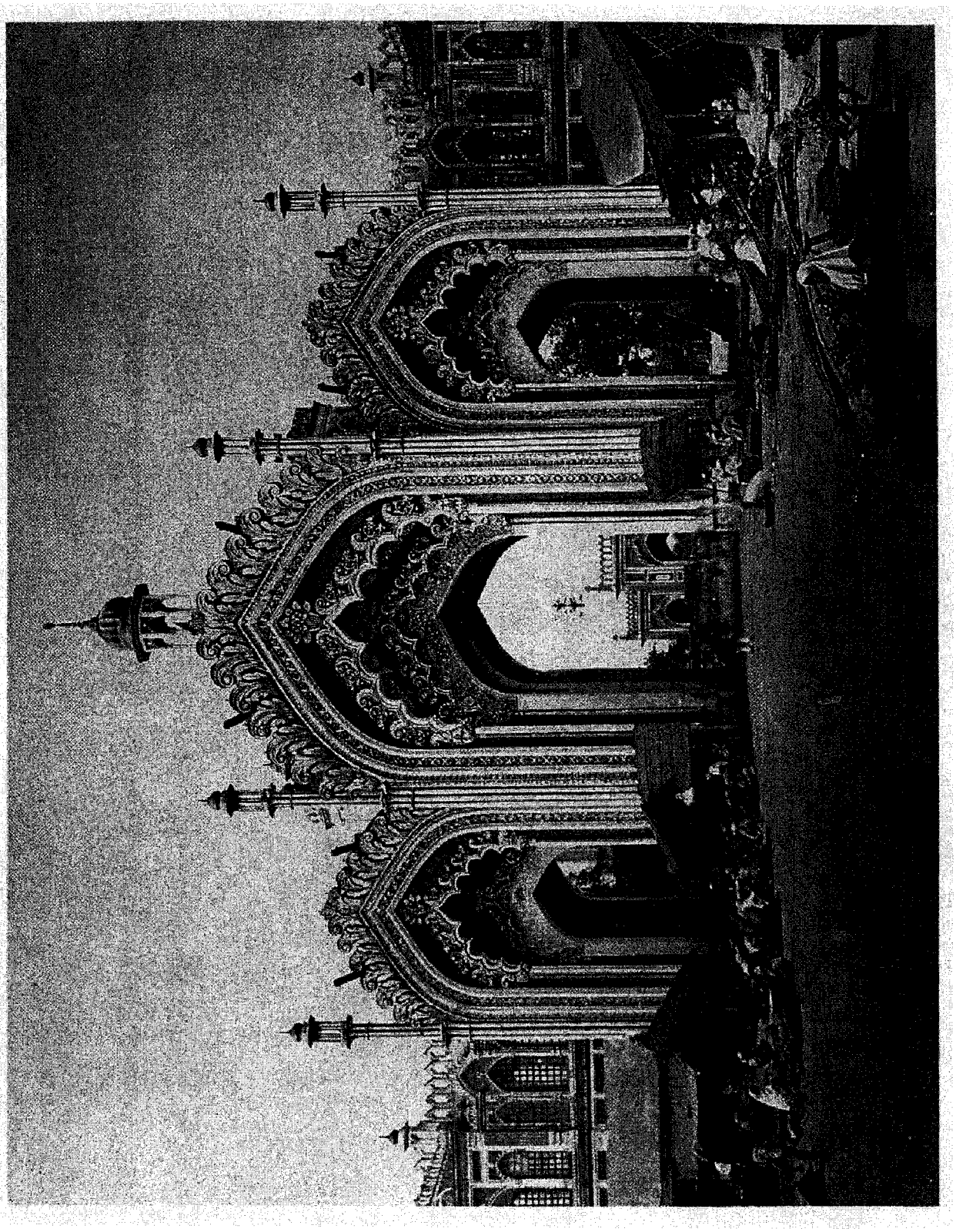

Photo 2.1.19. *Gate to the Lucknow Bazaar*
Collection Stephen White, Los Angeles

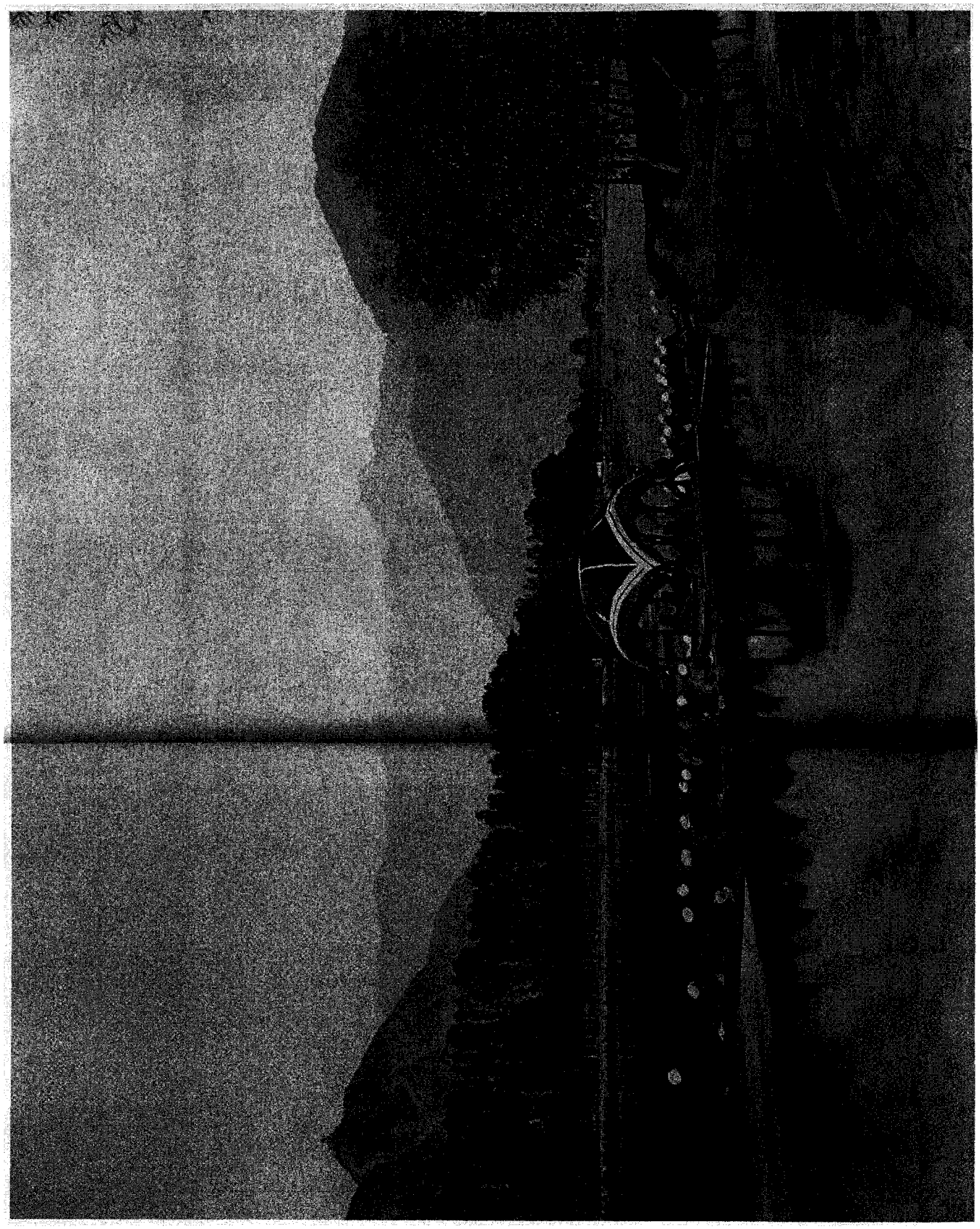

Photo 2.1.20. *A High-ranking British Official, Conveyed by boat in Kashmir*
Daniel Wolf Gallery, N.Y.

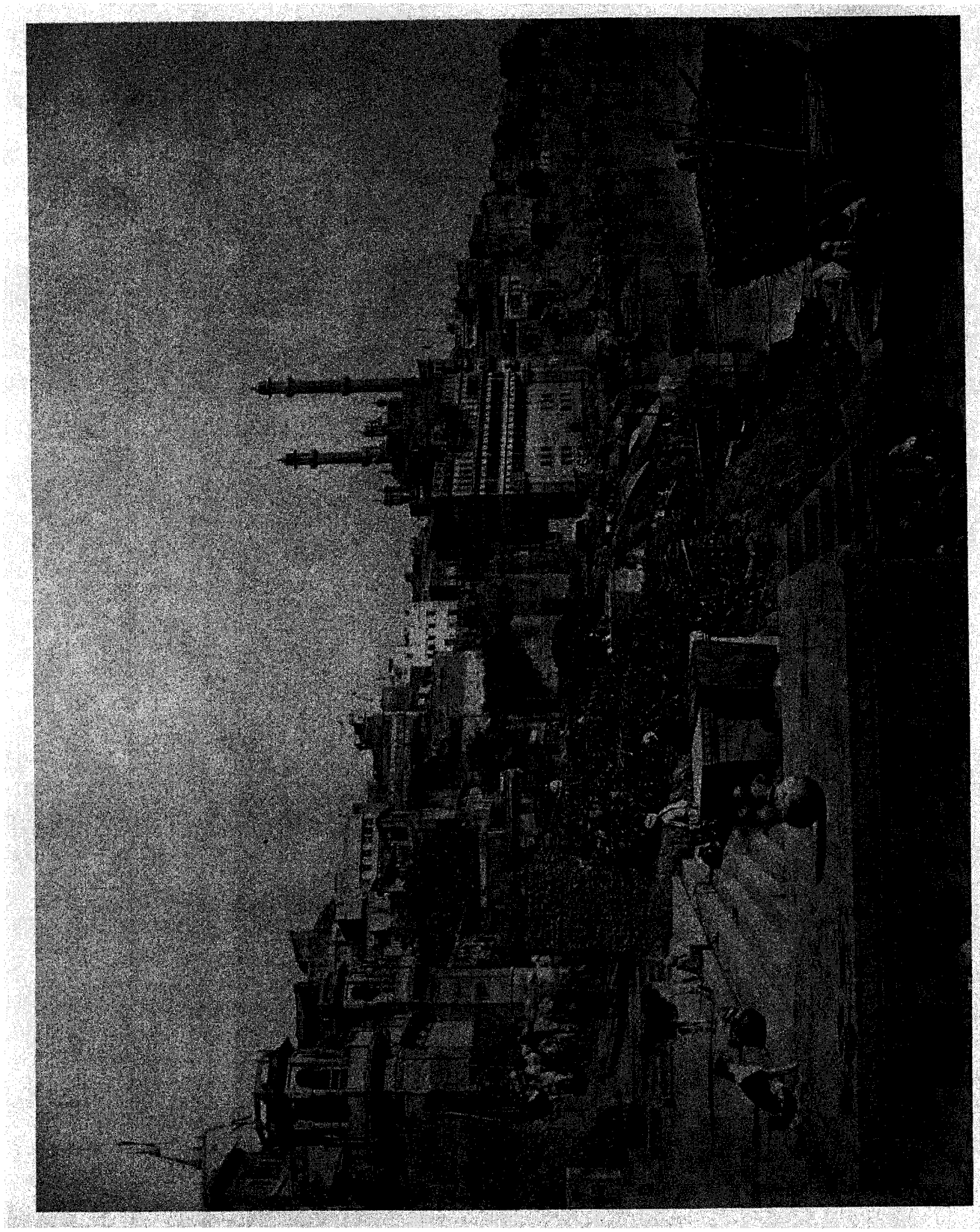

Photo 2.1.21. *The Great Mosque of Arangzebe and adjoining Ghats, Benares*
British Library

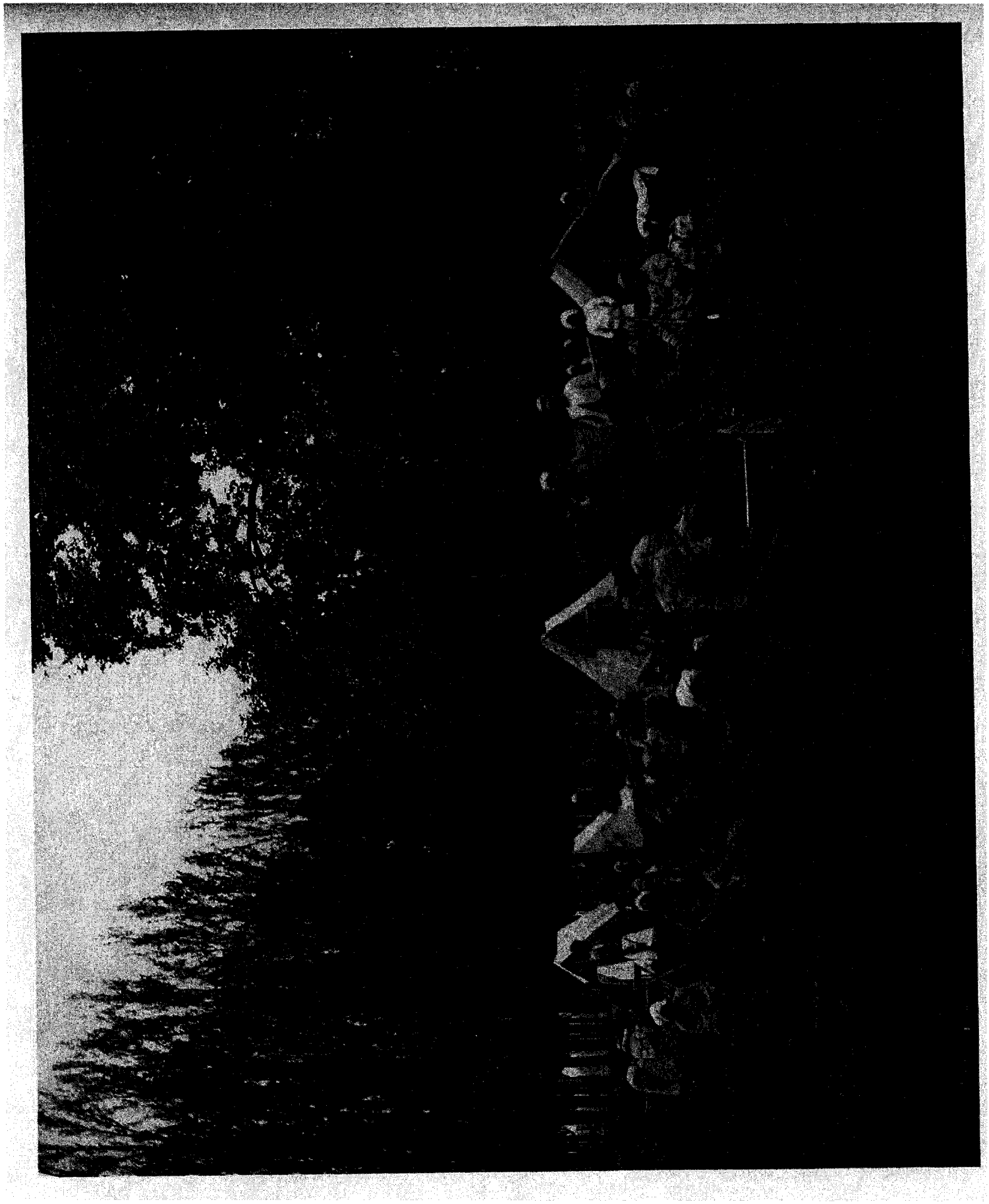

Photo 2.1.22. *A shooting party in Camp Srinuggur, Kashmir*
Ollman's

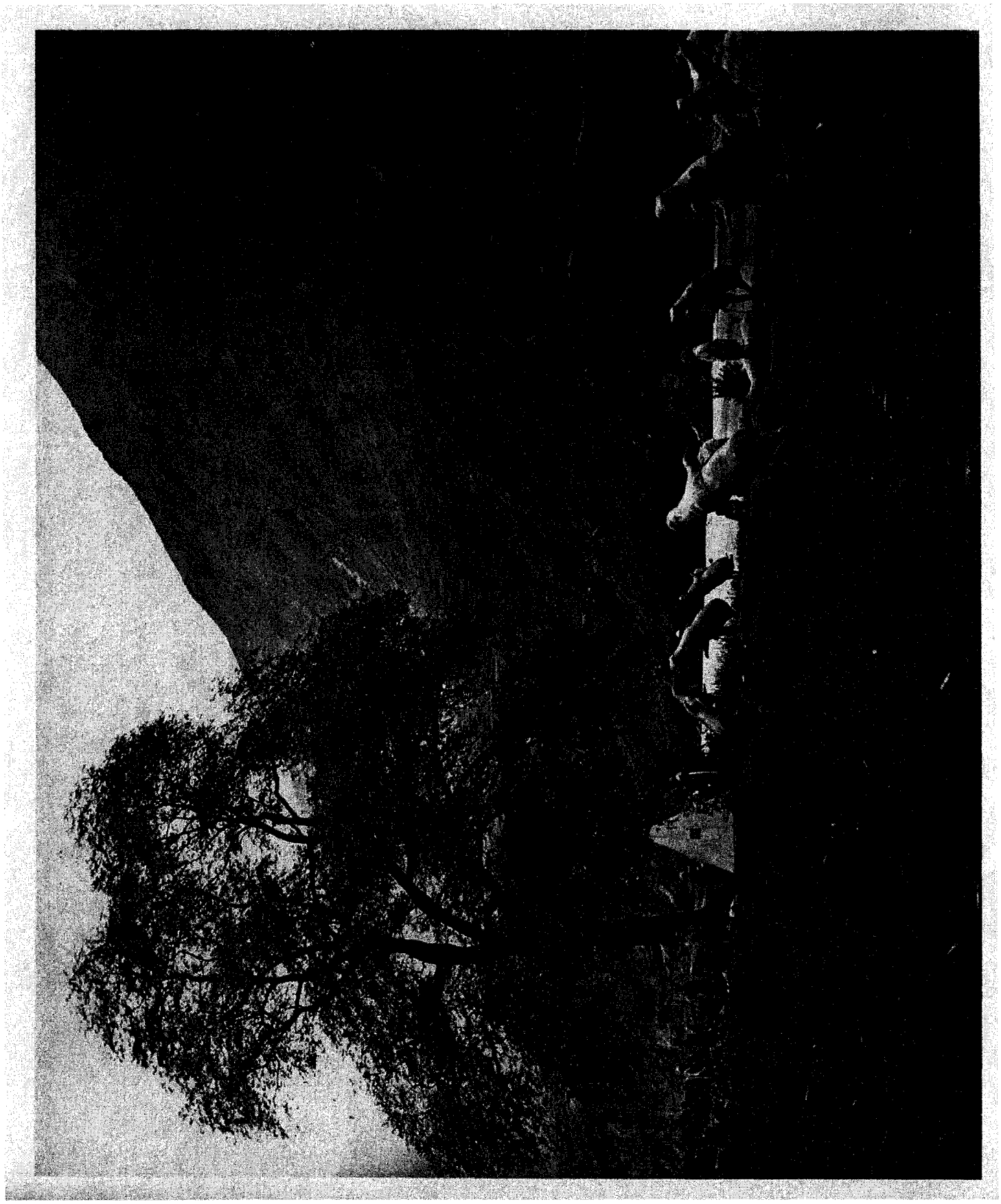

Photo 2.1.23. *Mussucks for Crossing the Beas below Bajoura*
Ollman's

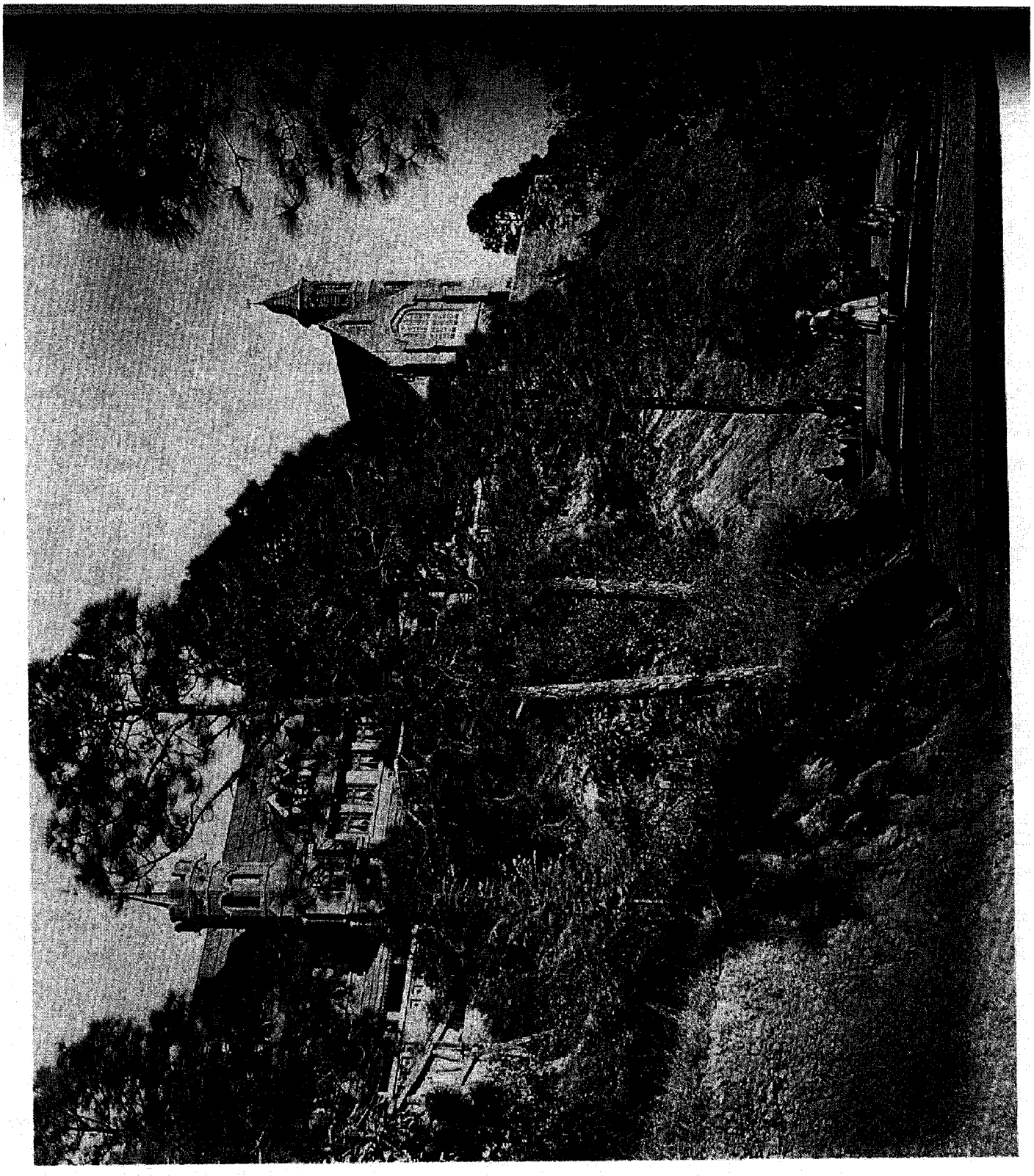

Photo 2.1.24. *Sanawur Church and Girl's School from the road*
Smithsonian Institution

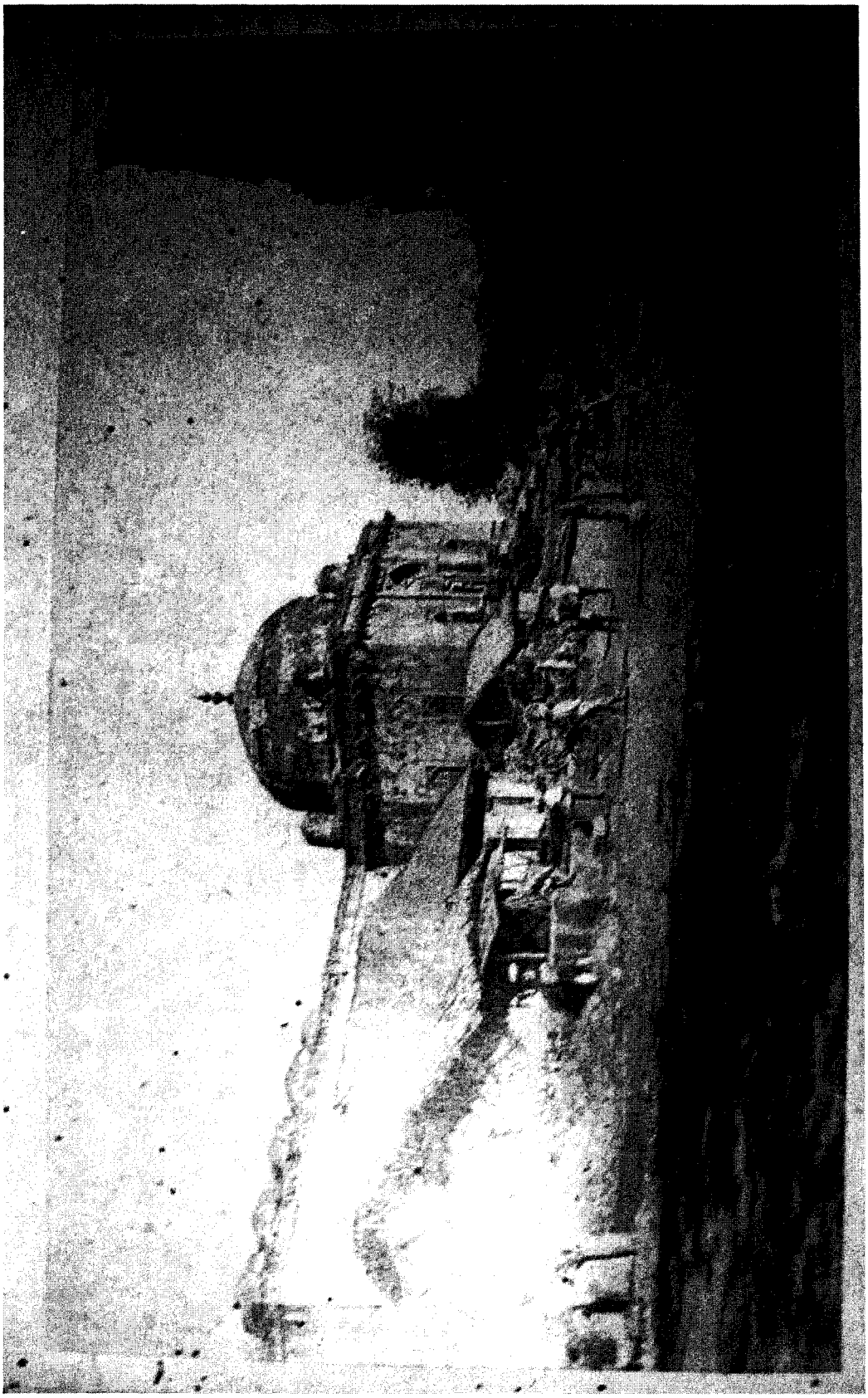

Photo 2.1.25. *Mandroo, the village Jumma Muspad*
National Library at Kolkata

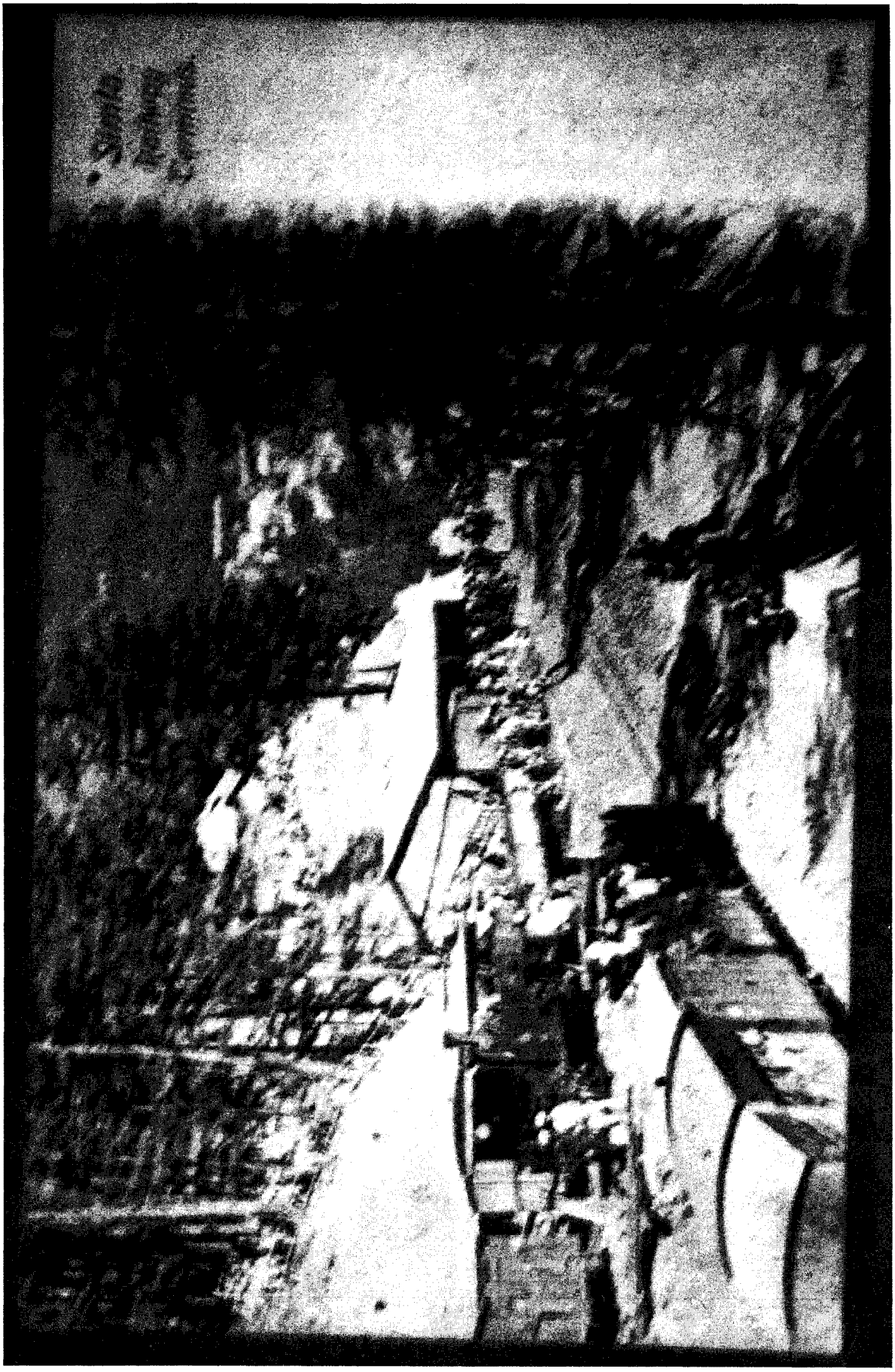

Photo 2.1.26. *Simla, Railway terminus*
National Library at Kolkata

Photo 2.1.27. *Navigating the Suttej on mussocks*
National Library at Kolkata

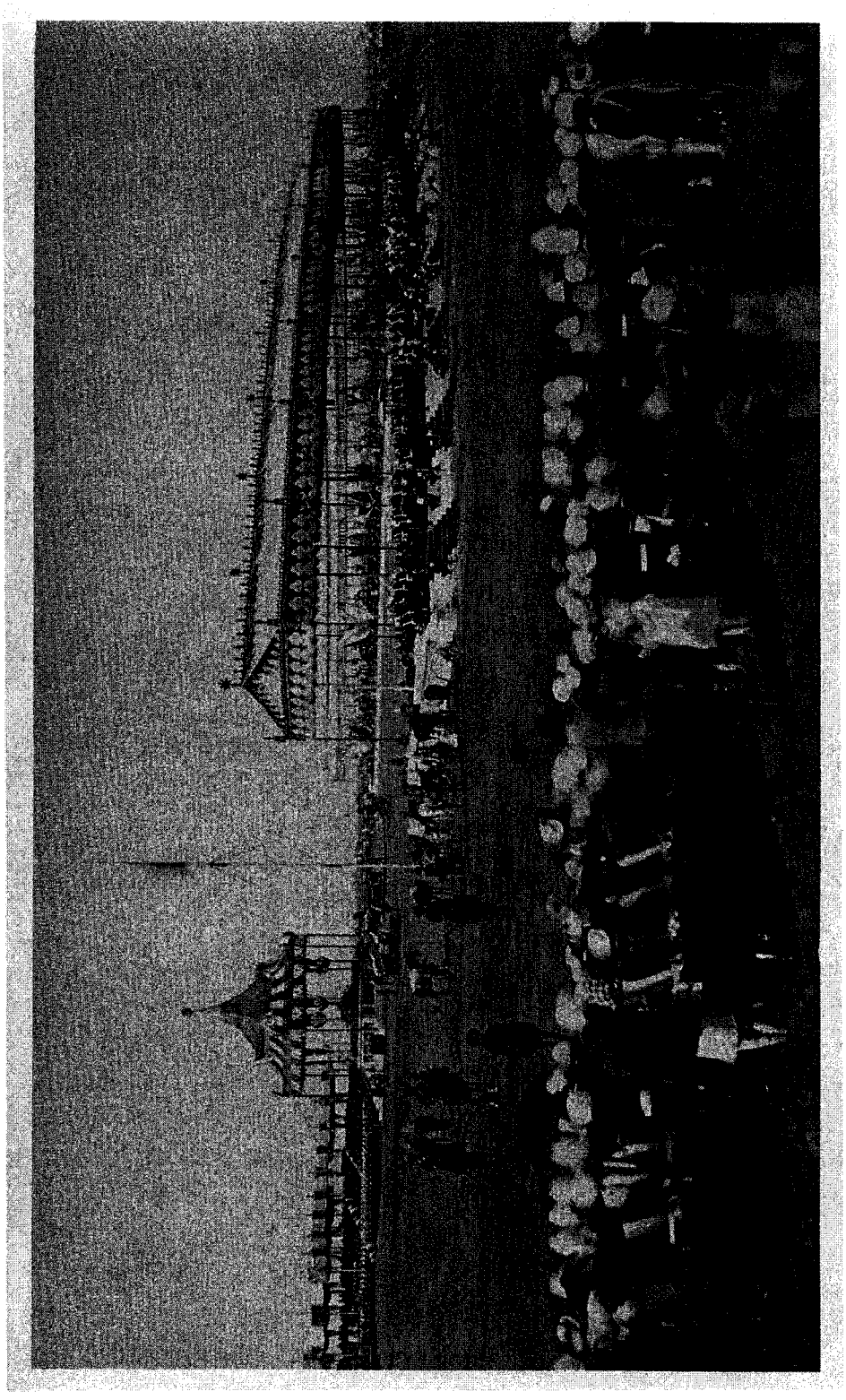

Photo 2.2.1. *The amphitheatre at the Imperial Assemblage, Delhi*
Falconer's

Photo 2.2.2. *The loop at 'Agony Point'*
at Tindharia on the Darjeeling Hill Railway
Roger's

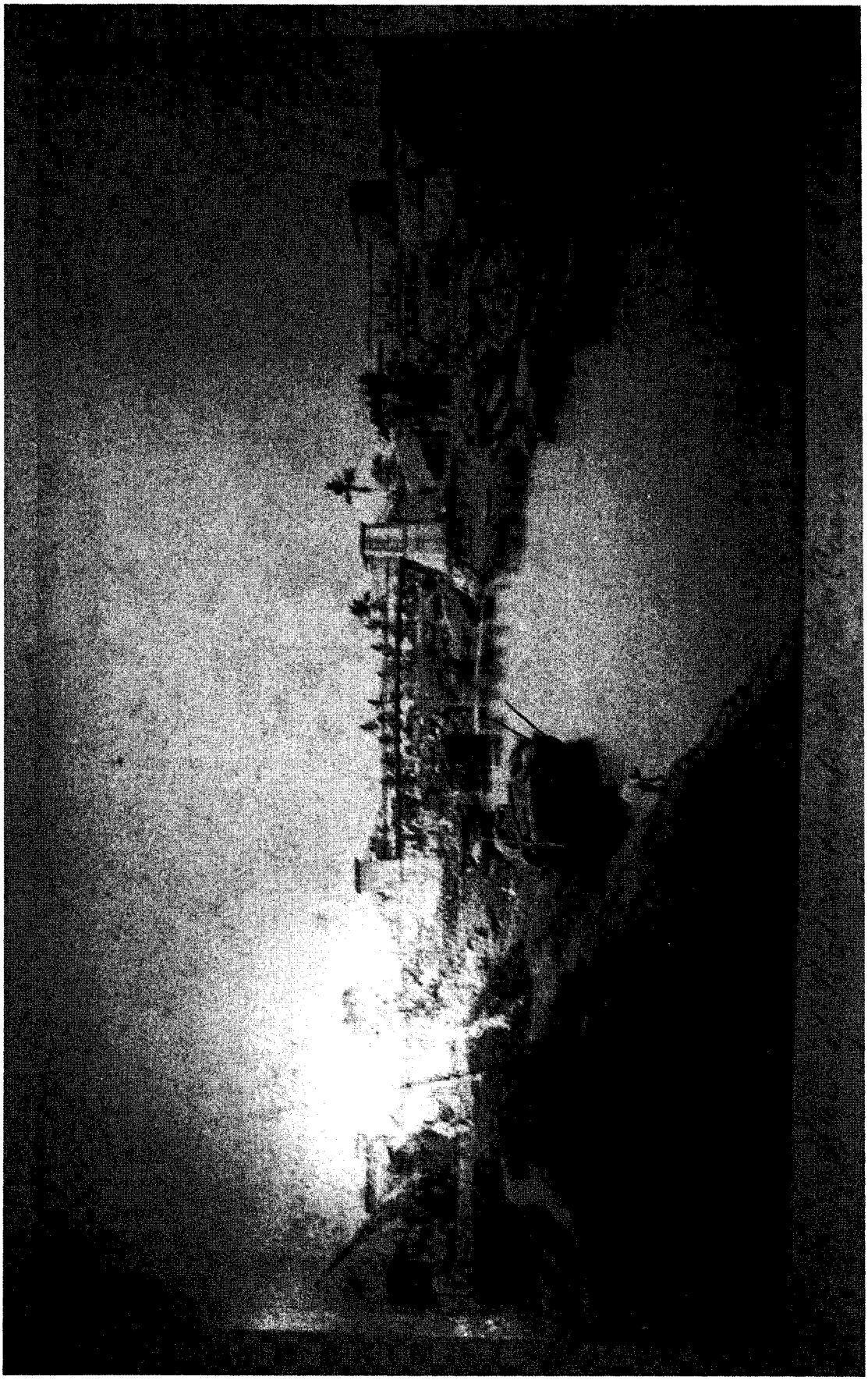

Photo 3.1.1. *View of the native boats on the Canal at Kali Ghat*
National Library at Kolkata

Photo 3.1.2. *Simla (General view of)*
British Library

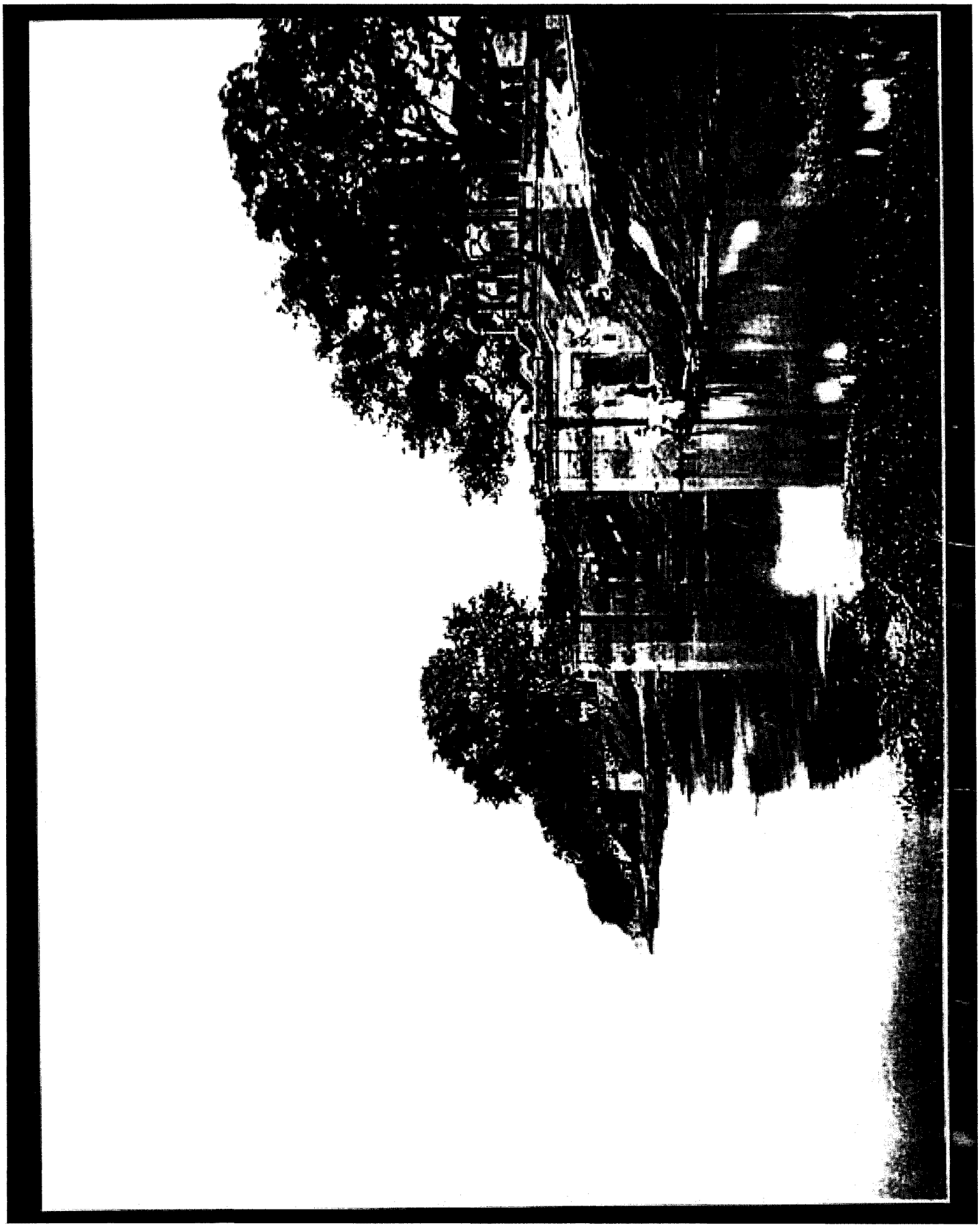

Photo 3.1.3. *Sati Chaura Ghat, Kaunpur (Cawnpore)*
British Library

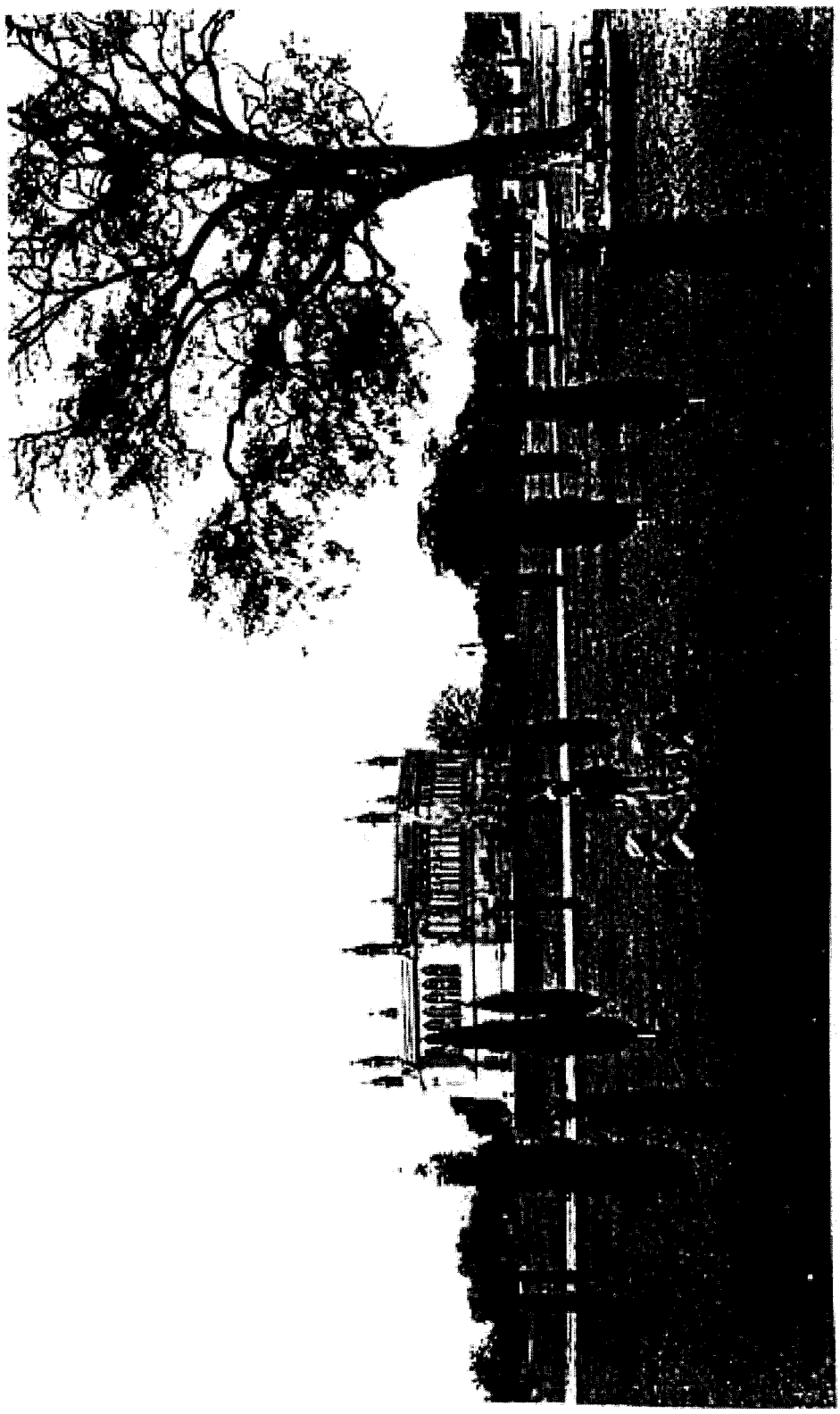

Photo 3.1.4. *Memorial Garden, Cawnpore*
British Library

Photo 3.1.5. *Lord Hardinge's Statue and the Ochterlony Monument, Calcutta*
British Library

Photo 3.1.6. *Statue of Sir W. C. Bentinck and Government House, Calcutta*
National Library at Kolkata and British Library

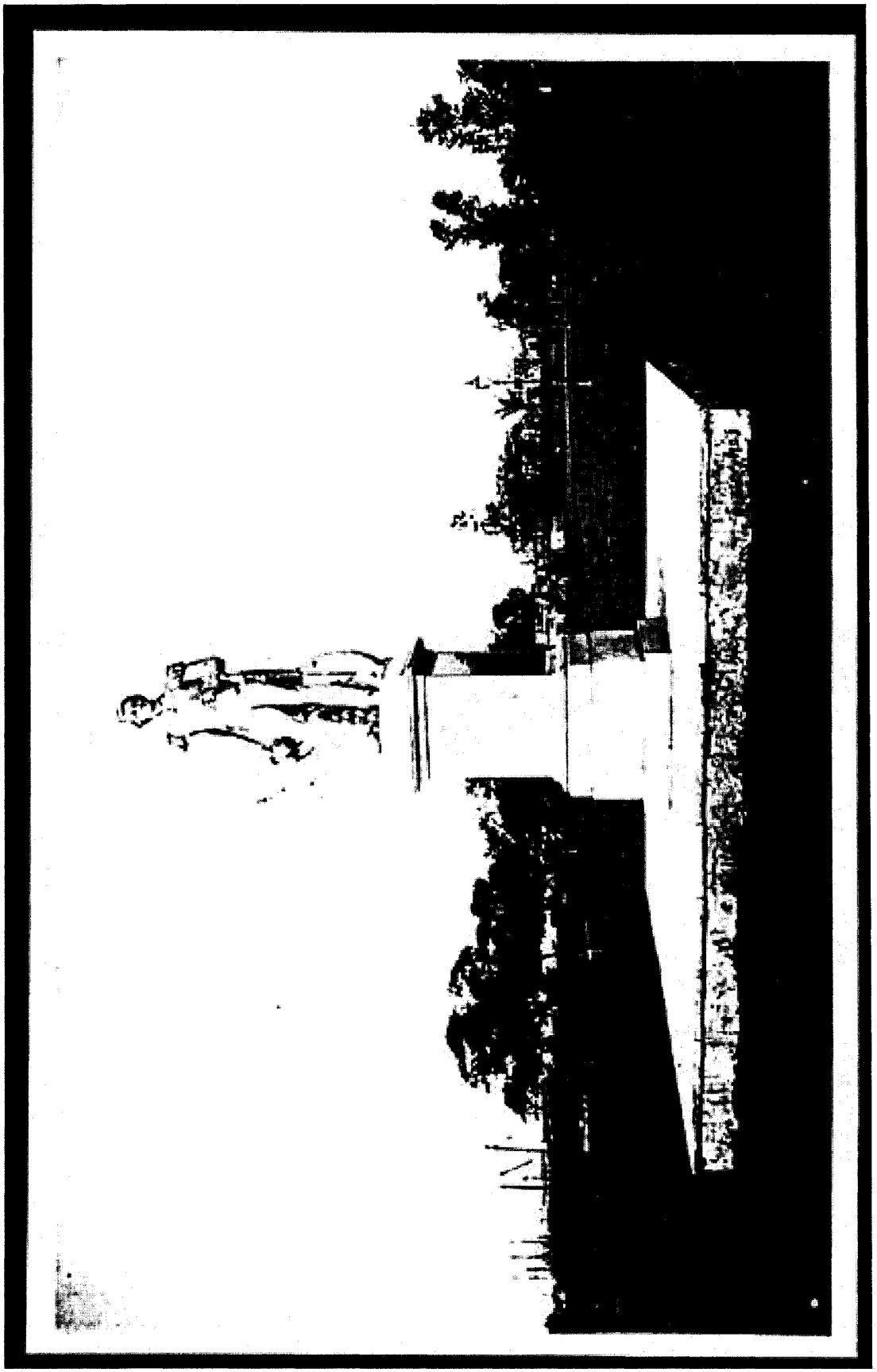

Photo 3.1.7. *Statue of Sir William Peel in the Eden Gardens, Calcutta*
British Library

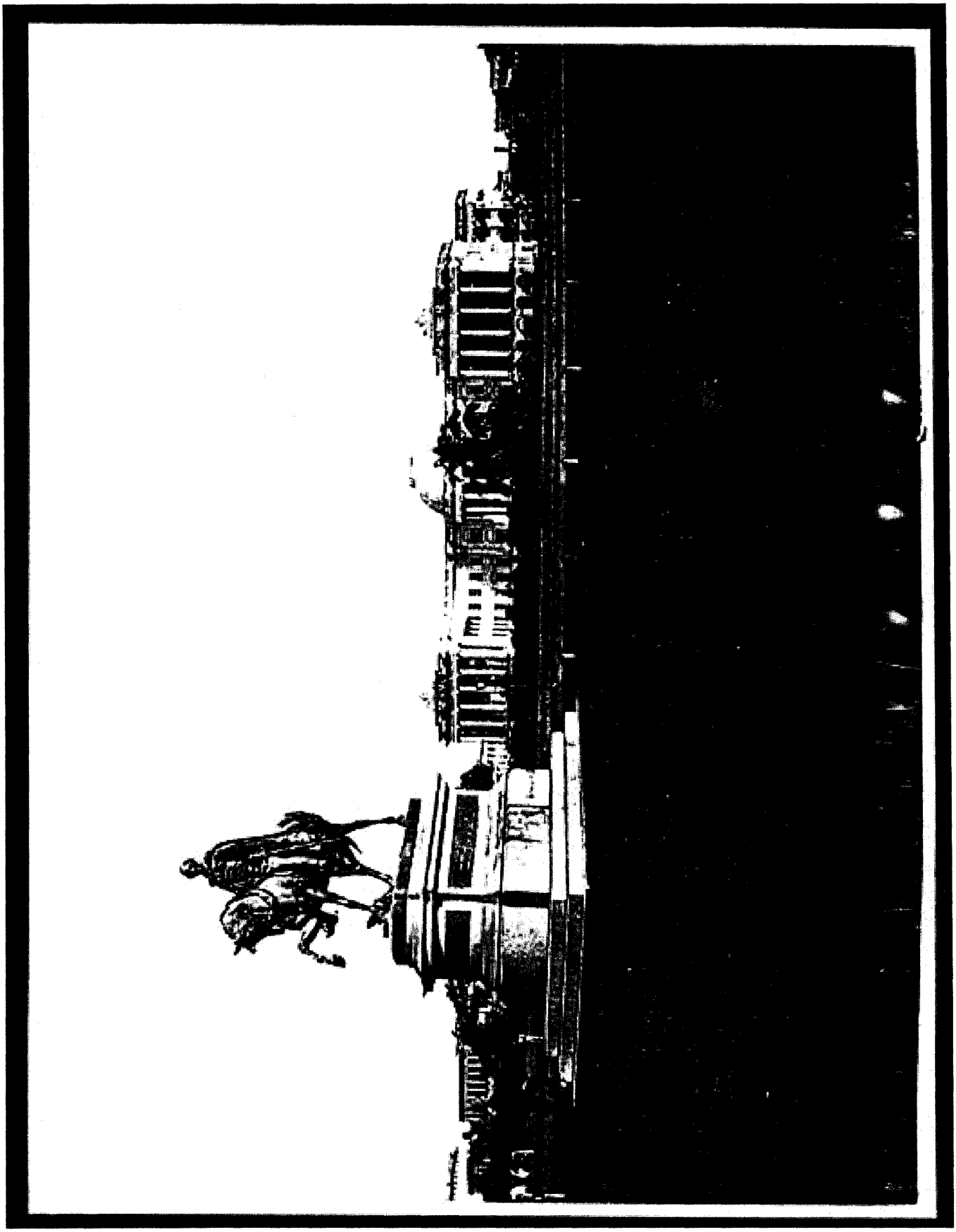

Photo 3.1.8. *Government House and Ochterlony Monument, Calcutta*
British Library

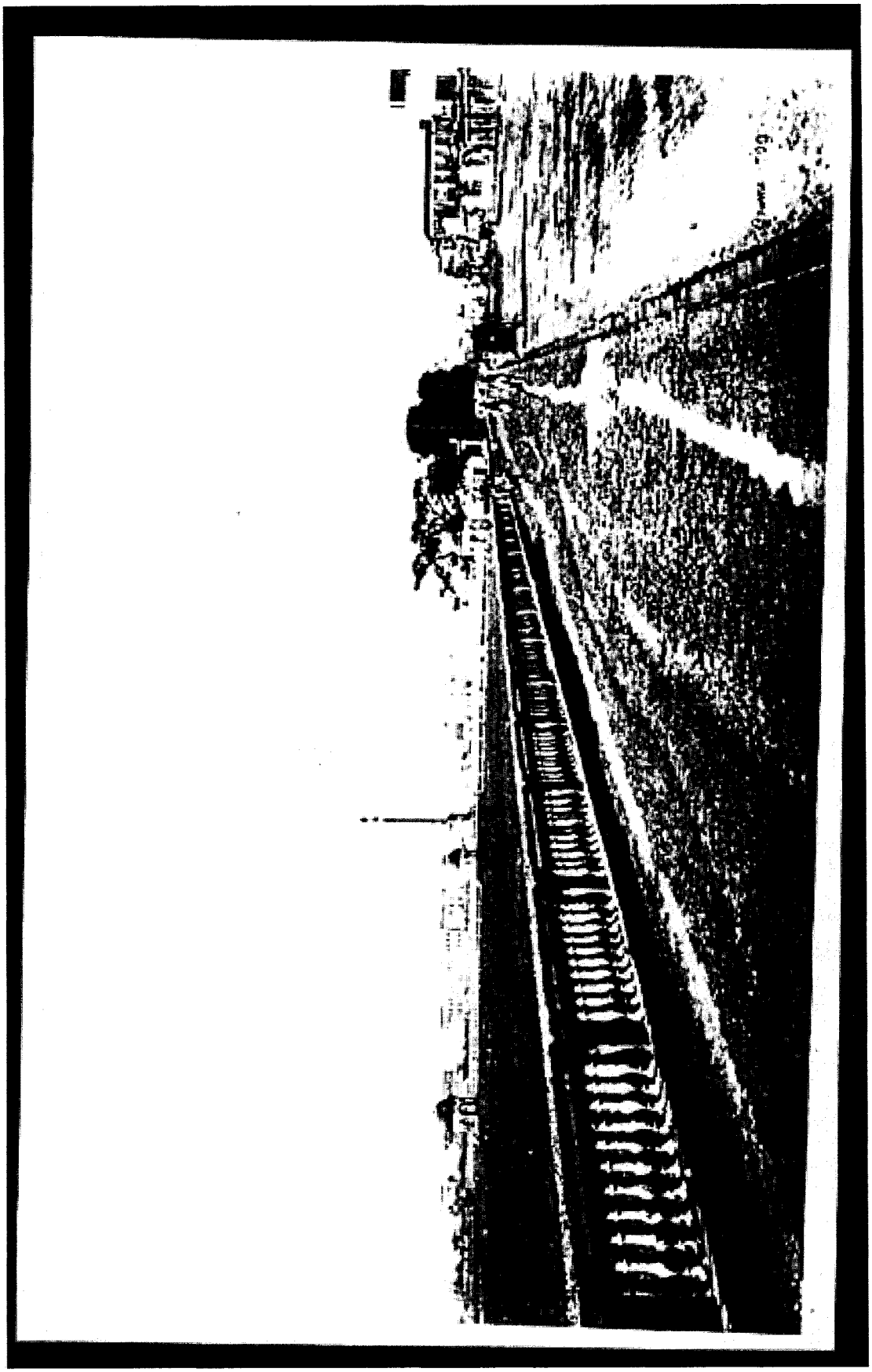

Photo 3.1.9. *Panoramic view from Chowringhee Road*
British Library

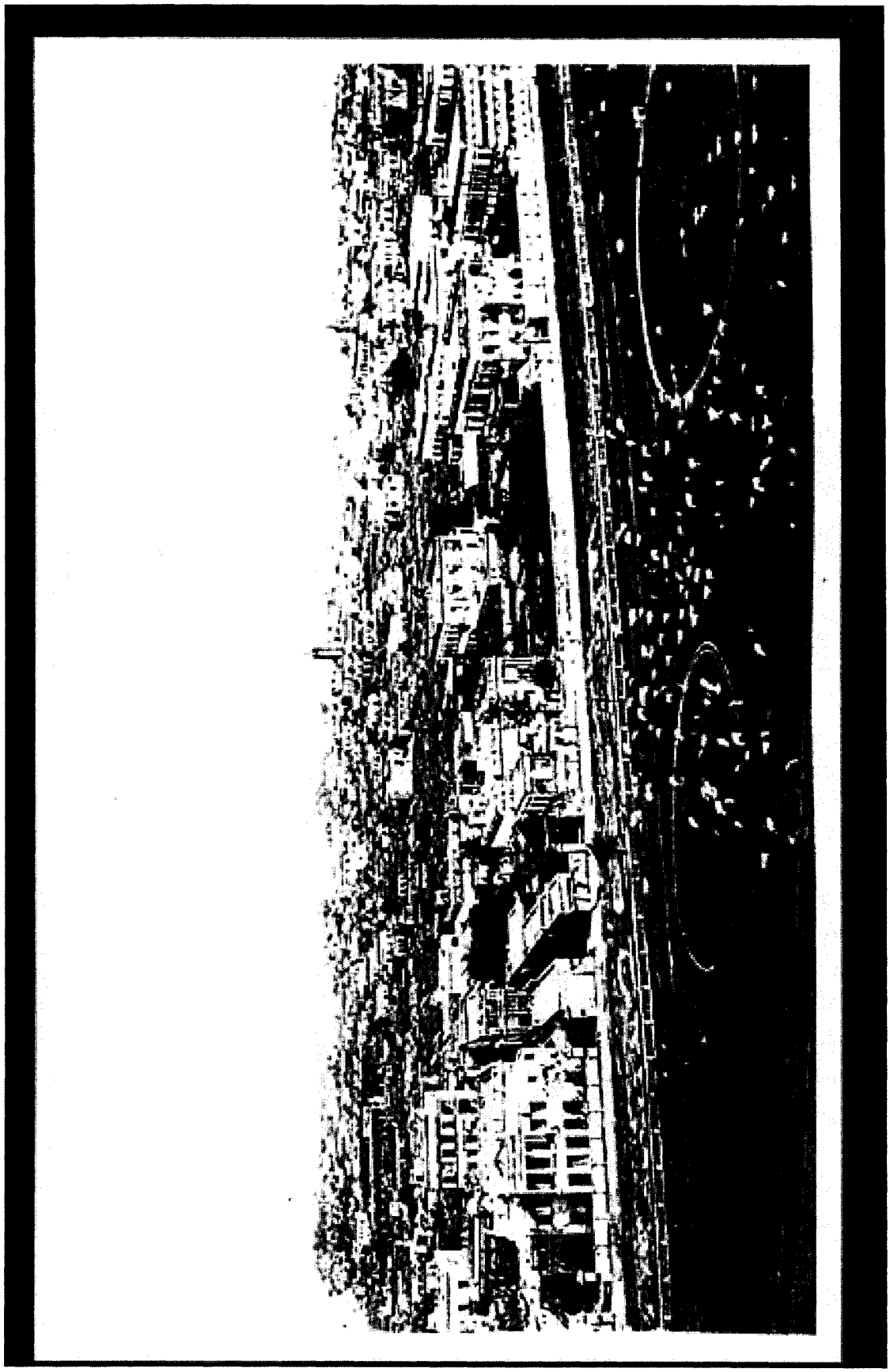

Photo 3.1.10. *Chowringhee Road, Calcutta*
Panoramic view from the Ochterlony Monument
British Library

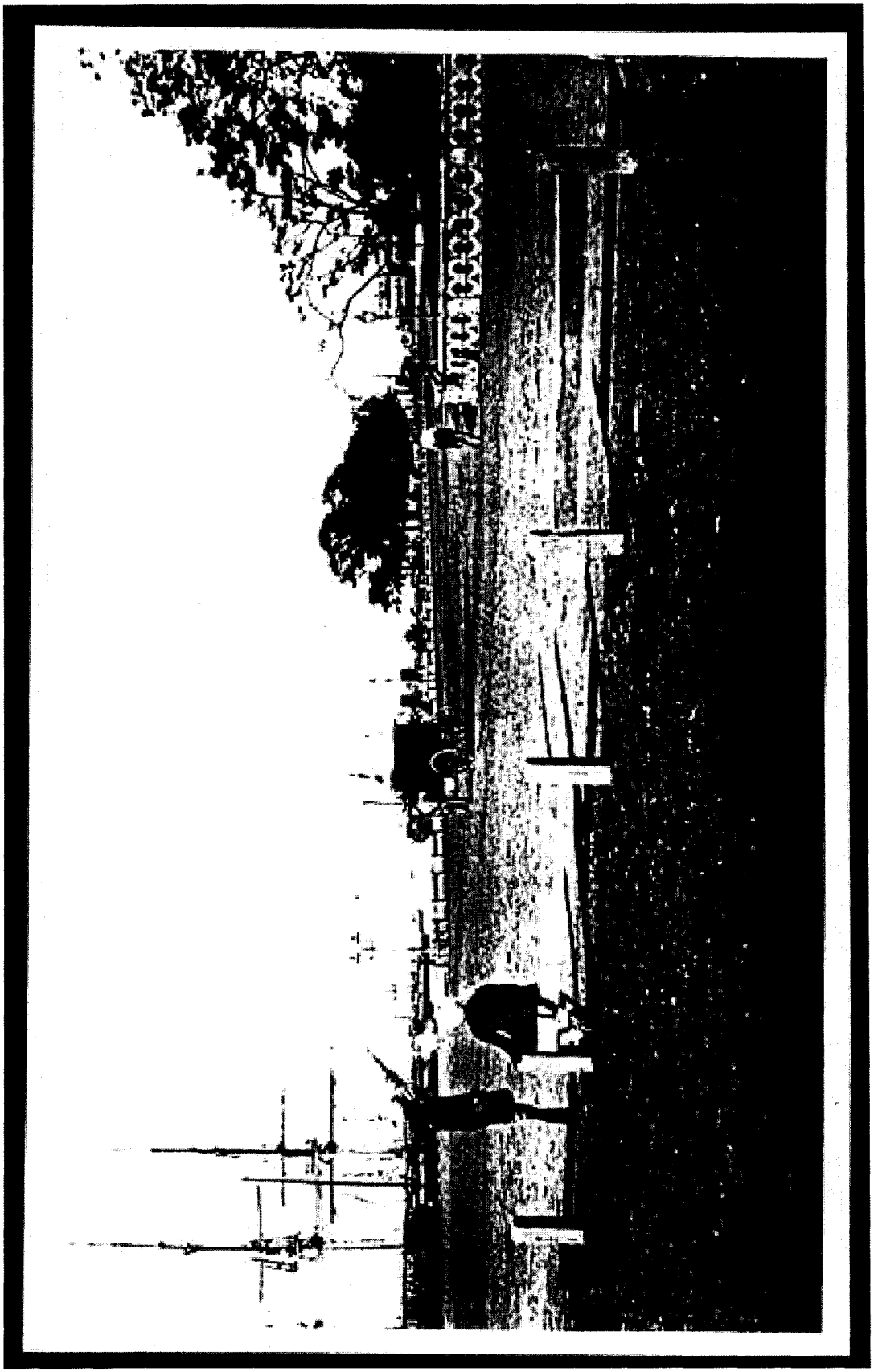

Photo 3.1.11. *The Strand, near Eden Gardens, Calcutta*
British Library

Photo 3.1.12. *The Well, Cawnpore*
British Library

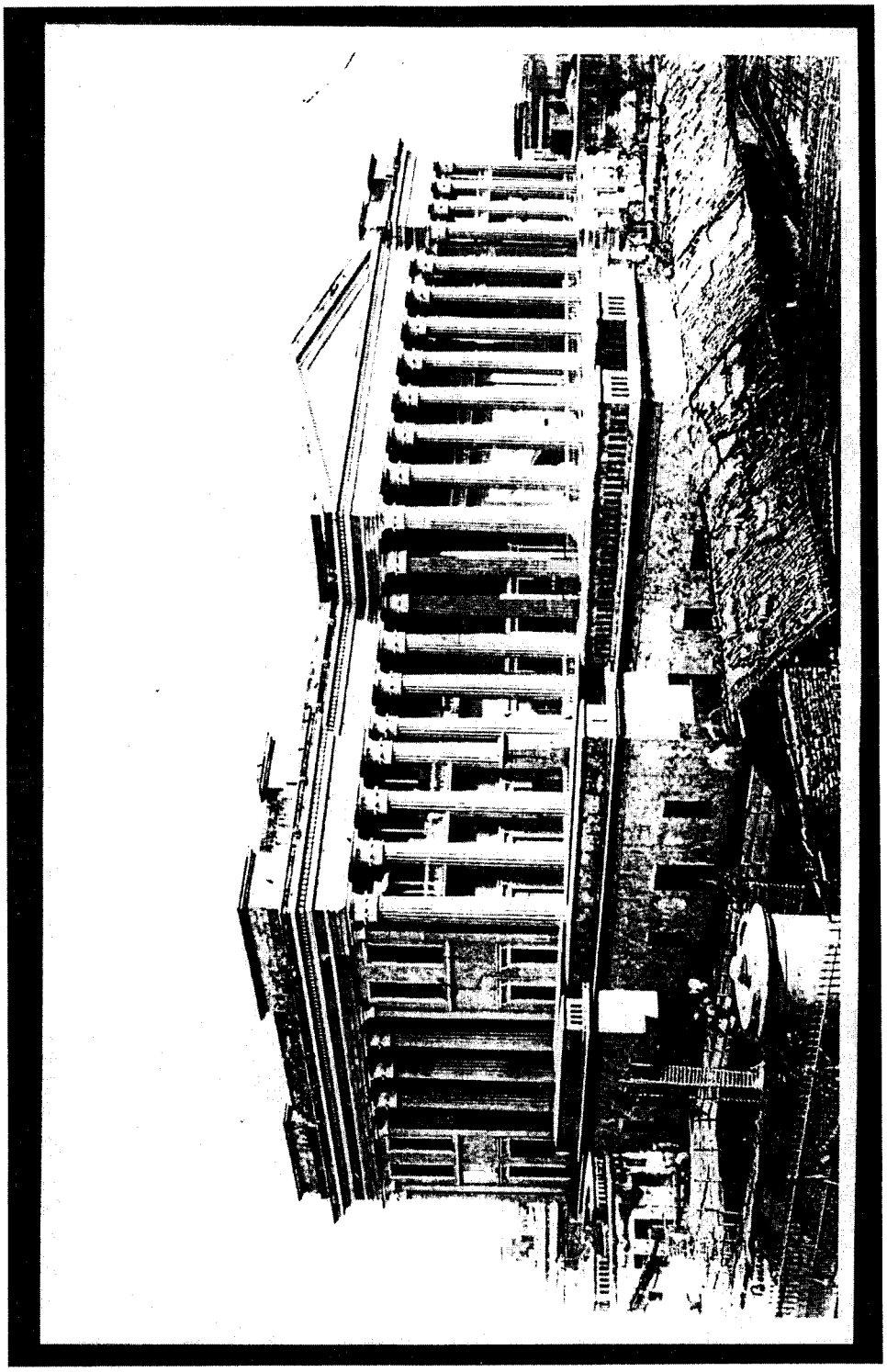

Photo 3.1.13. *Medical College Hospital, Calcutta*
British Library

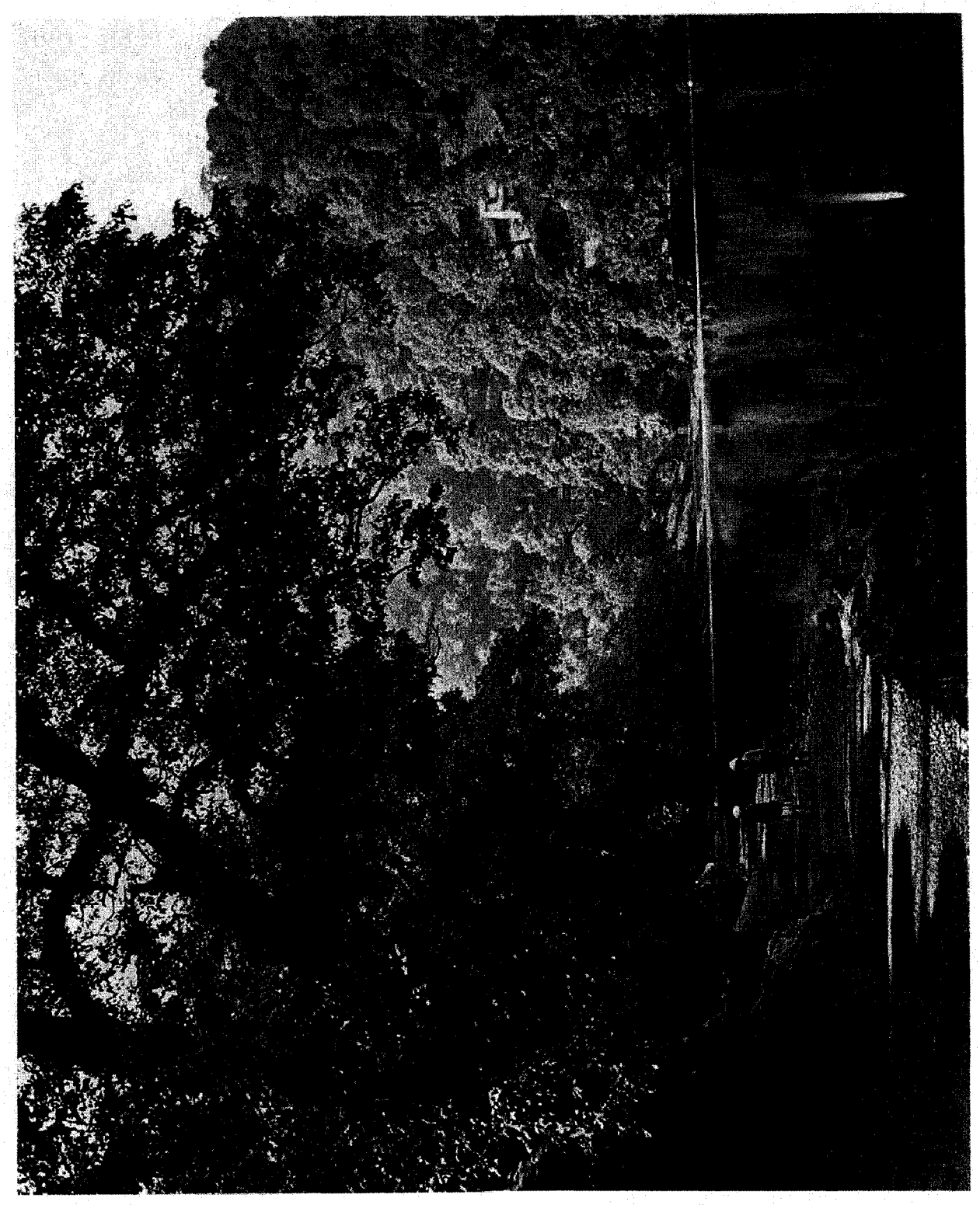

Photo 3.1.14. *View of the south end of the lake at Naini Tal*
Roger's

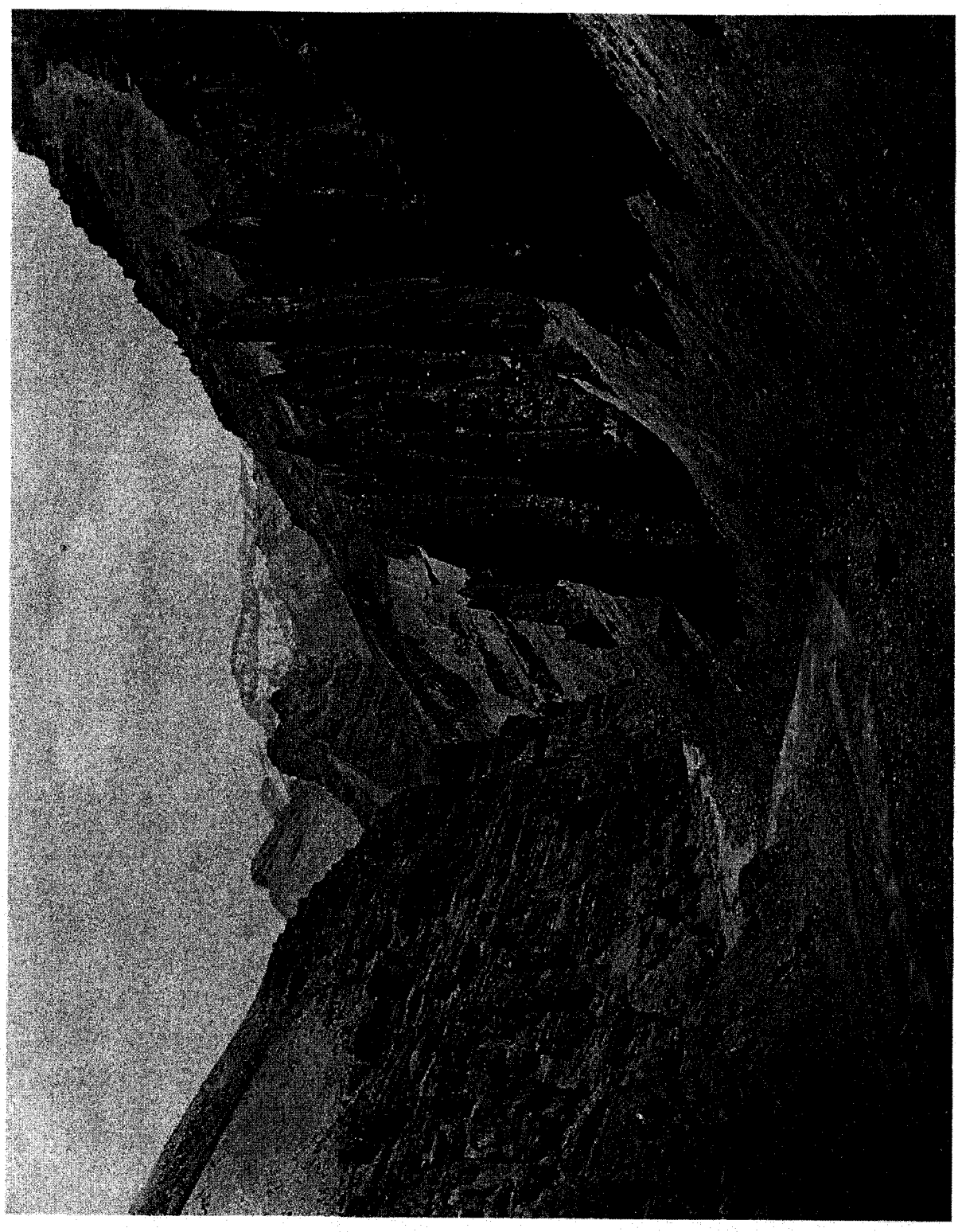

Photo 3.1.15. *Curious gravel formations on the Lagudarsi stream at Kioto, Spiti*
Roger's

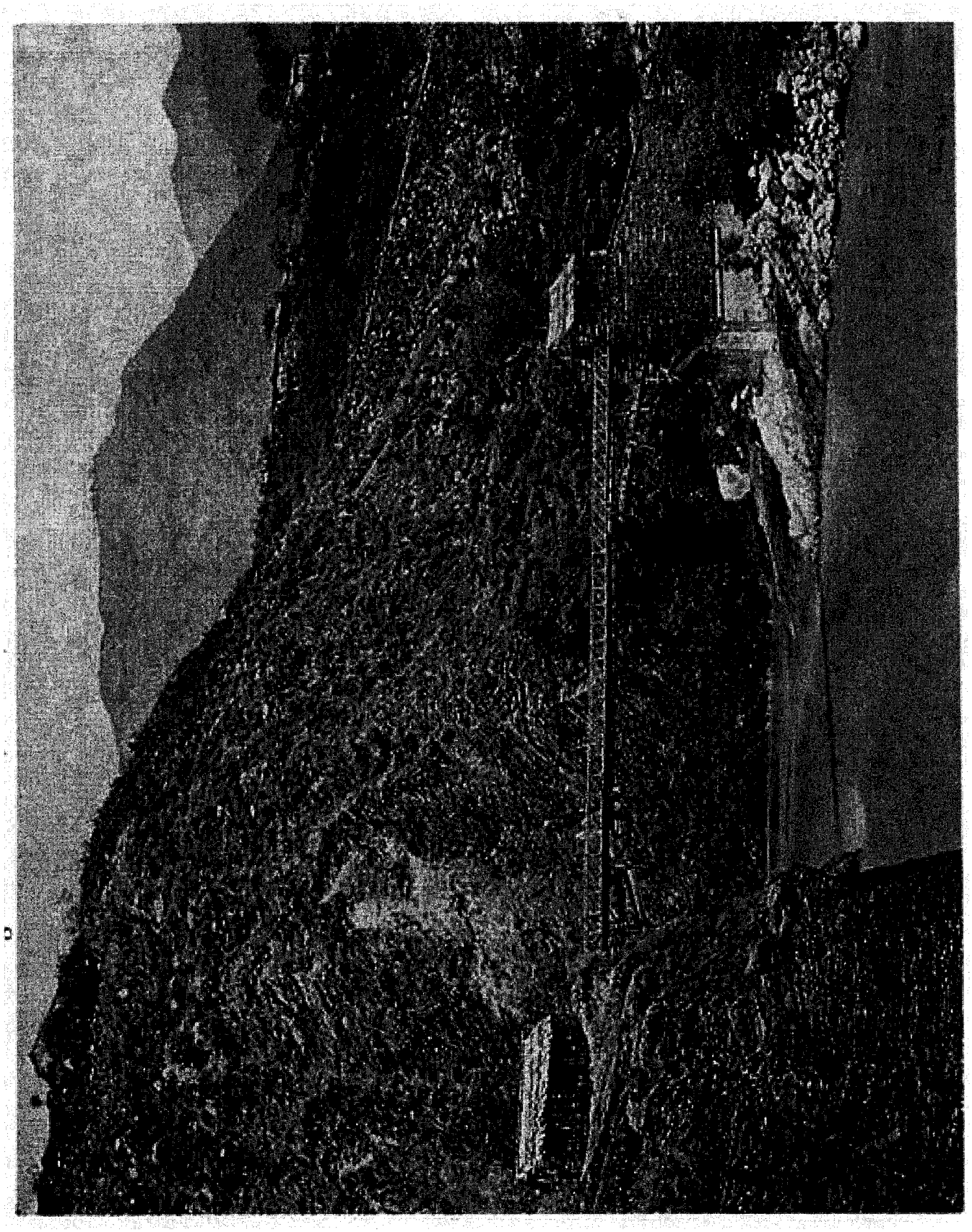

Photo 3.1.16. *Bridge on the Ravi*
Gordon's

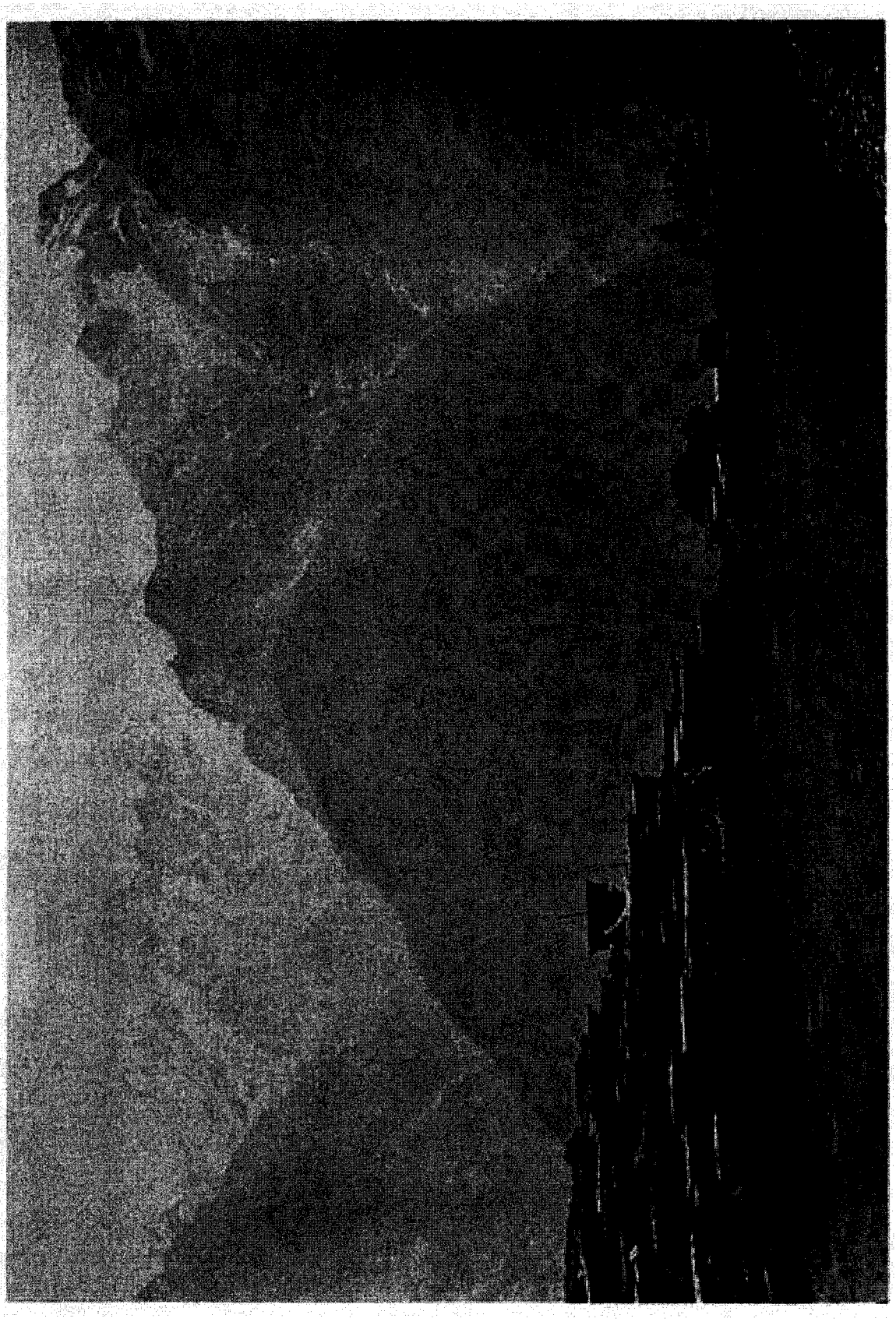

Photo 3.1.17. *Panoramic view at Chini, Wanga Valley*
Gordon's

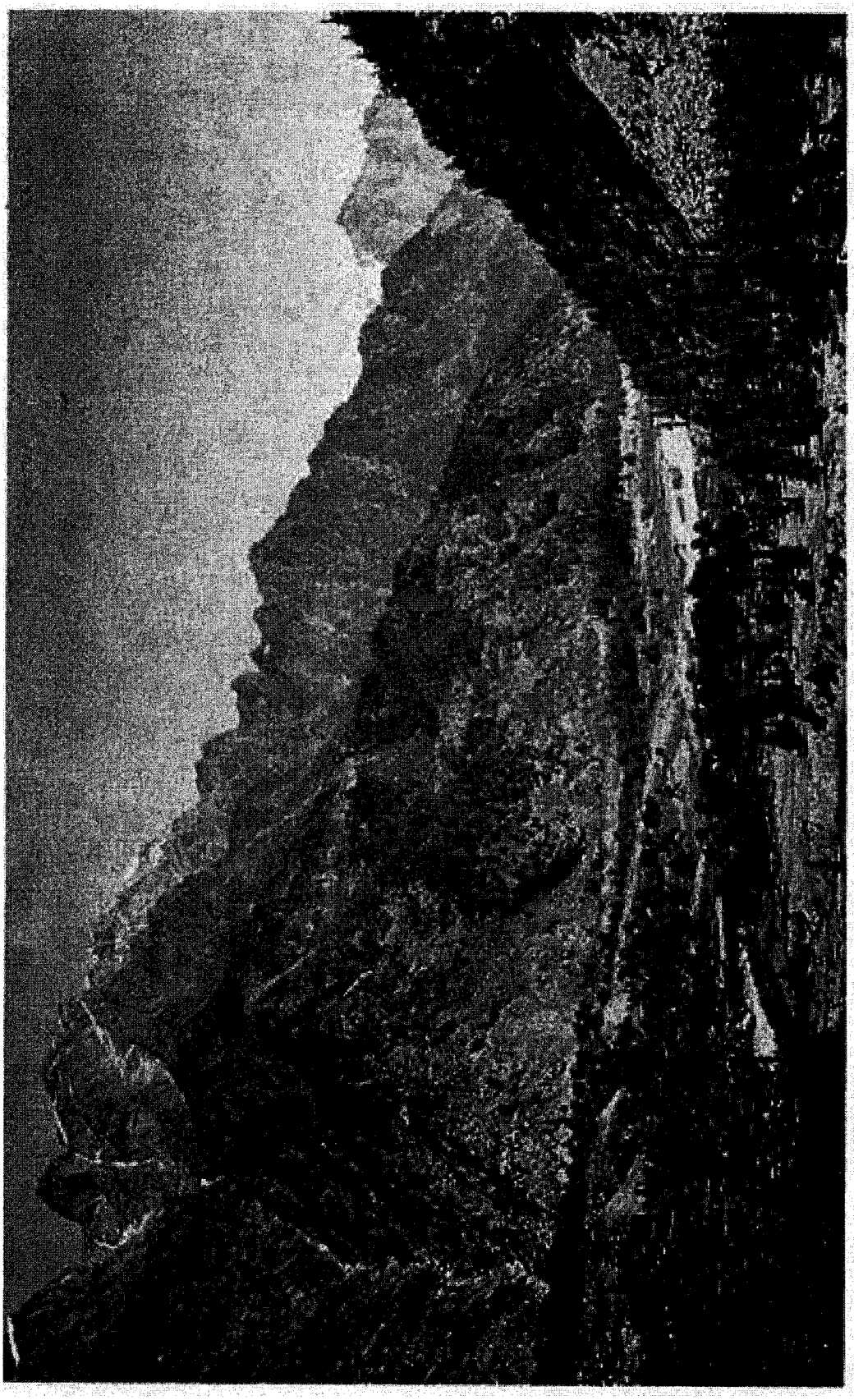

Photo 3.1.18. *Buspa Valley above Sungla*
Gordon's

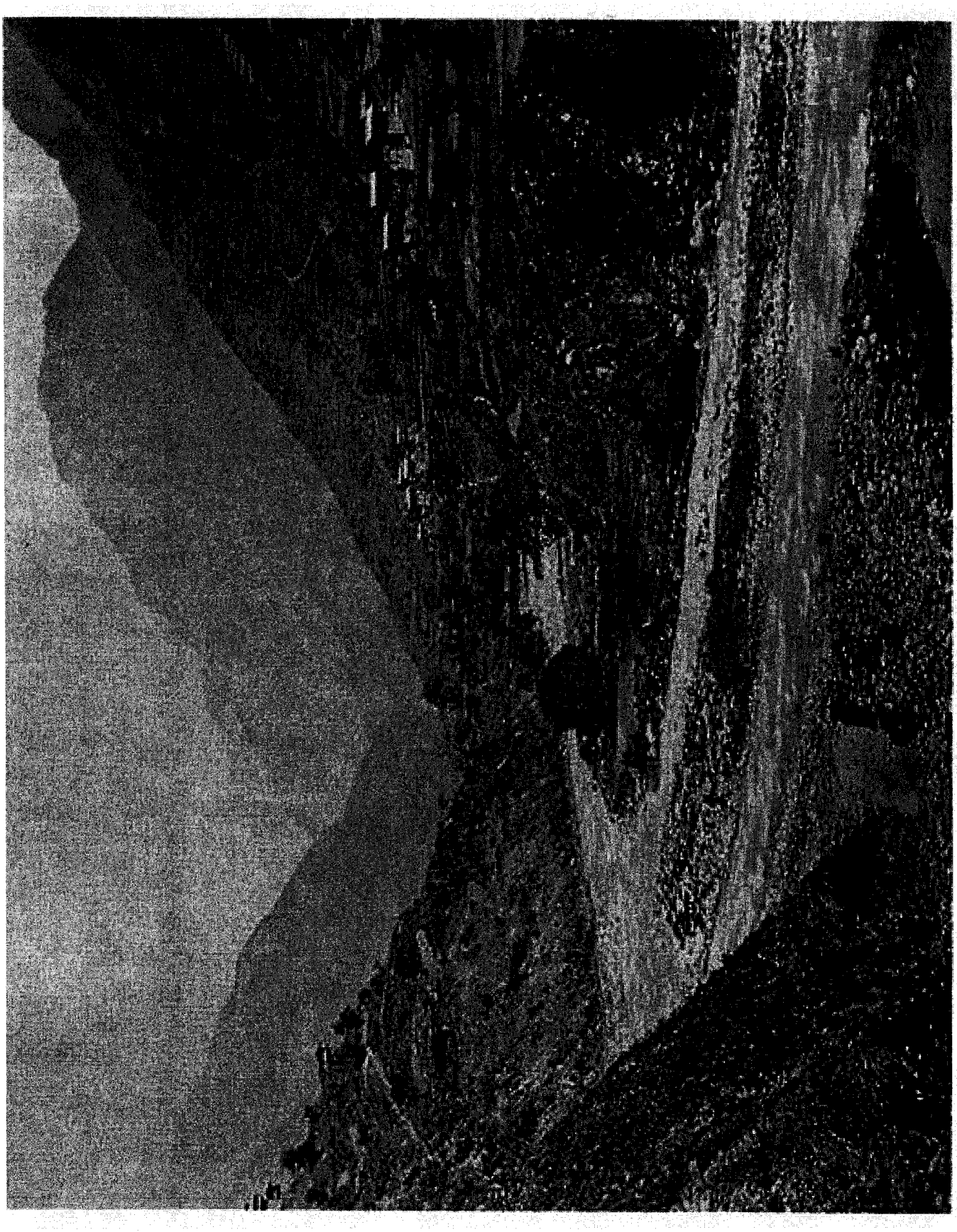

Photo 3.1.19. *Kulu Valley from Manglaor*
Gordon's

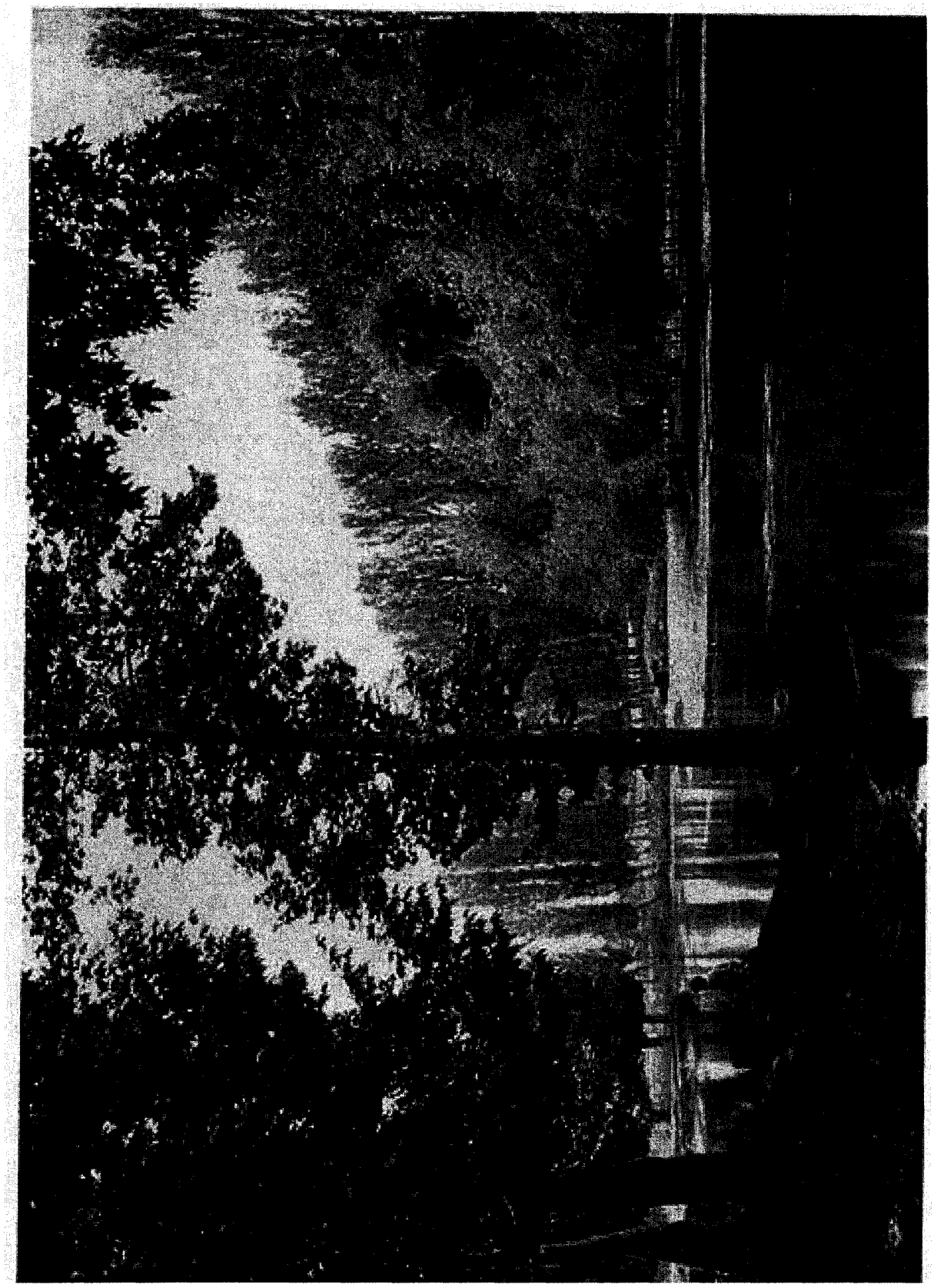

Photo 3.1.20. *On the Dal Canal, Srinagar*
Gordon's

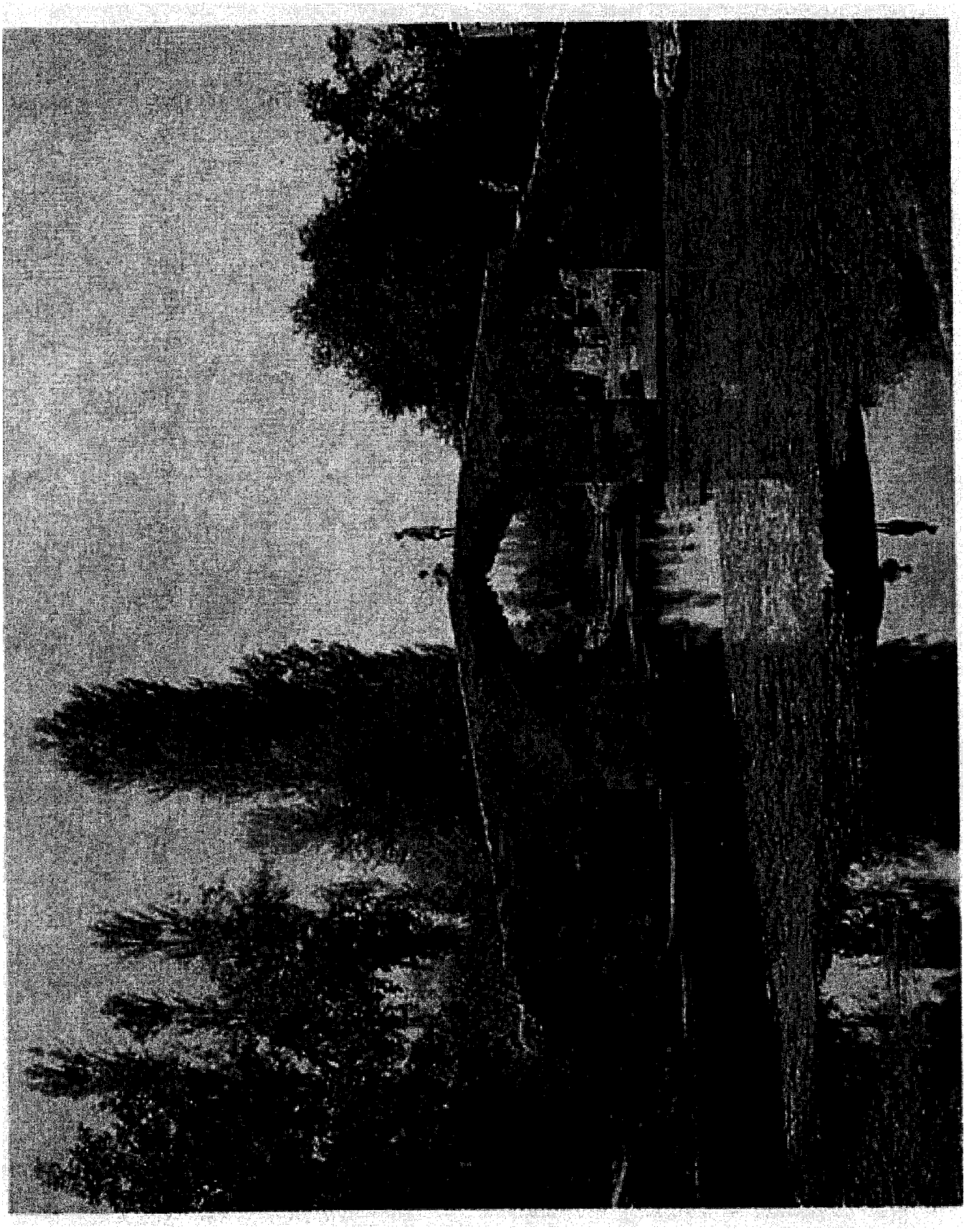

Photo 3.1.21. *Bridge at Srinagar*
Gordon's

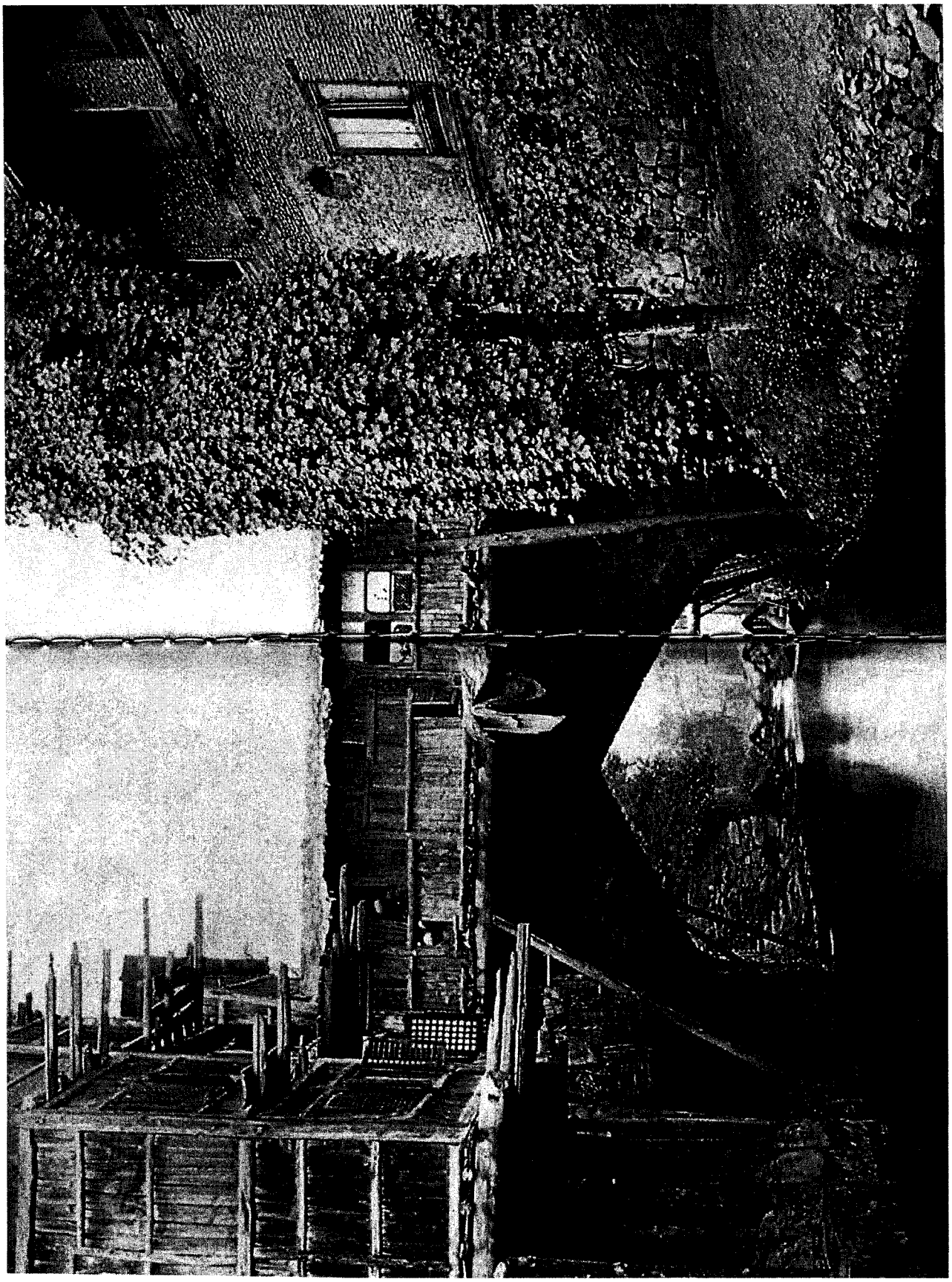

Photo 3.1.22. *Bridge*
Gordon's

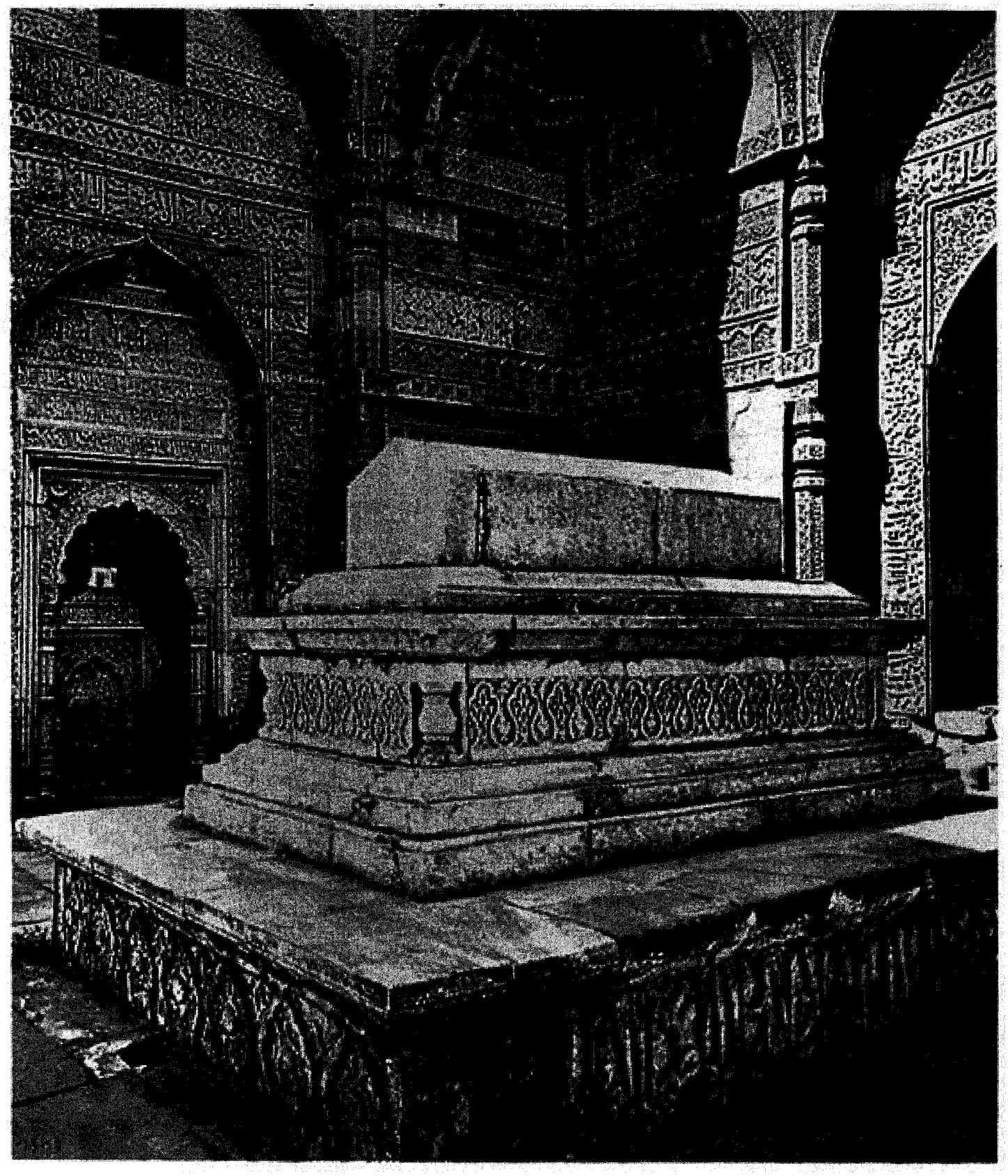

Photo 3.1.23. *Kutub Complex, Tomb of Altamash, detail*
Gordon's

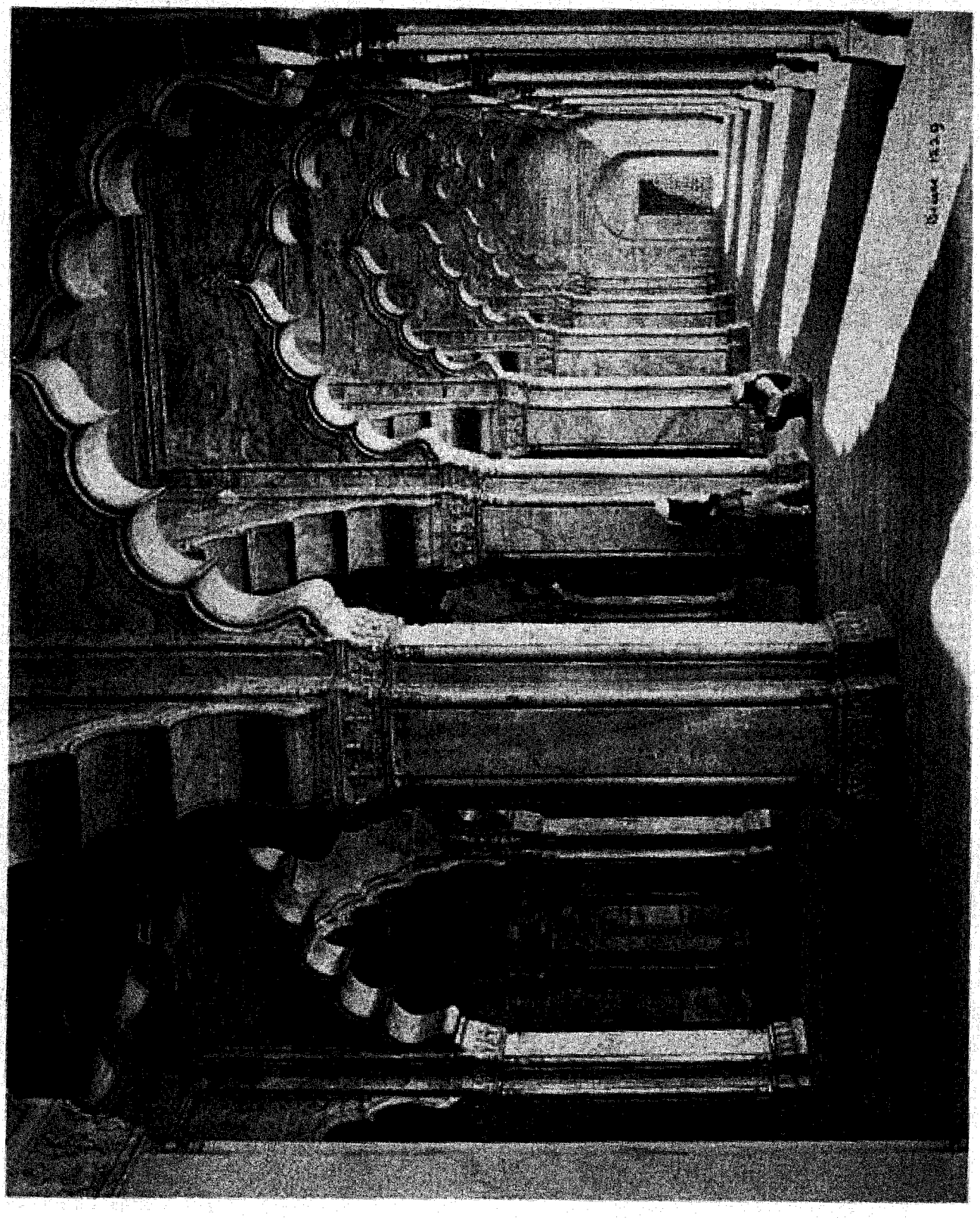

Photo 3.1.24. *Agra, Interior of Moti Masjid*
Gordon's

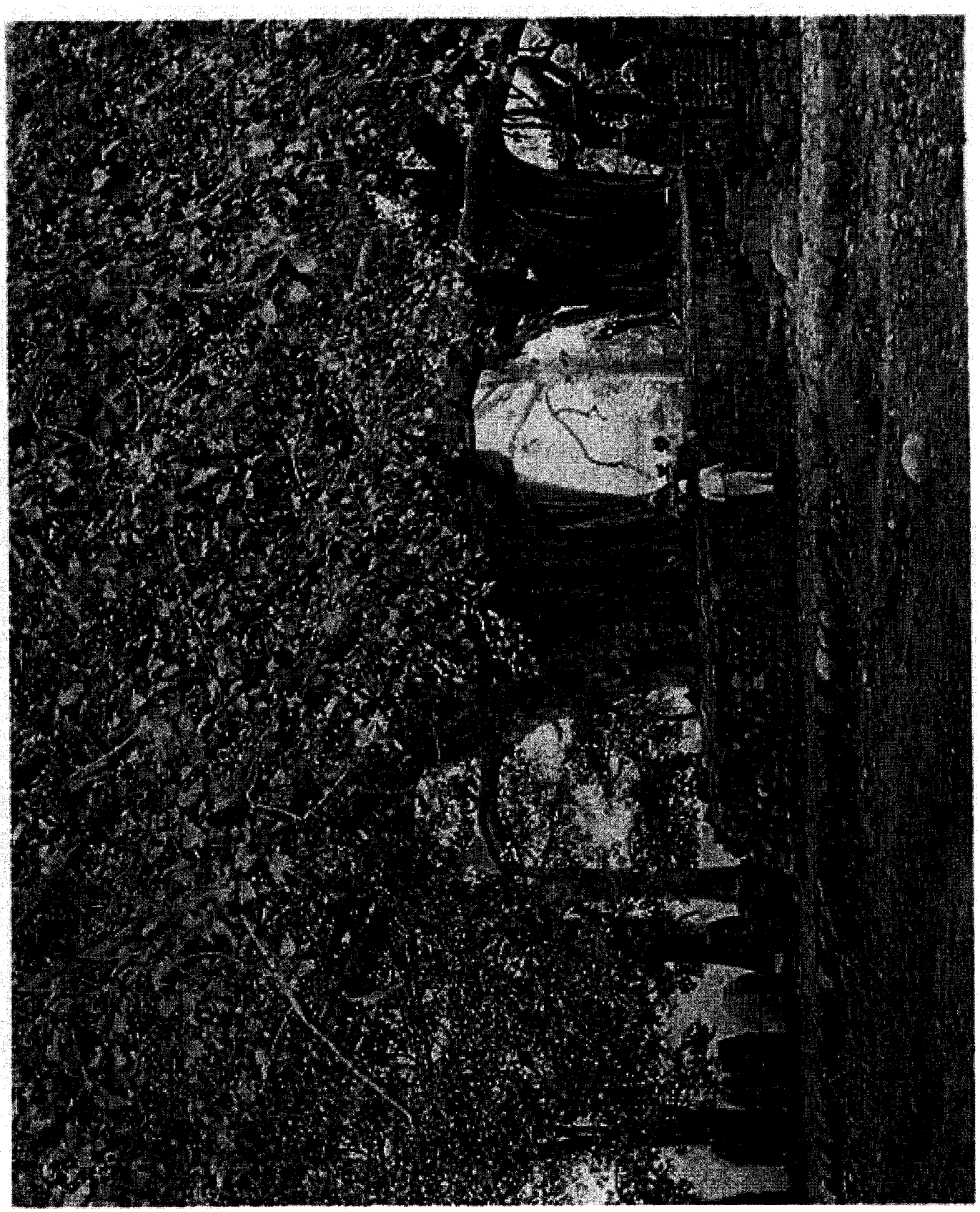

Photo 3.1.25. *Monuments to Satis under Sacred Peepul Trees*
Gordon's

Photo 3.1.26. *Chamba, Bridge over the River Ravi from the S.E.*
Gordon's

Photo 3.1.27. *Nainital, Sunset on the Lake*
Gordon's

Photo 3.1.28. *Between Preslang and Tannin*
Gordon's

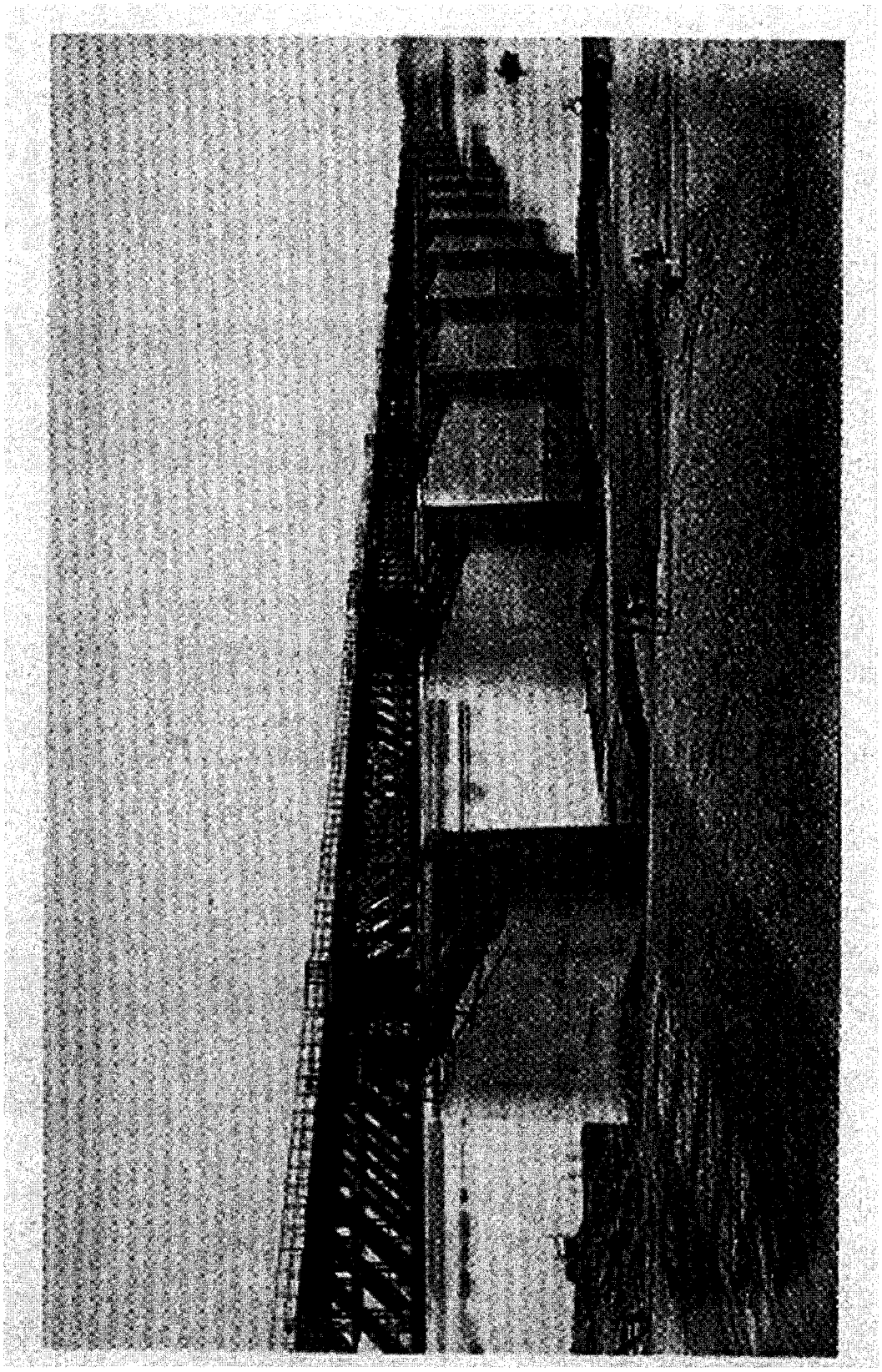

Photo 3.1.29. *The railway bridge across the Jumna at Allahabad*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

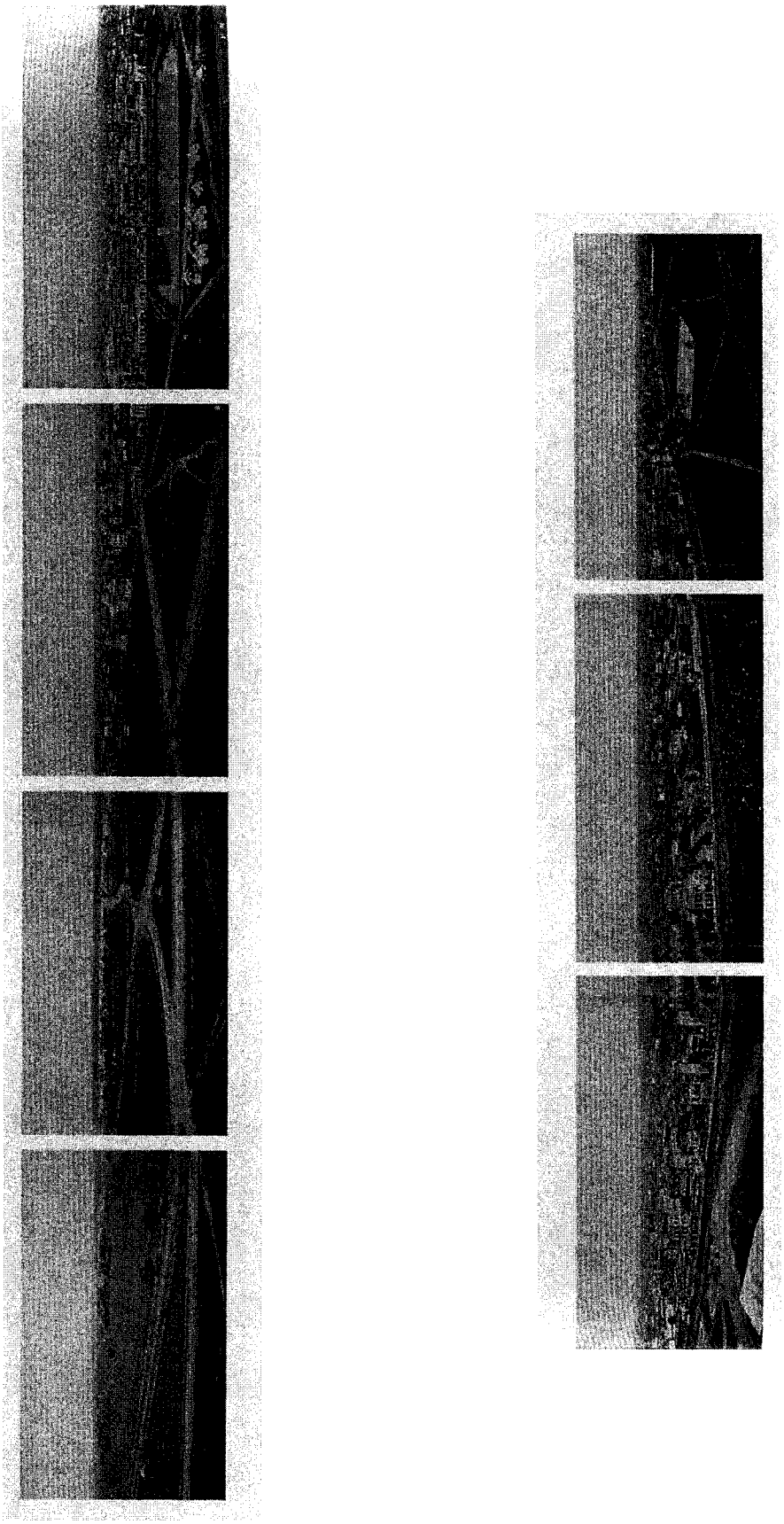

Photo 3.1.30. *Panoramic view of Calcutta from the Ochterlony Monument*
British Library

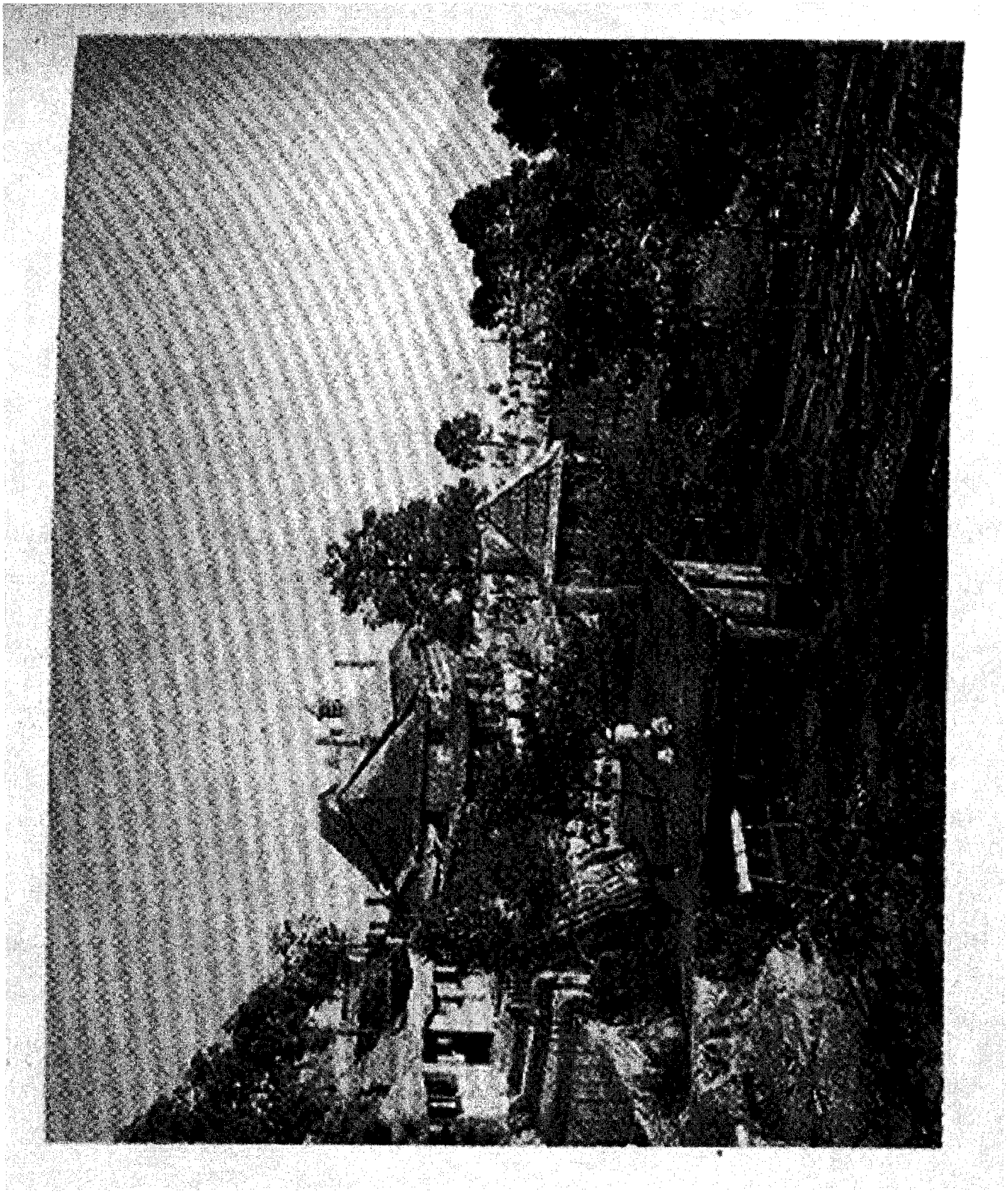

Photo 3.1.31. *The Lawrence Military Asylum, Sanawar, looking towards the playground from the church*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

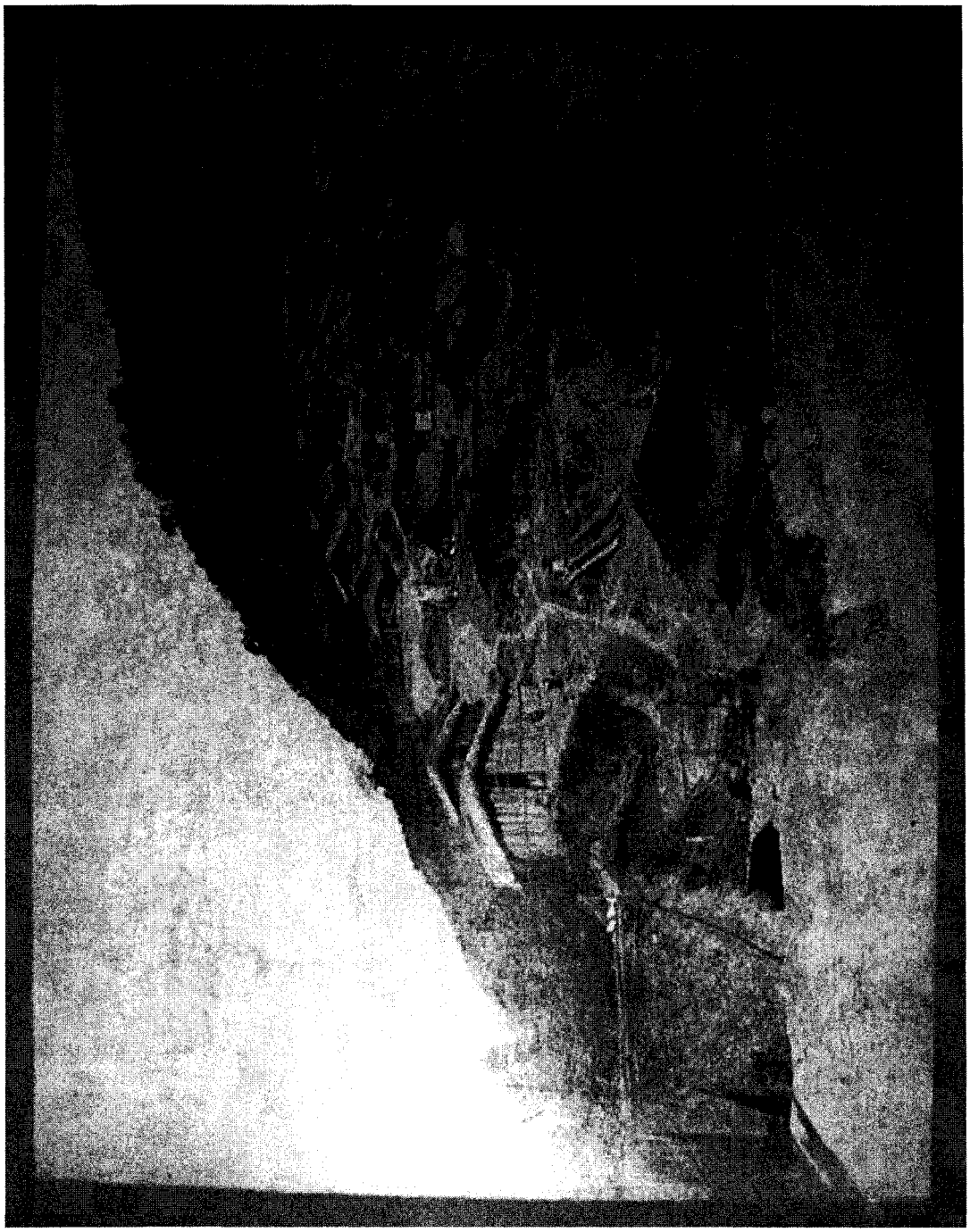

Photo 3.1.32. *Jhankod Naga village Manipur Hill*
National Library at Kolkata

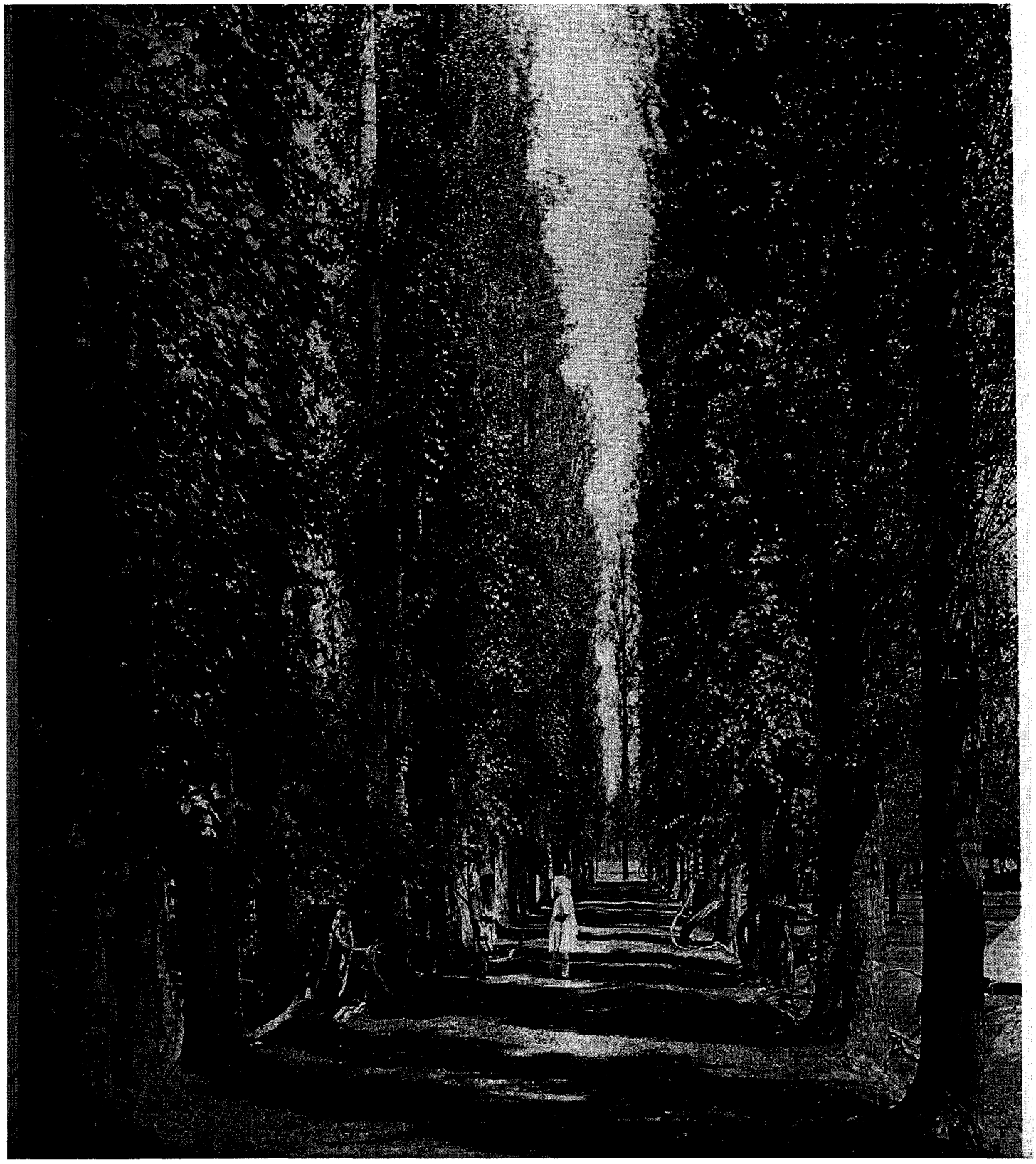

Photo 3.1.33. *Showing how the vines grow in Kashmir*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

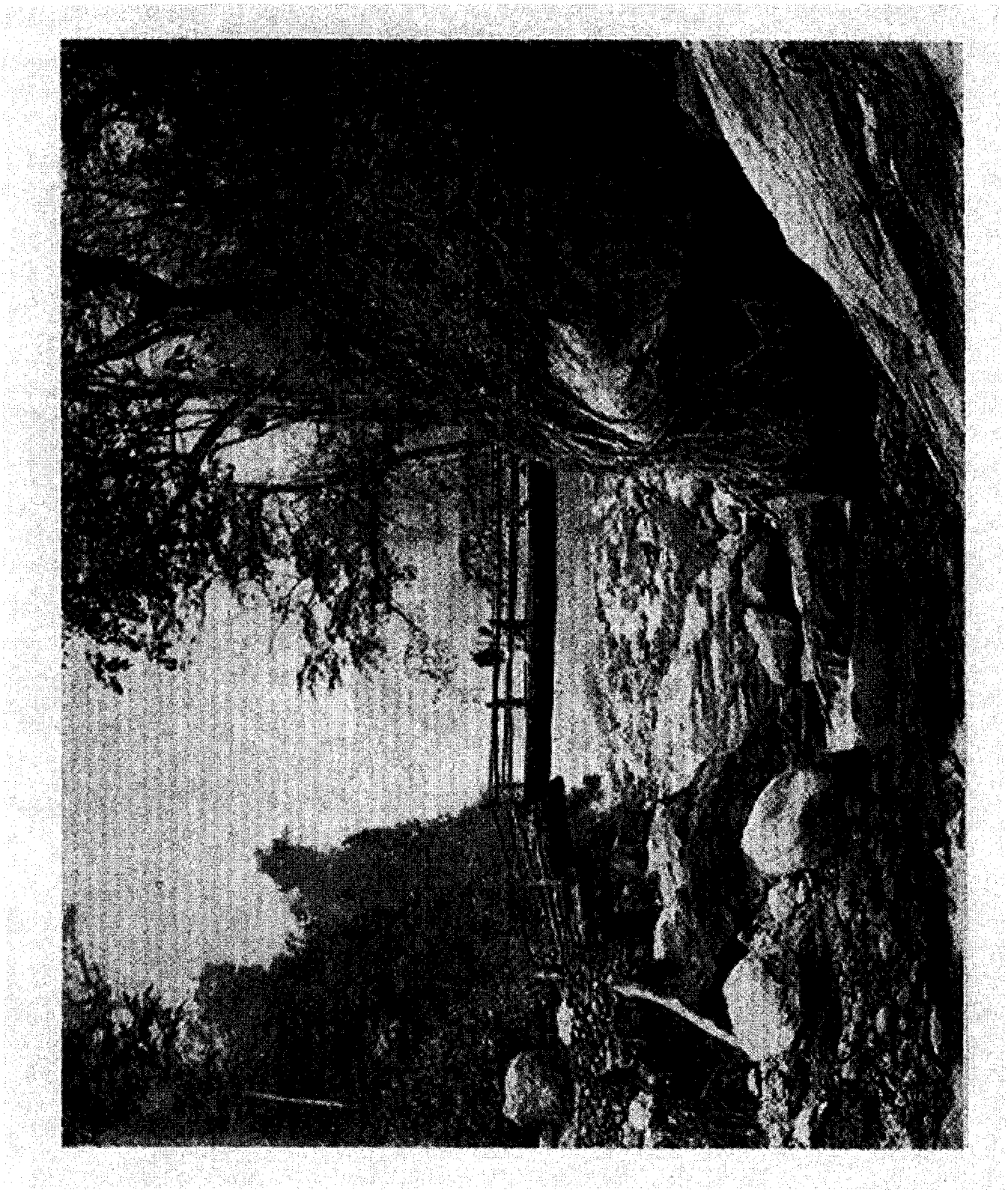

Photo 3.1.34. *Picturesque bridge over the Rungnoo below Ging, Darjeeling*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

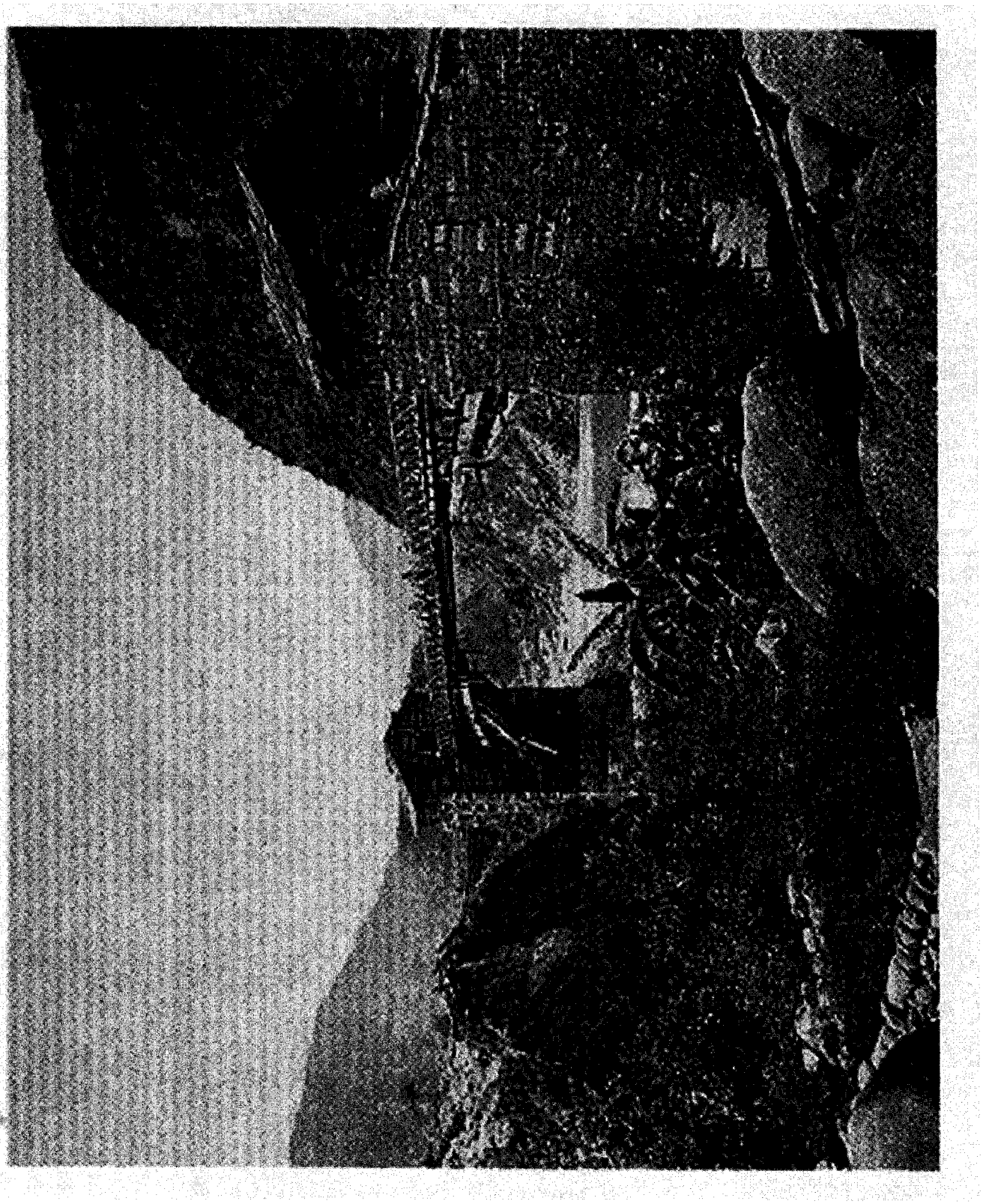

Photo 3.1.35. *Bridge on the Ravi, Chumba, from the south-east*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

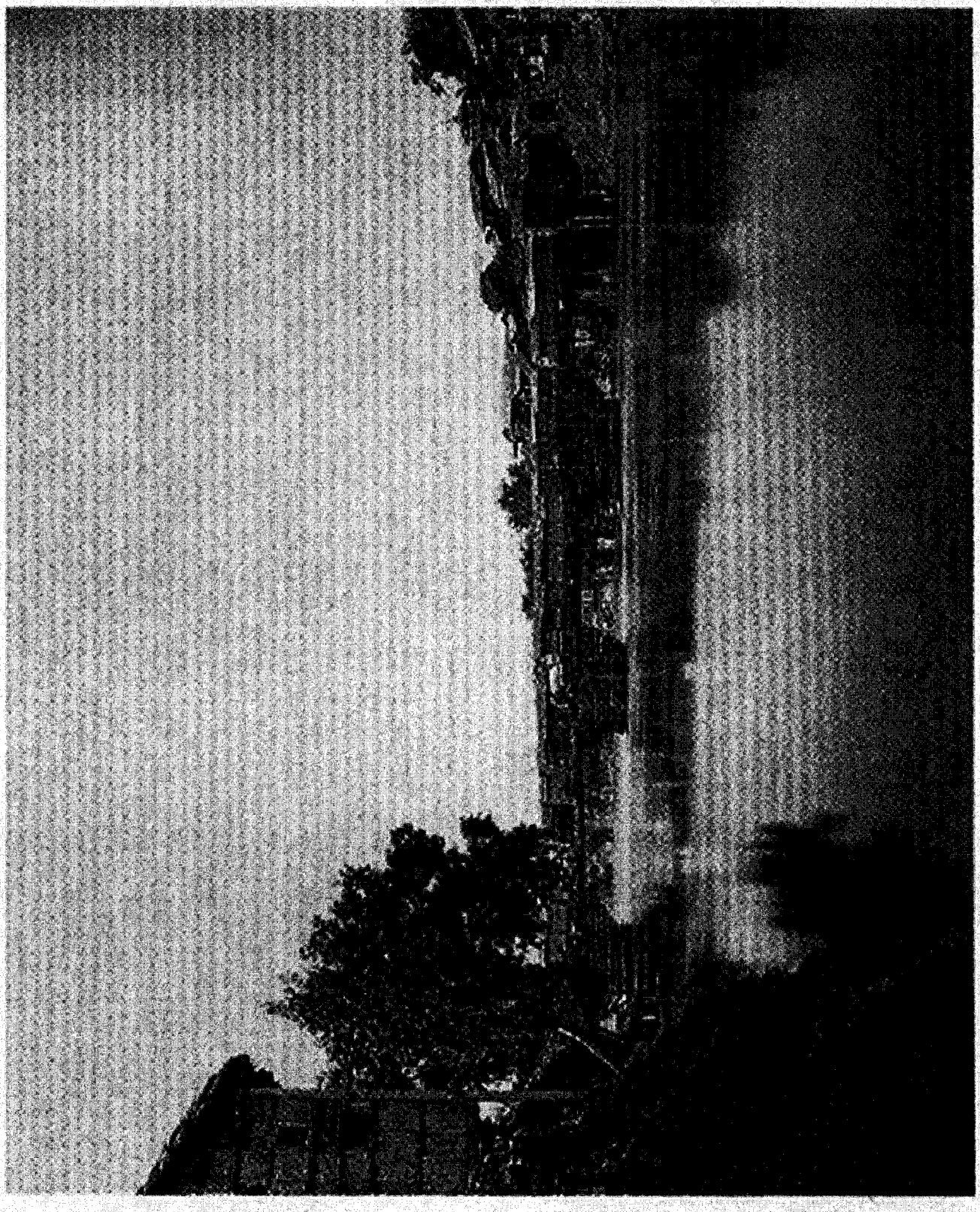

Photo 3.1.36. *Bridge of shops, Srinagar*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

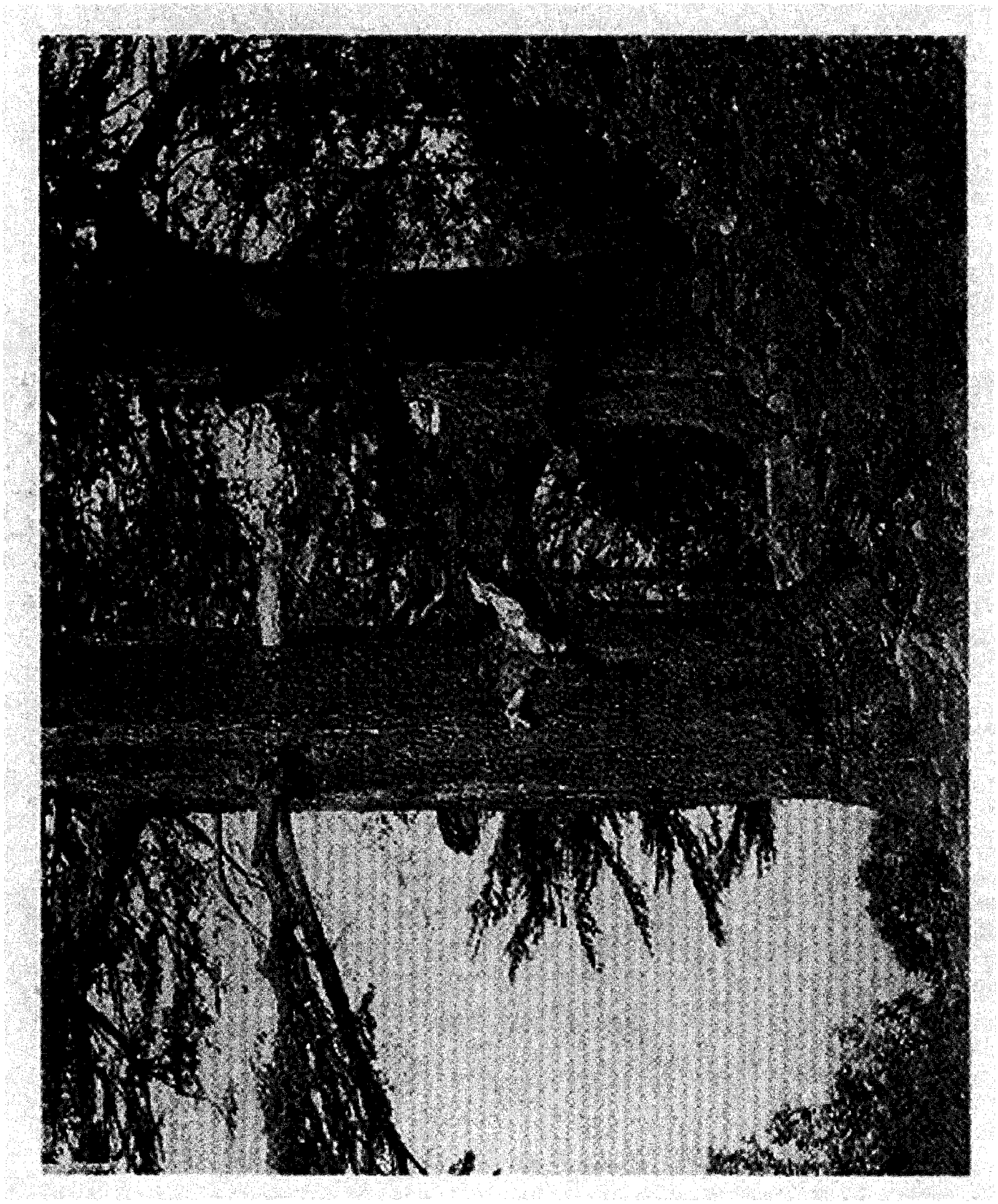

Photo 3.1.37. *Deodars*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

Photo 3.1.38. *Evening on the mountains, view from below the Manirung Pass*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

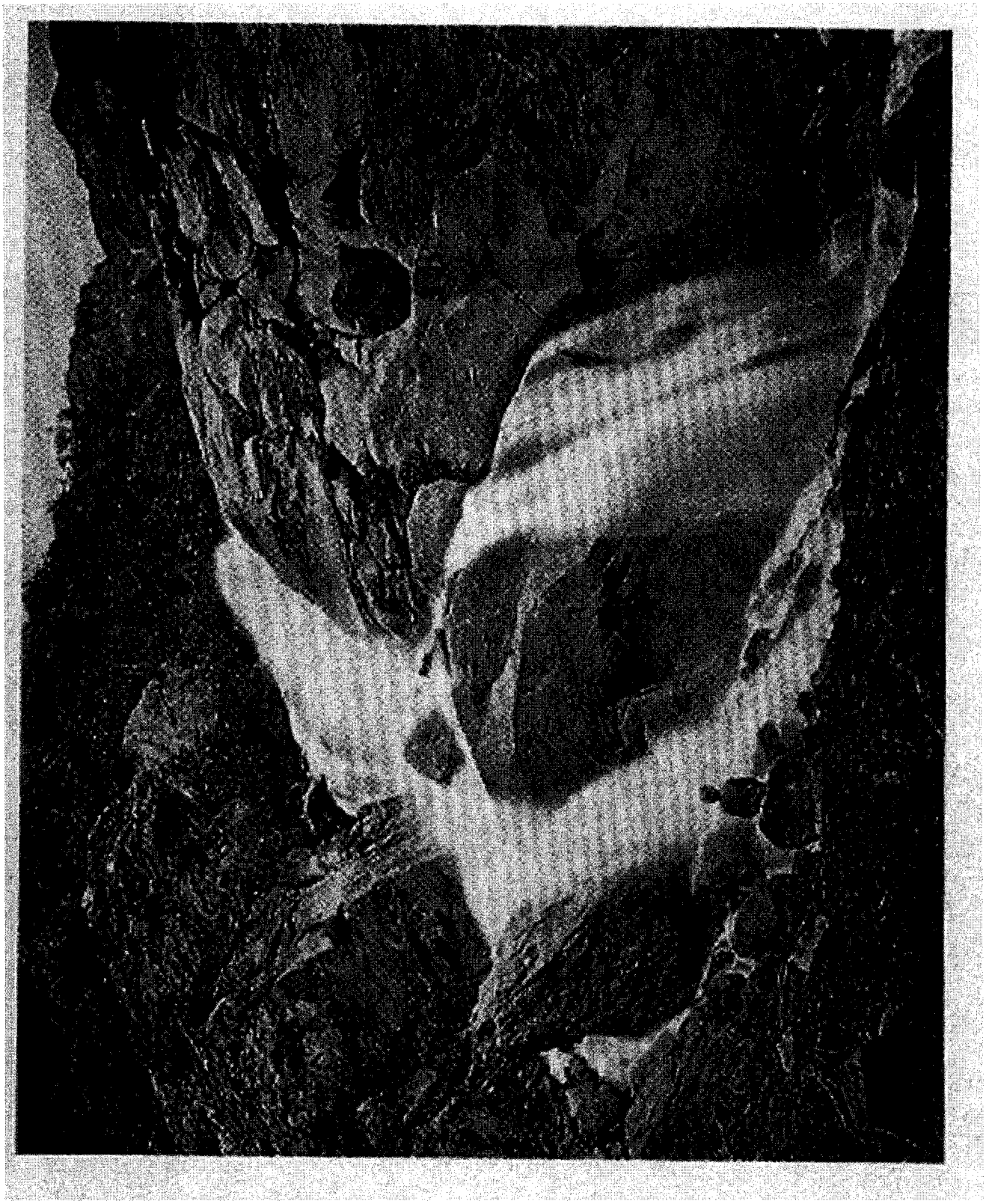

Photo 3.1.39. *Small waterfall above Prini, Kulu*
Howard and Jane Ricketts

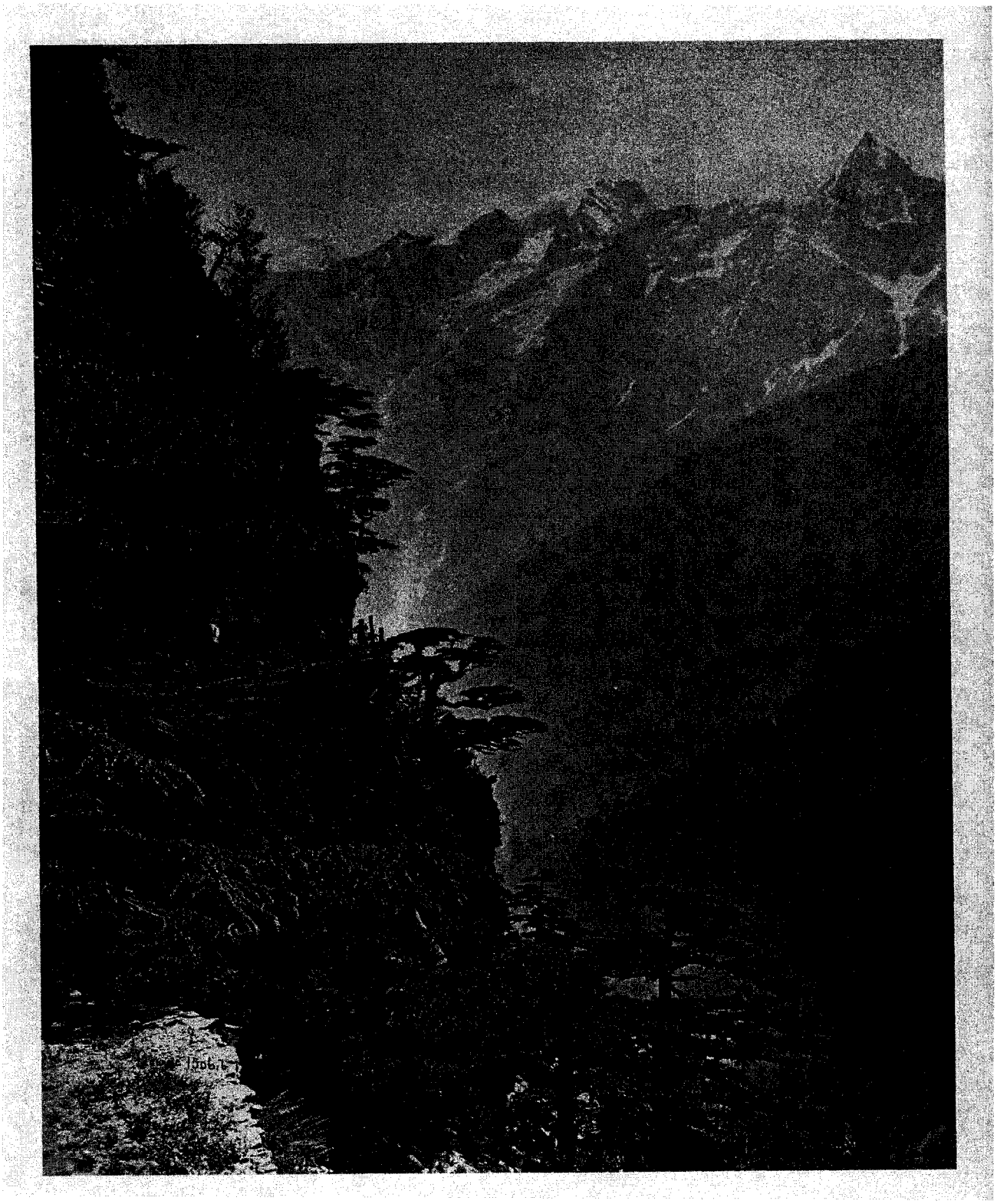

Photo 3.1.40. *A 'bit' on the new road near Rogi*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

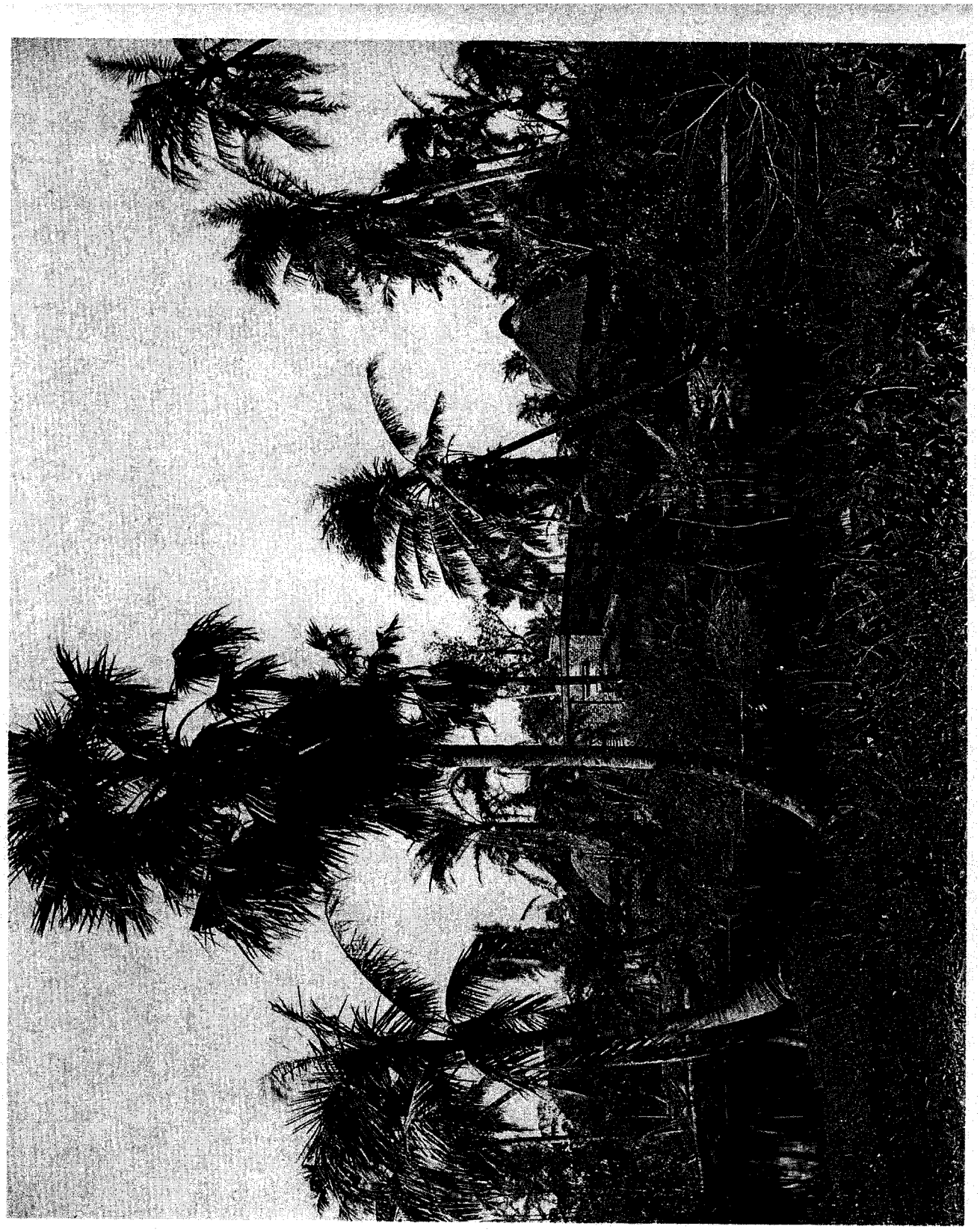

Photo 3.1.41. *Village in Bengal*
Dehejia's

Photo 3.1.42. *Merchant houses on a canal in Srinagar*
Desmond's

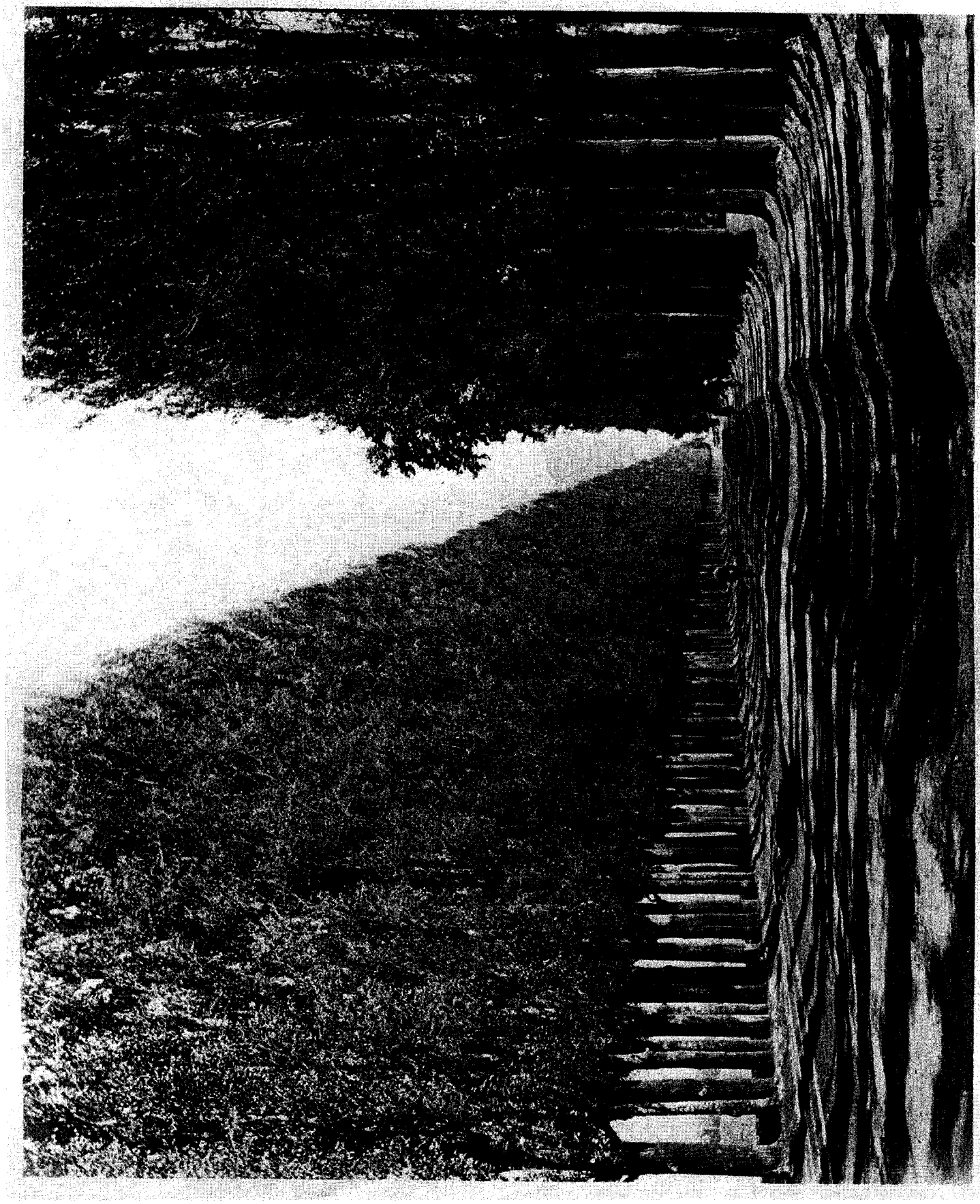

Photo 3.1.43. *Avenue of Poplars in Srinagar*
Daniel Wolf Gallery, N.Y.

Photo 3.1.44. *Memorial Garden, Cawnpore*
Dehejia's

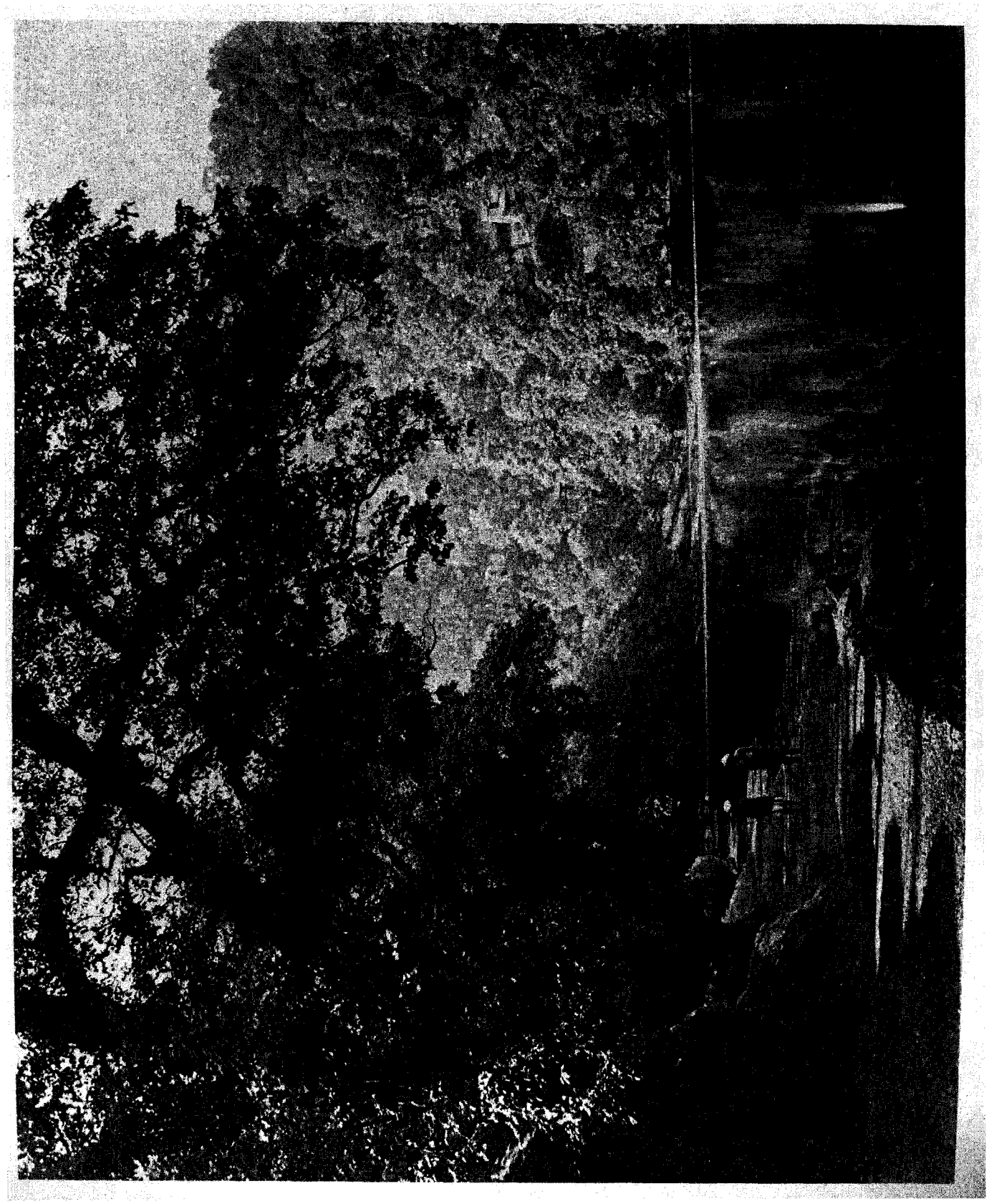

Photo 3.1.45. *A view of Naini Tal in Kumaun*
Desmond's

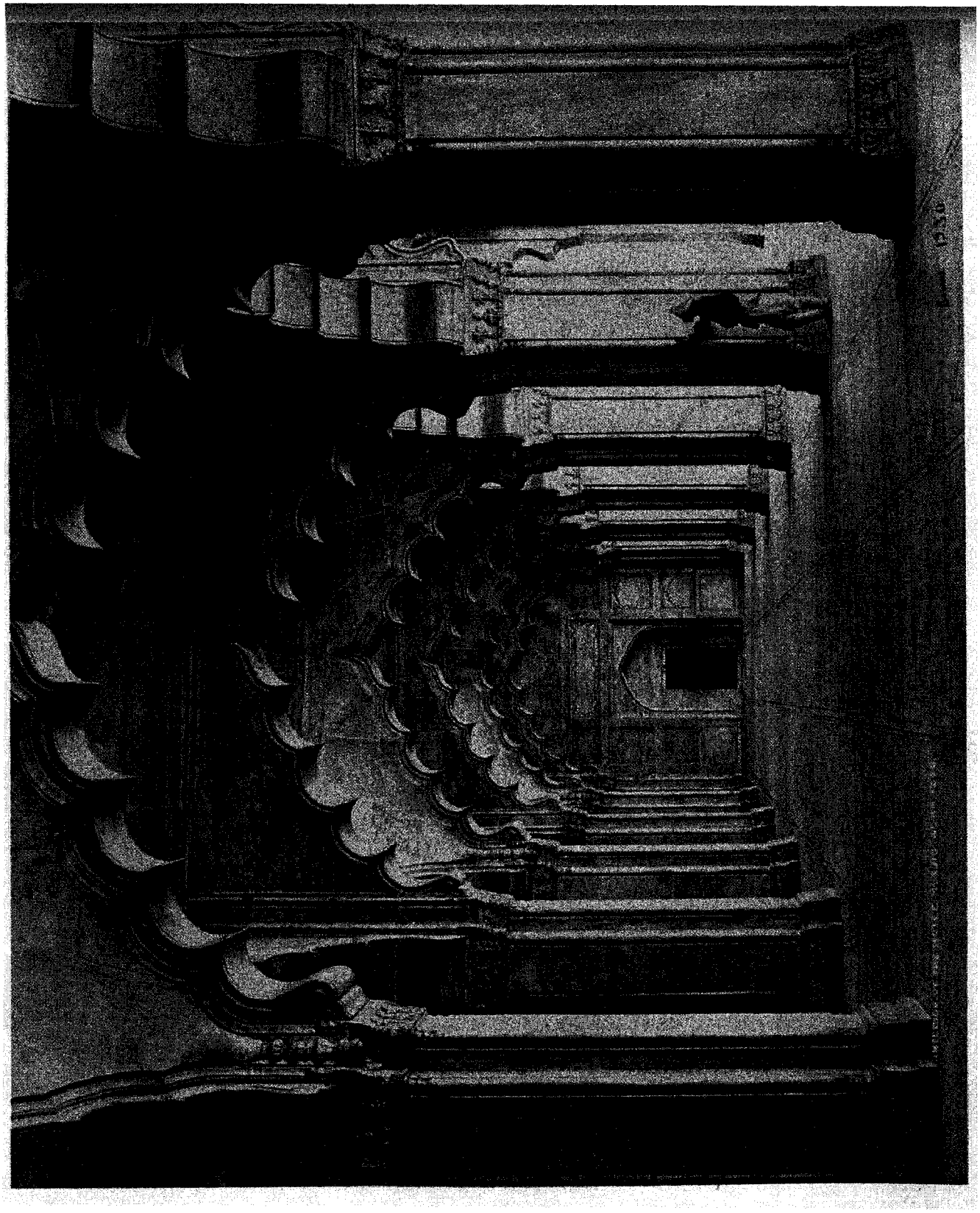

Photo 3.1.46. *Interior of the Motee Musjid, Agra, the center aisle*
Theodore Lyman Wright Art Center, Wisconsin

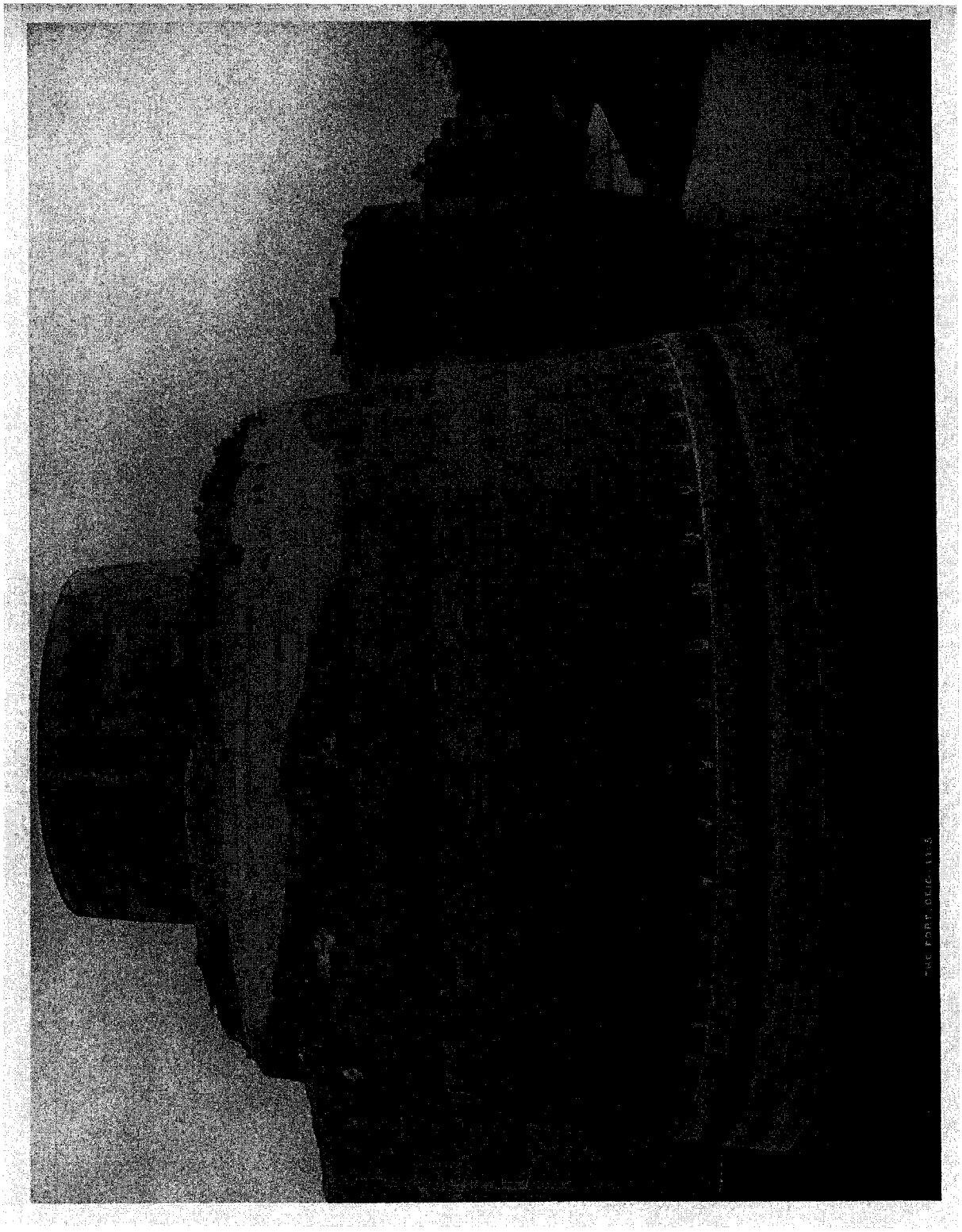

Photo 3.1.47. *The Fortress at Deig*
Theodore Lyman Wright Art Center, Wisconsin

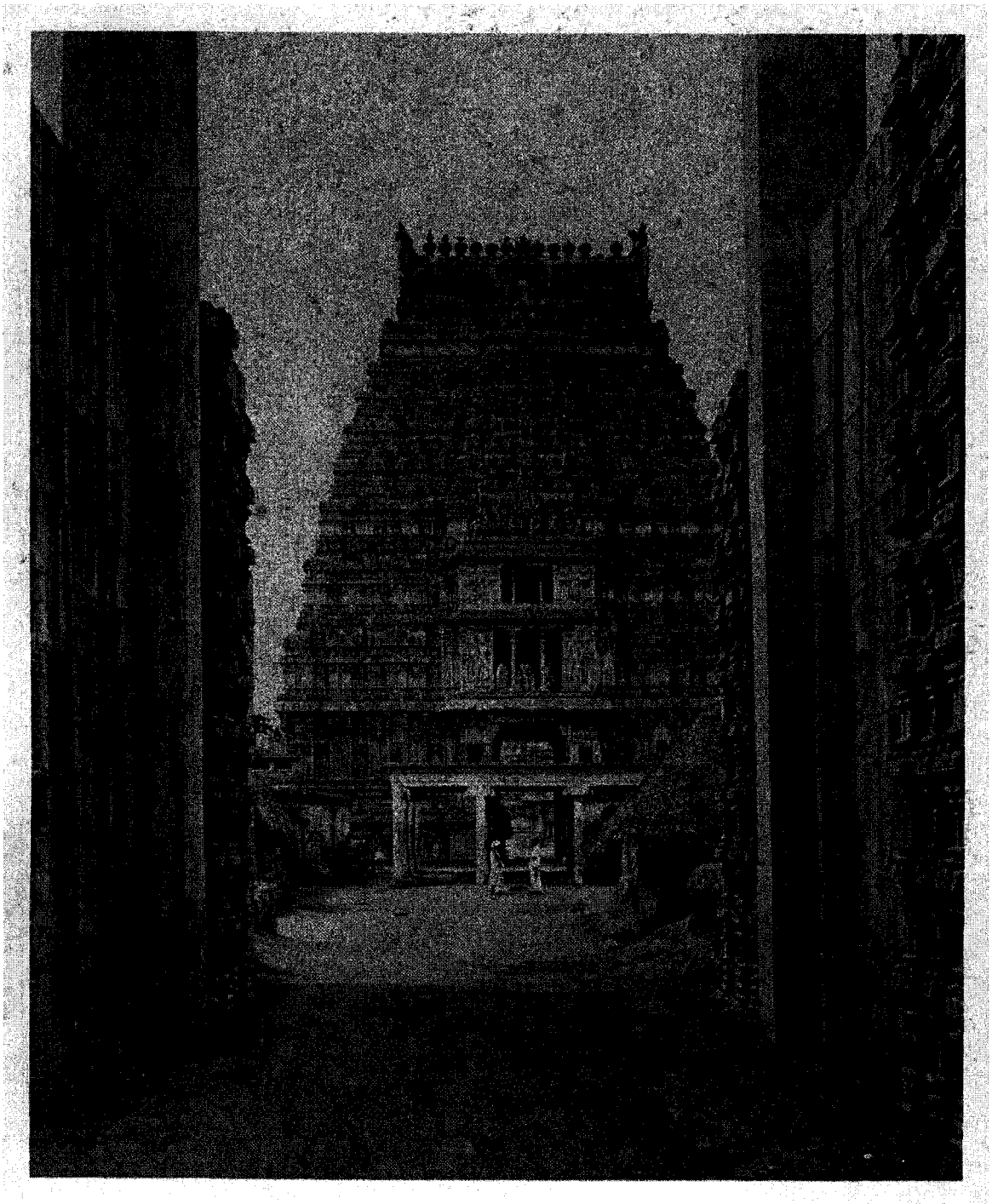

Photo 3.1.48. *The Eastern Temple in Trichinopoly*
Collection Ken and Jenny Jacobson

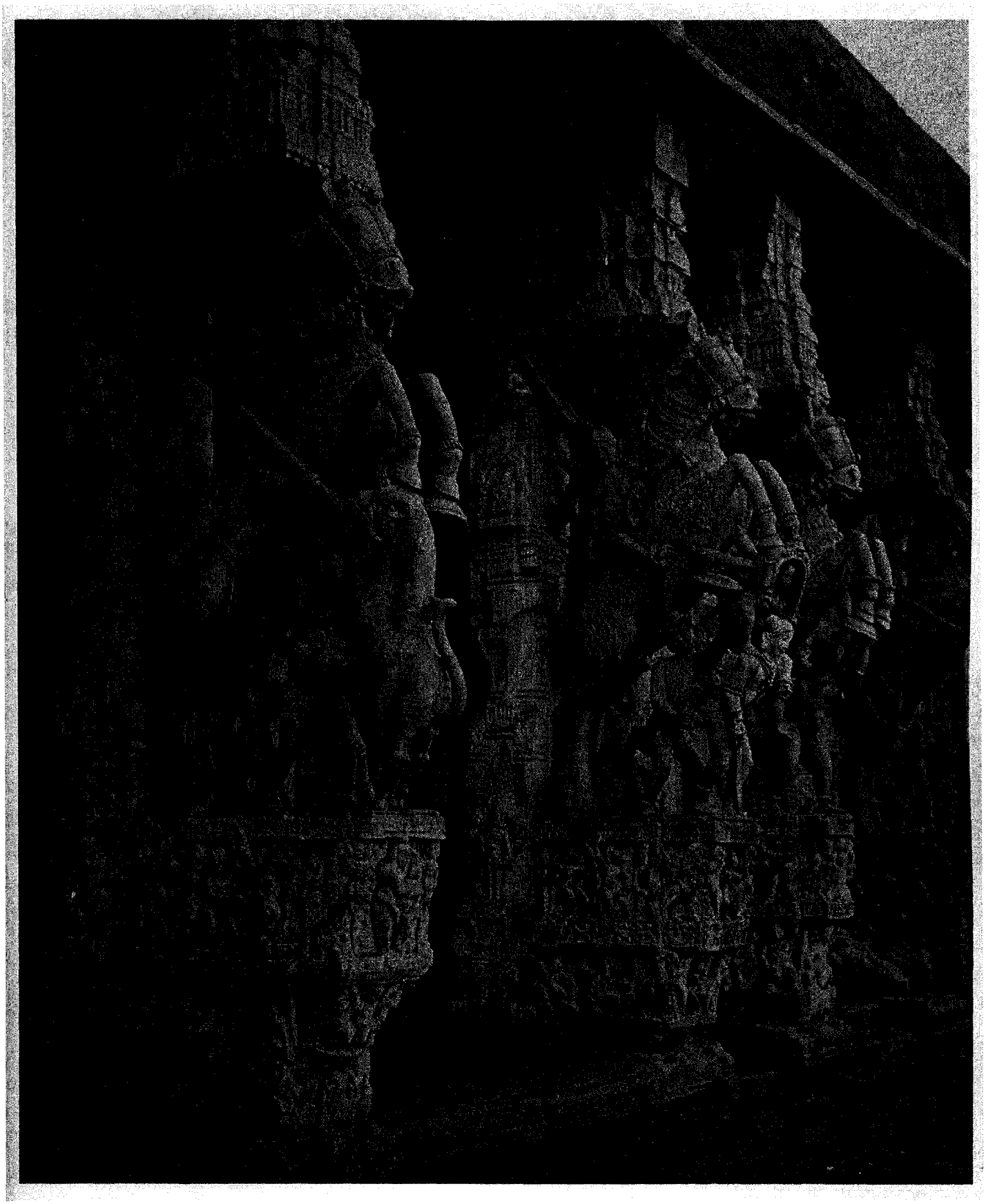

Photo 3.1.49. *Sculpture on the Façade of the Temple at Trichinopoly*
Collection Ken and Jenny Jacobson

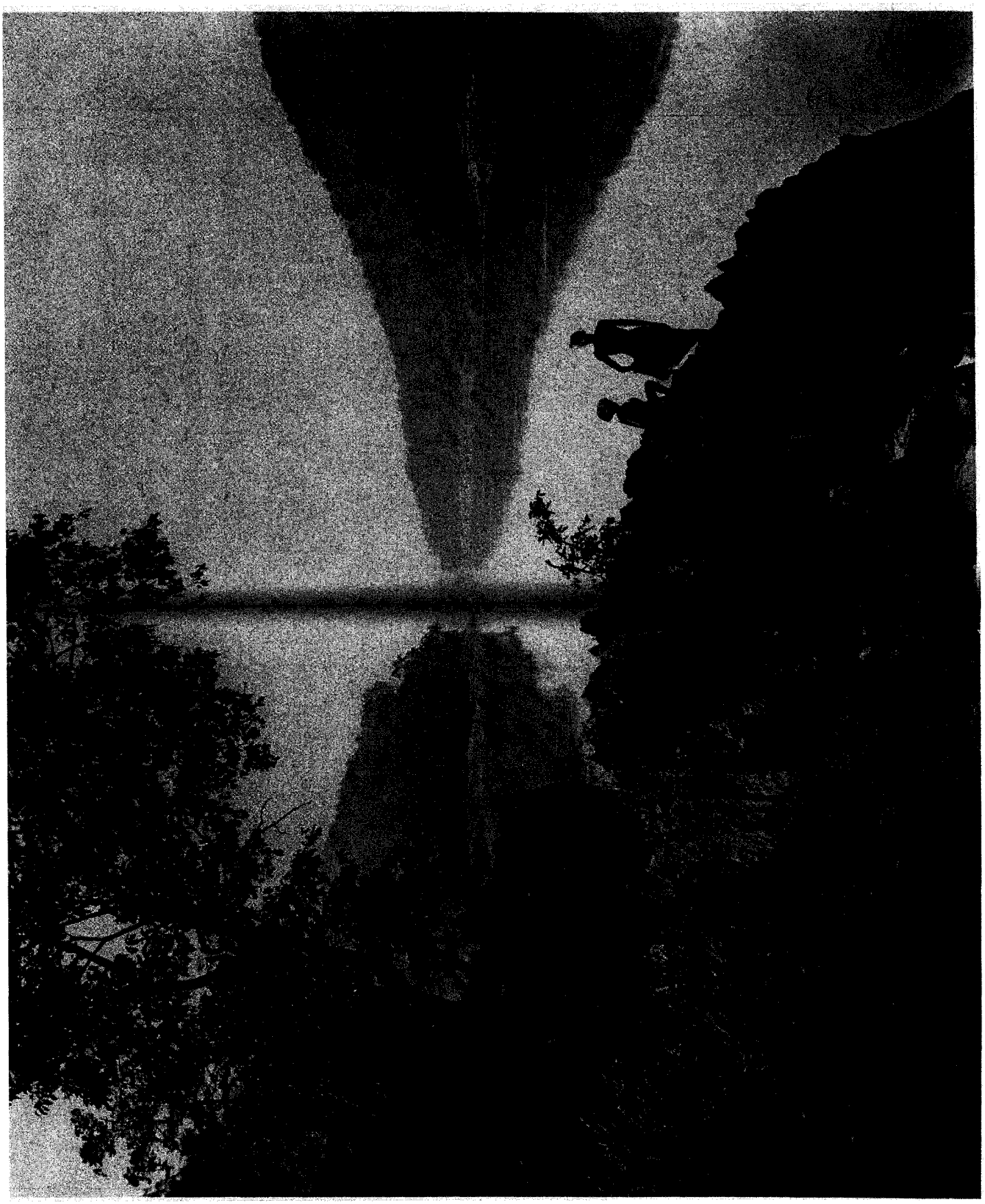

Photo 3.1.50. *Idyllic landscape along the Salween River*
Royal Photographic Society

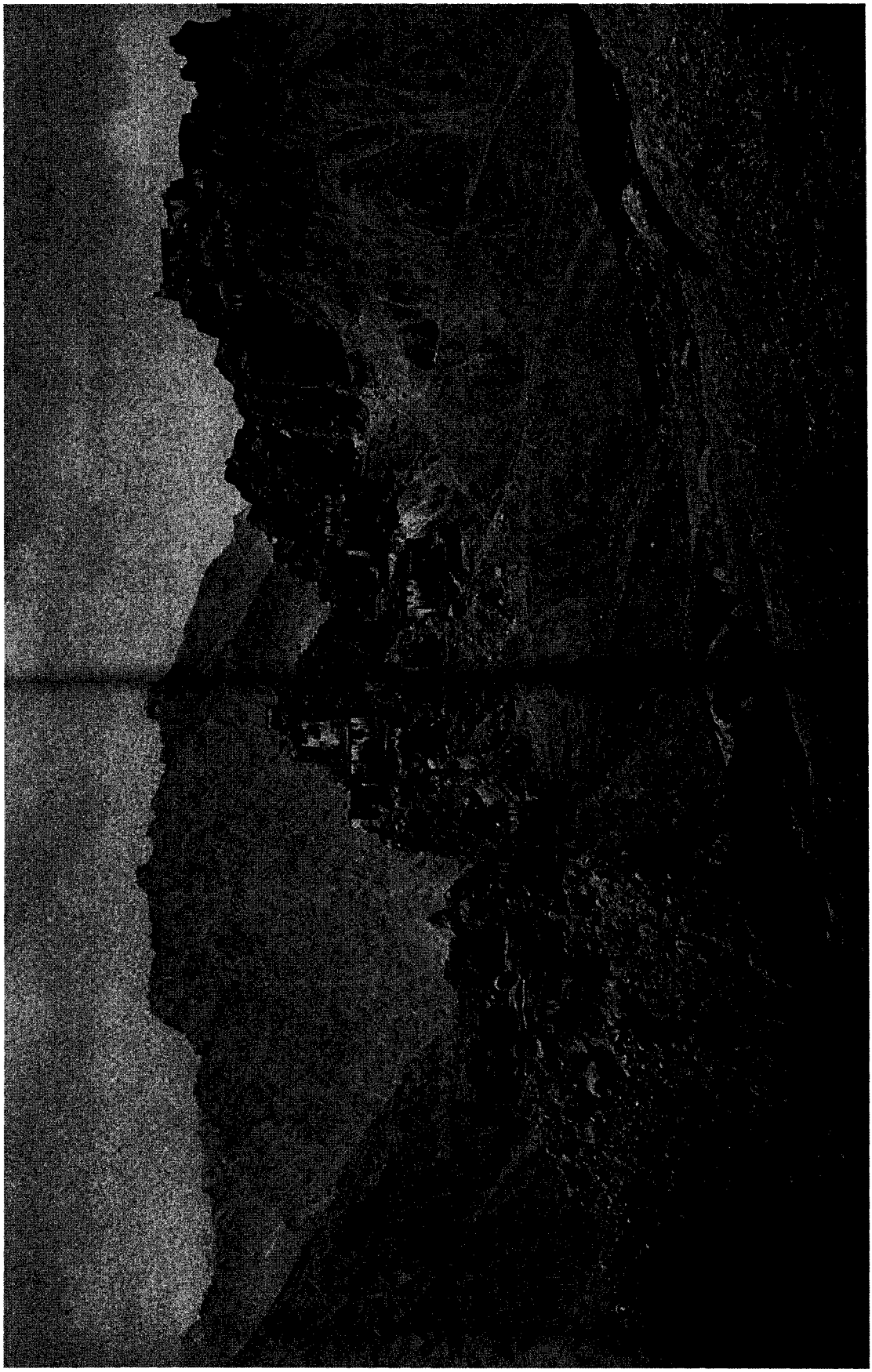

Photo 3.1.51. *The village of Dunkar in the Himalayas*
Library of Congress, Washington

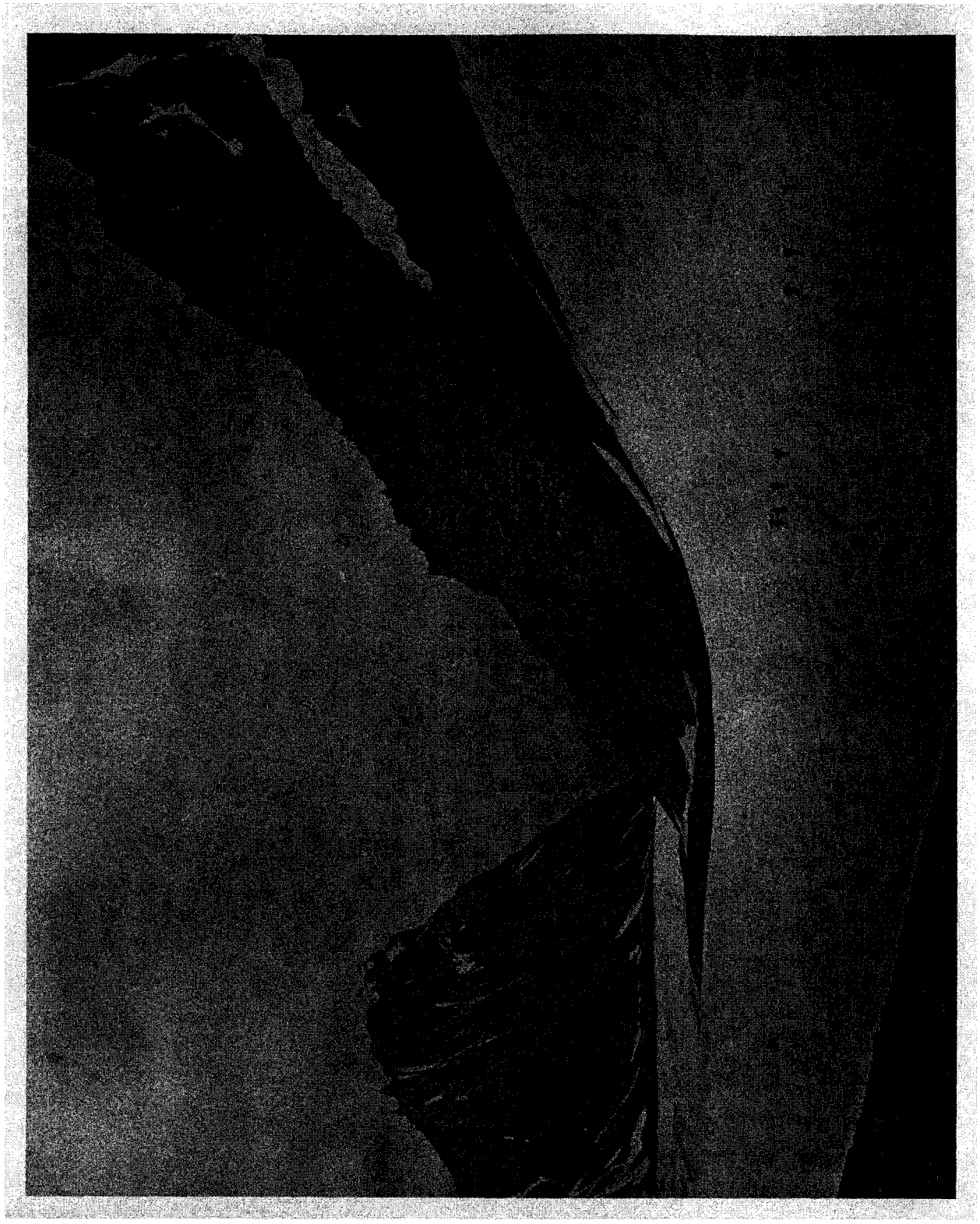

Photo 3.1.52. *The Manirung Pass, elevation 18,600 feet*
Carpenter Center, Haward University

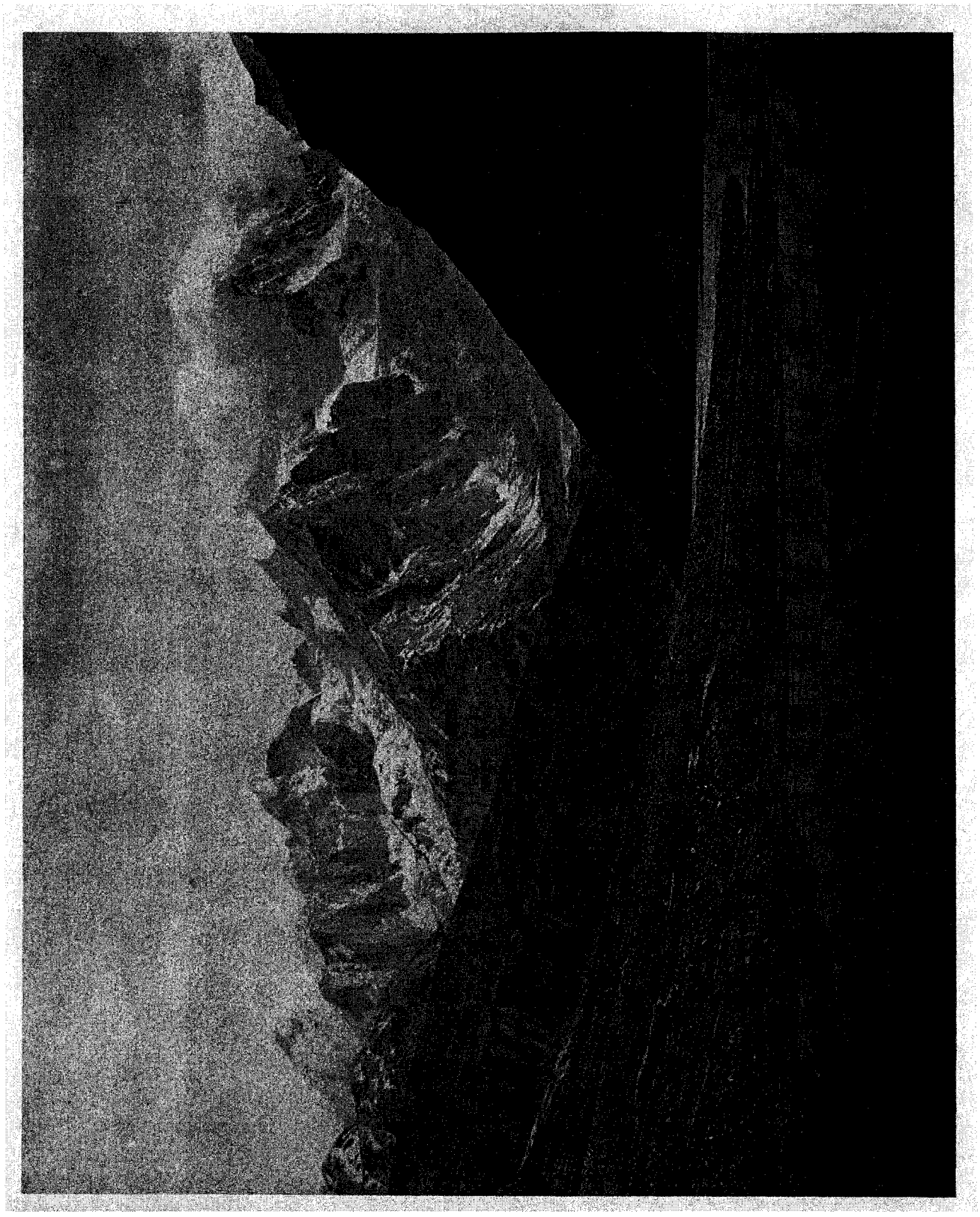

Photo 3.1.53. *Distant view of the snowy Summits South of the Shigri Glacier*
Ollman's

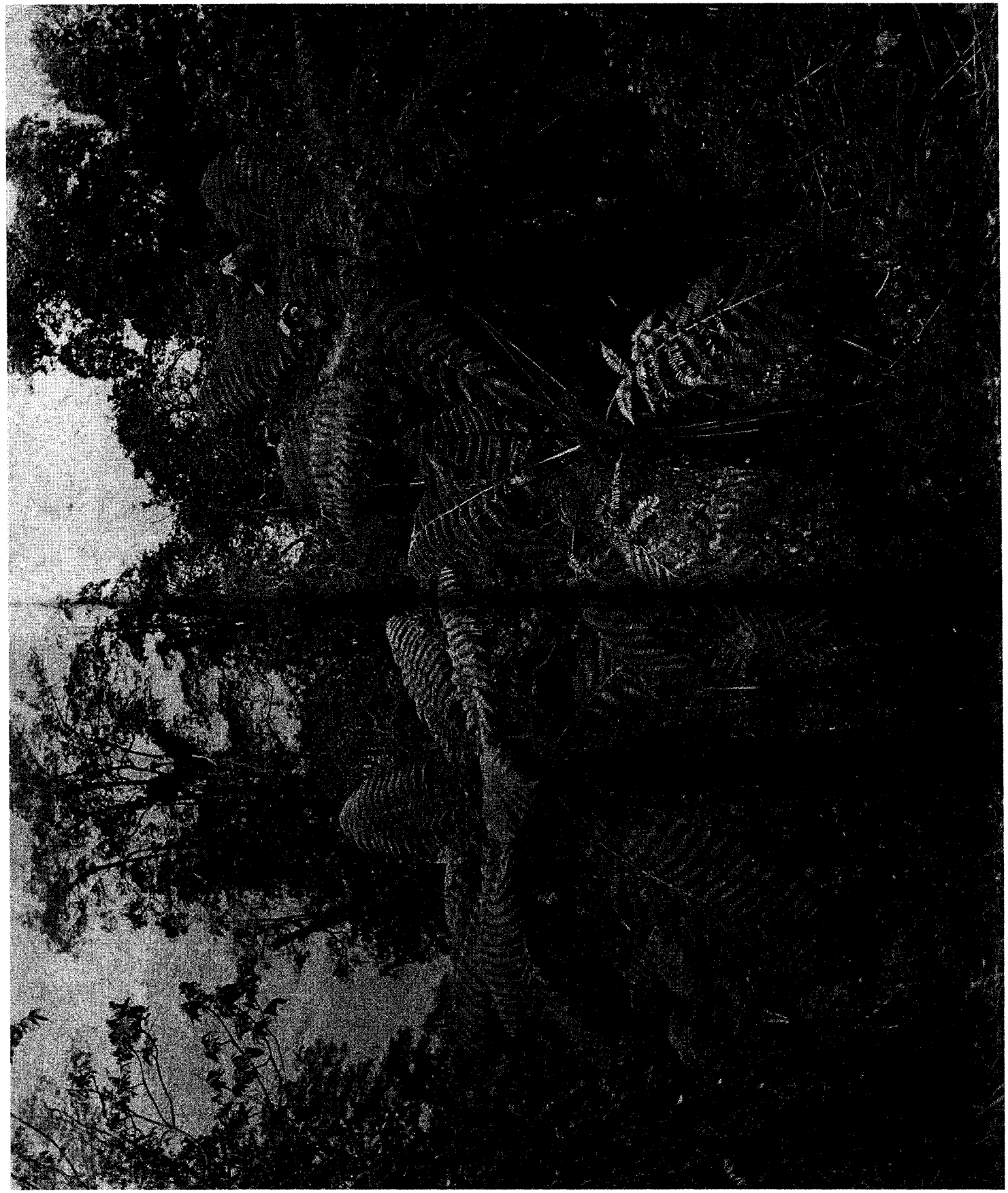

Photo 3.1.54. *Tree ferns in the Darjeeling Jungle*
Collection Ken and Jenny Jacobson

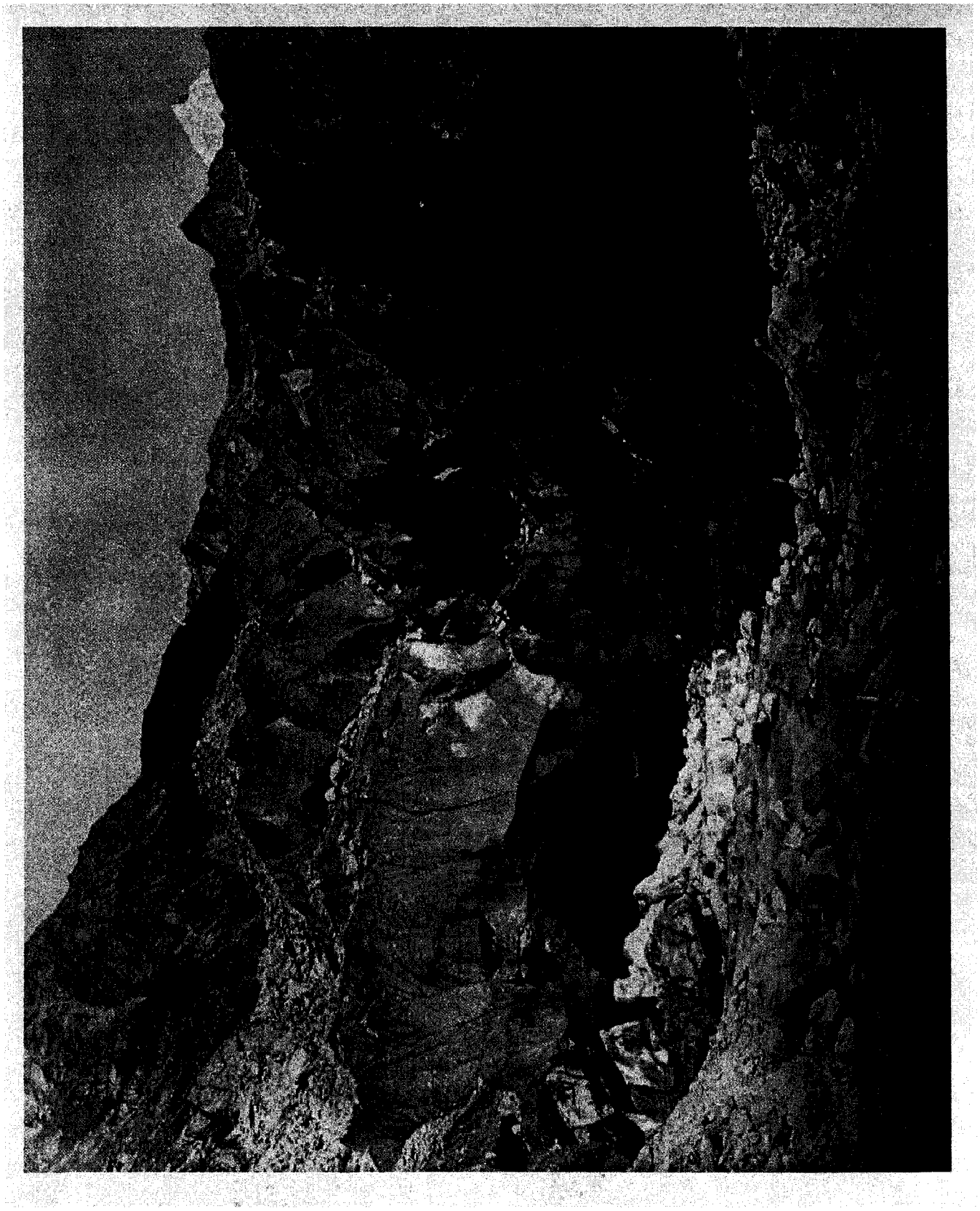

Photo 3.1.55. *The Source of the Ganges*
Library of Congress, Washington

Photo 3.1.56. *Hindu Temple, Gwalior*
Ollman's

Photo 3.1.57. *Oakover, Simla*
Ollman's

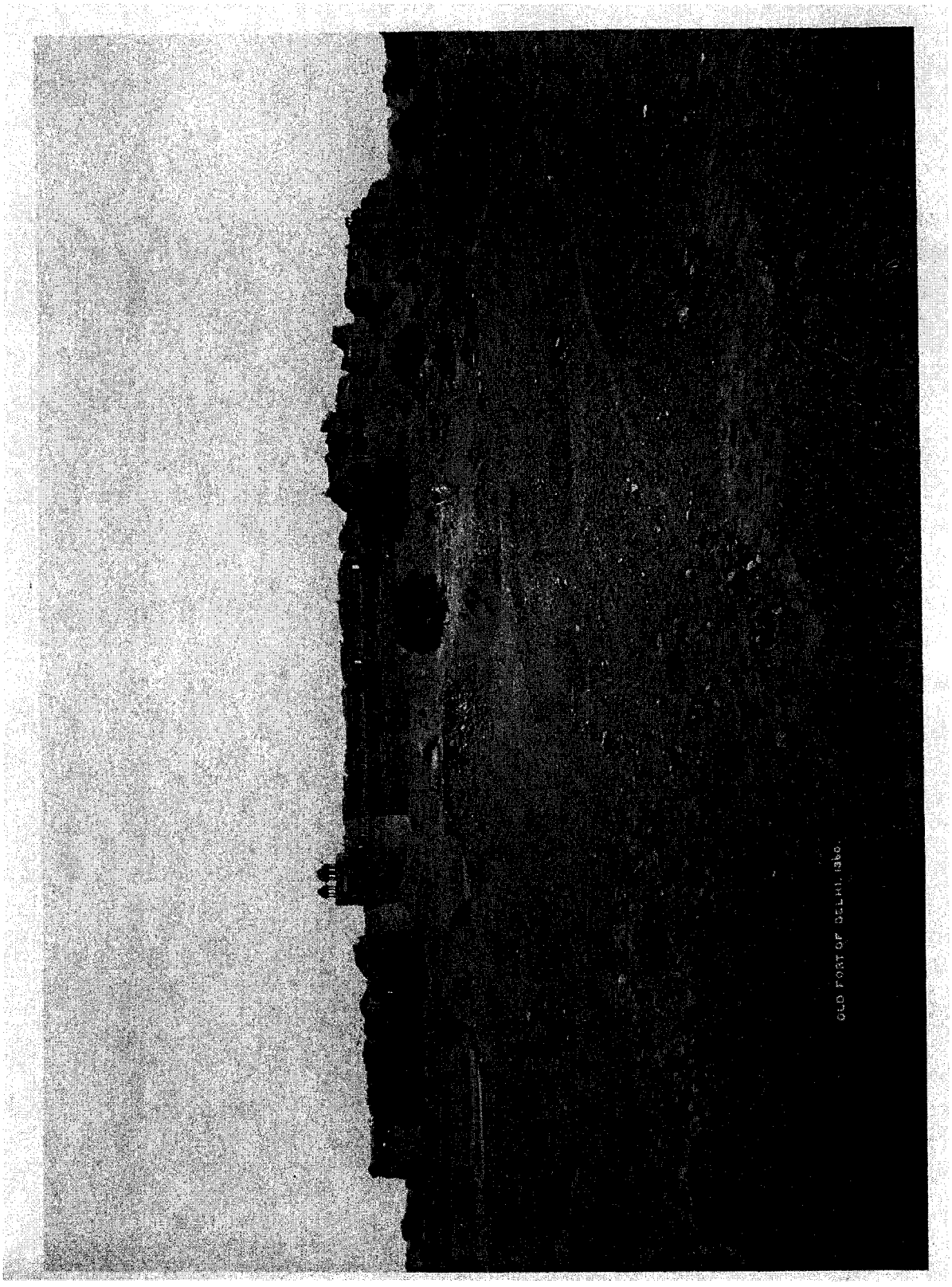

Photo 3.1.58. *The Purana Kila, Old Fort of Delhi*
Ollman's

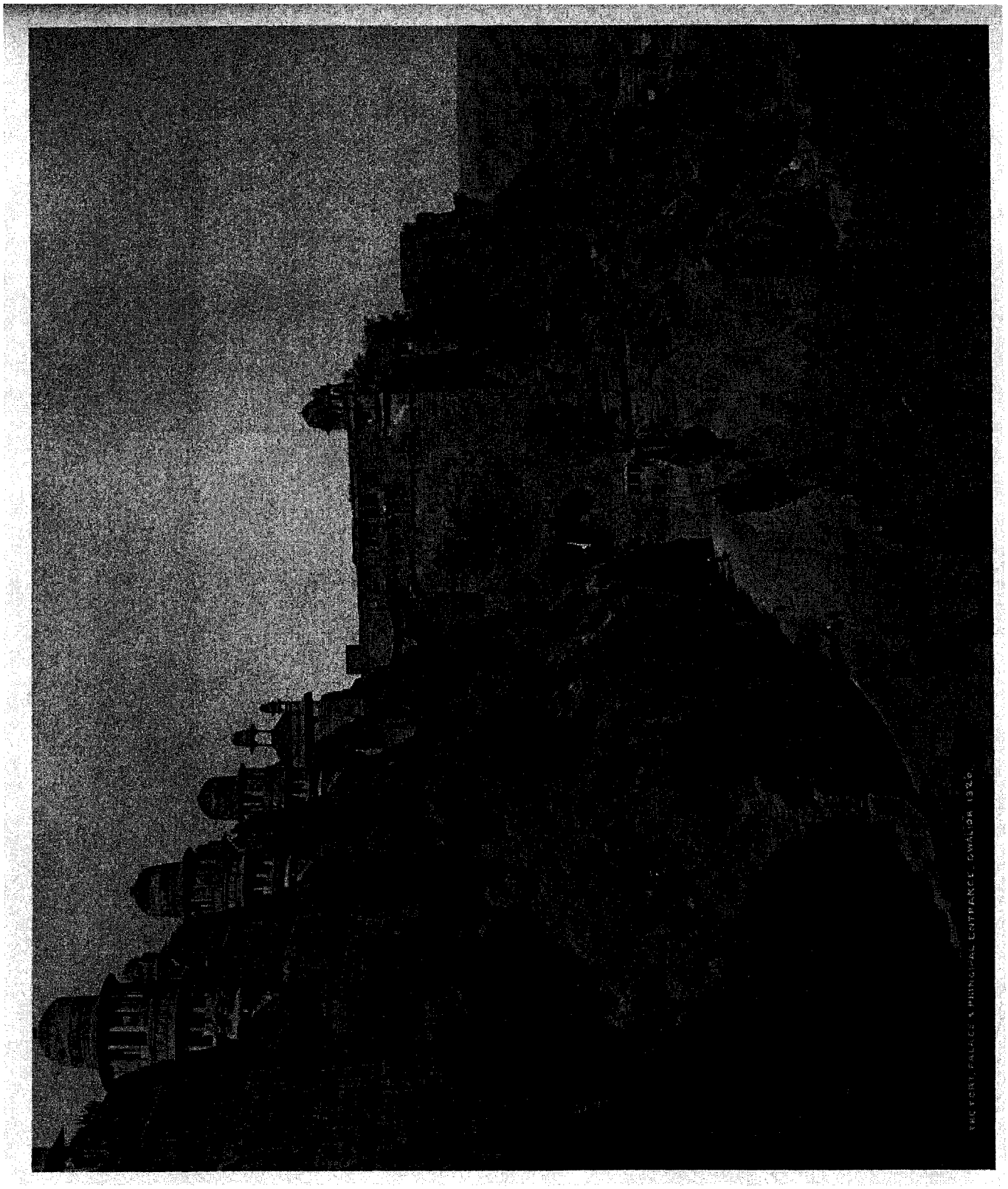

Photo 3.1.59. *The Fort, the Palace and Principal Entrance, Gwalior*
Ollman's

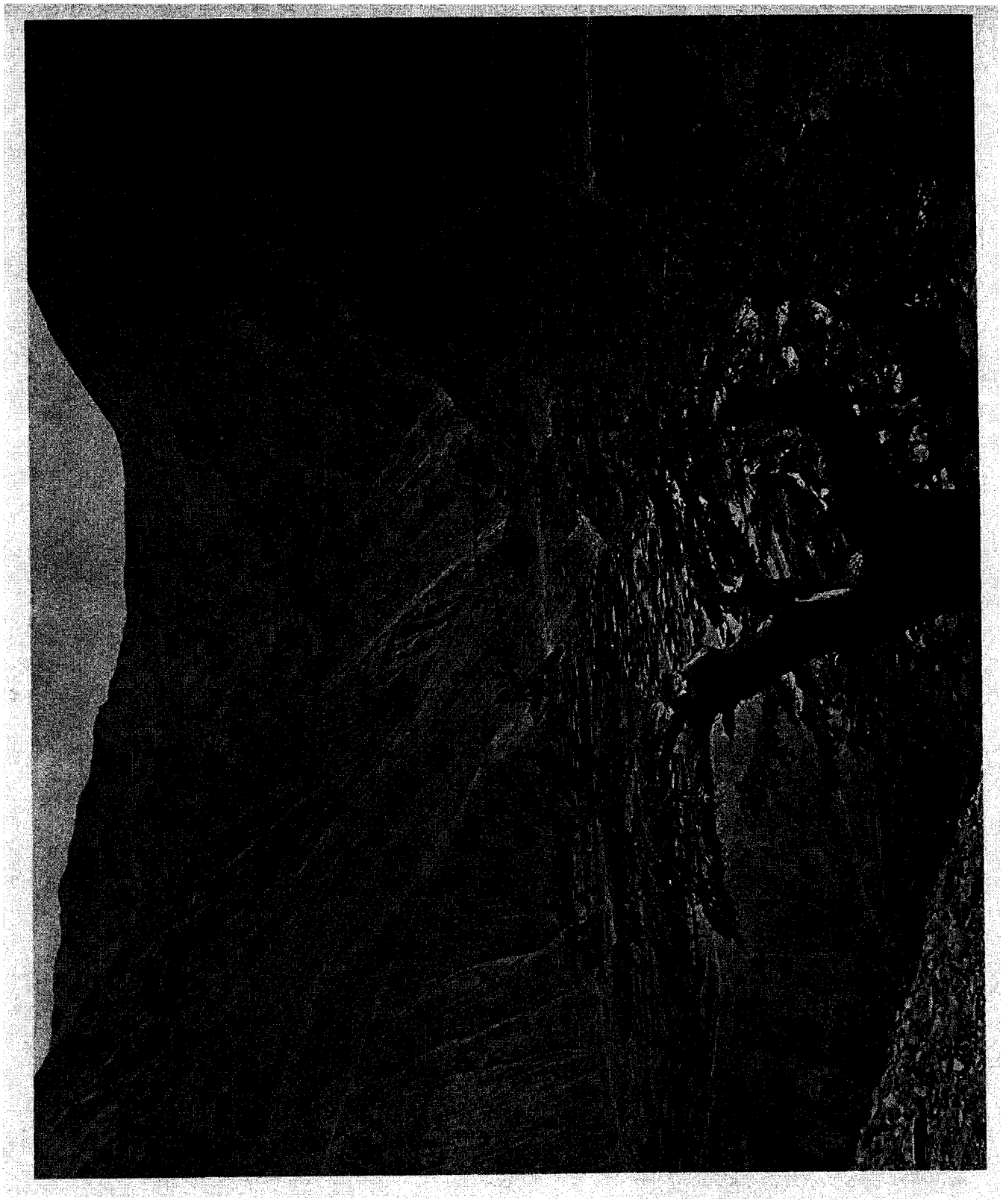

Photo 3.1.60. *The village of Sungnam, with the Hungrung Pass above*
Ollman's

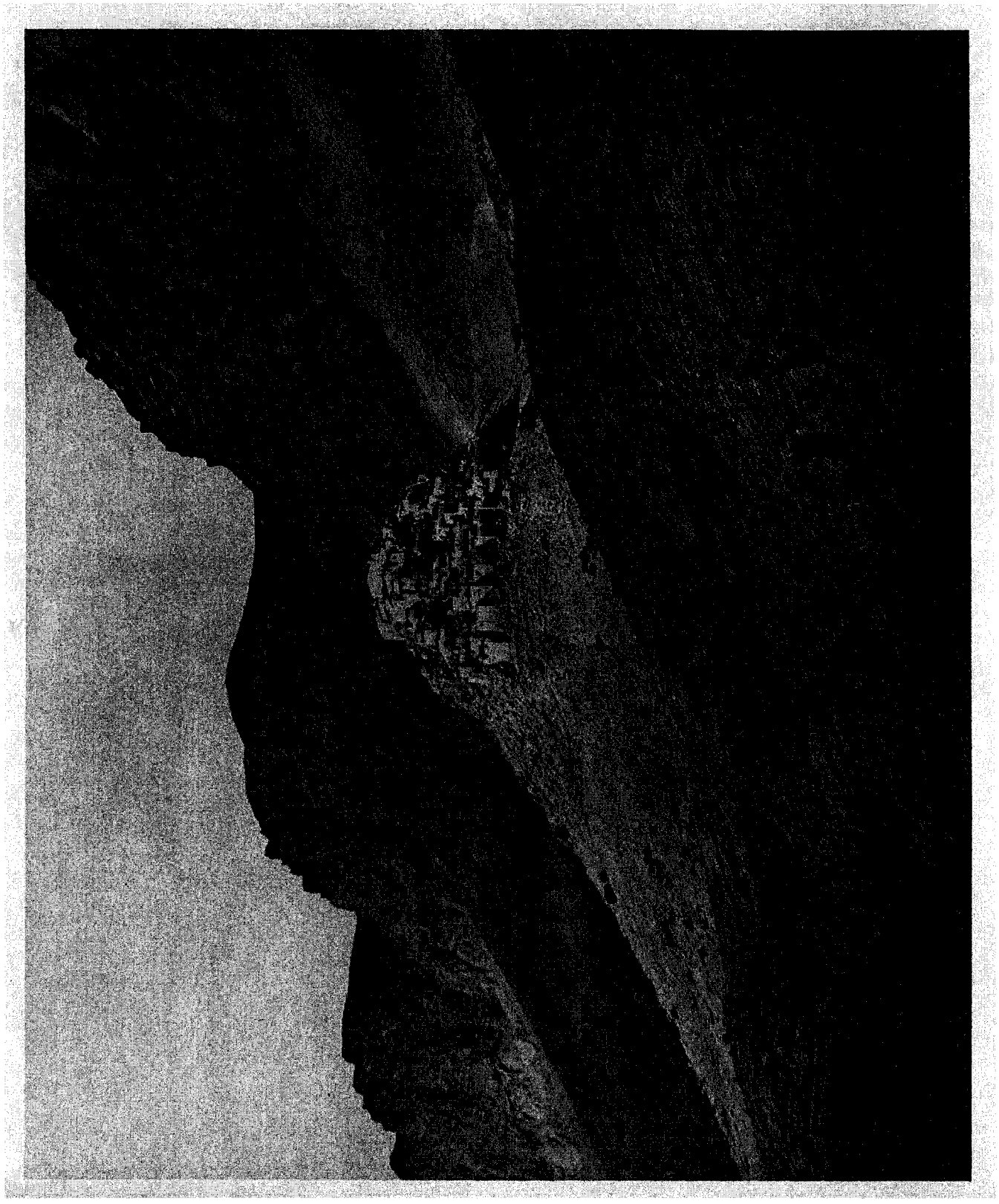

Photo 3.1.61. *The Monastery at Ki, Spiti*
Ollman's

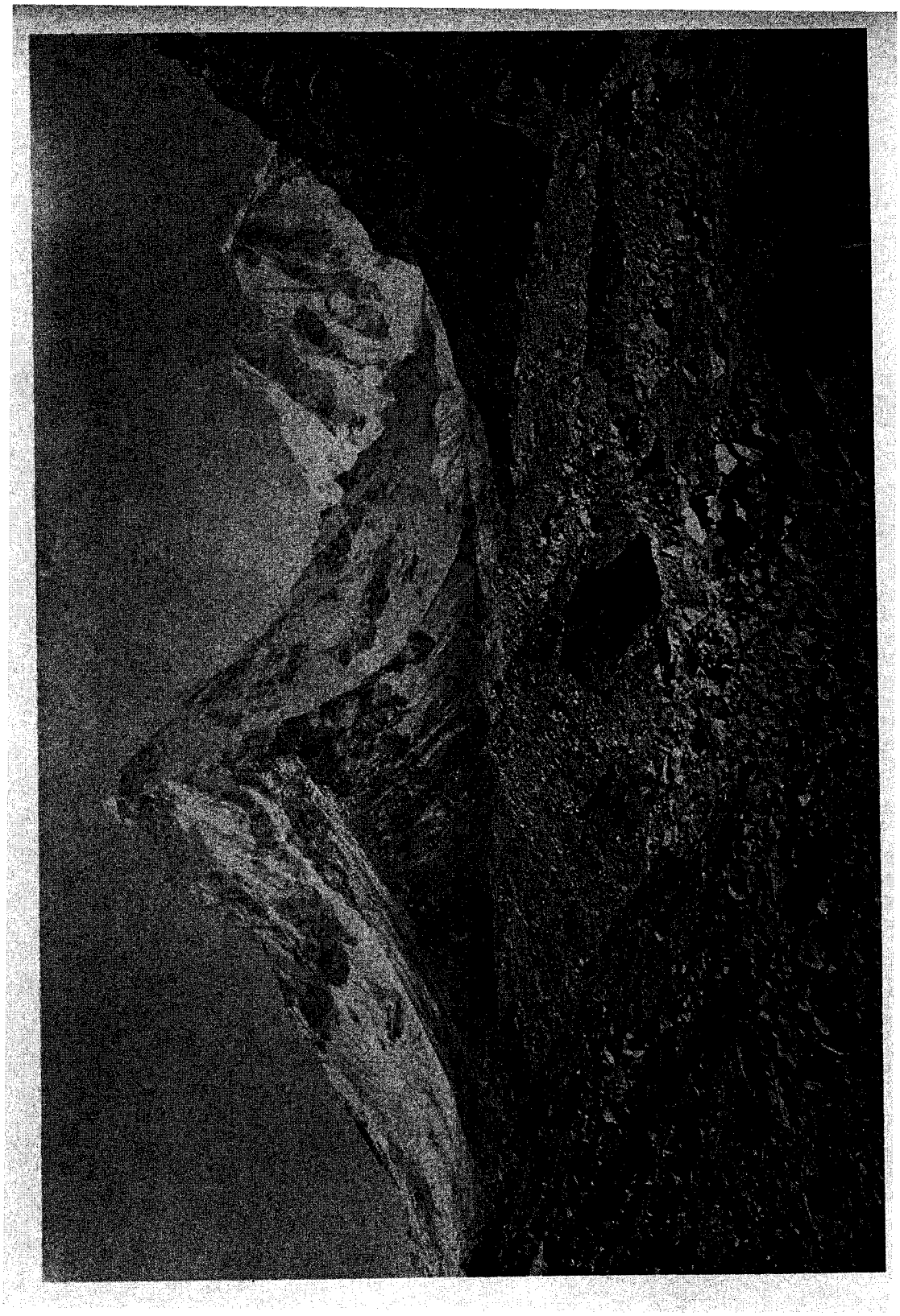

Photo 3.1.62. *Mount Moira, and other Snows, from the Glacier*
Ollman's

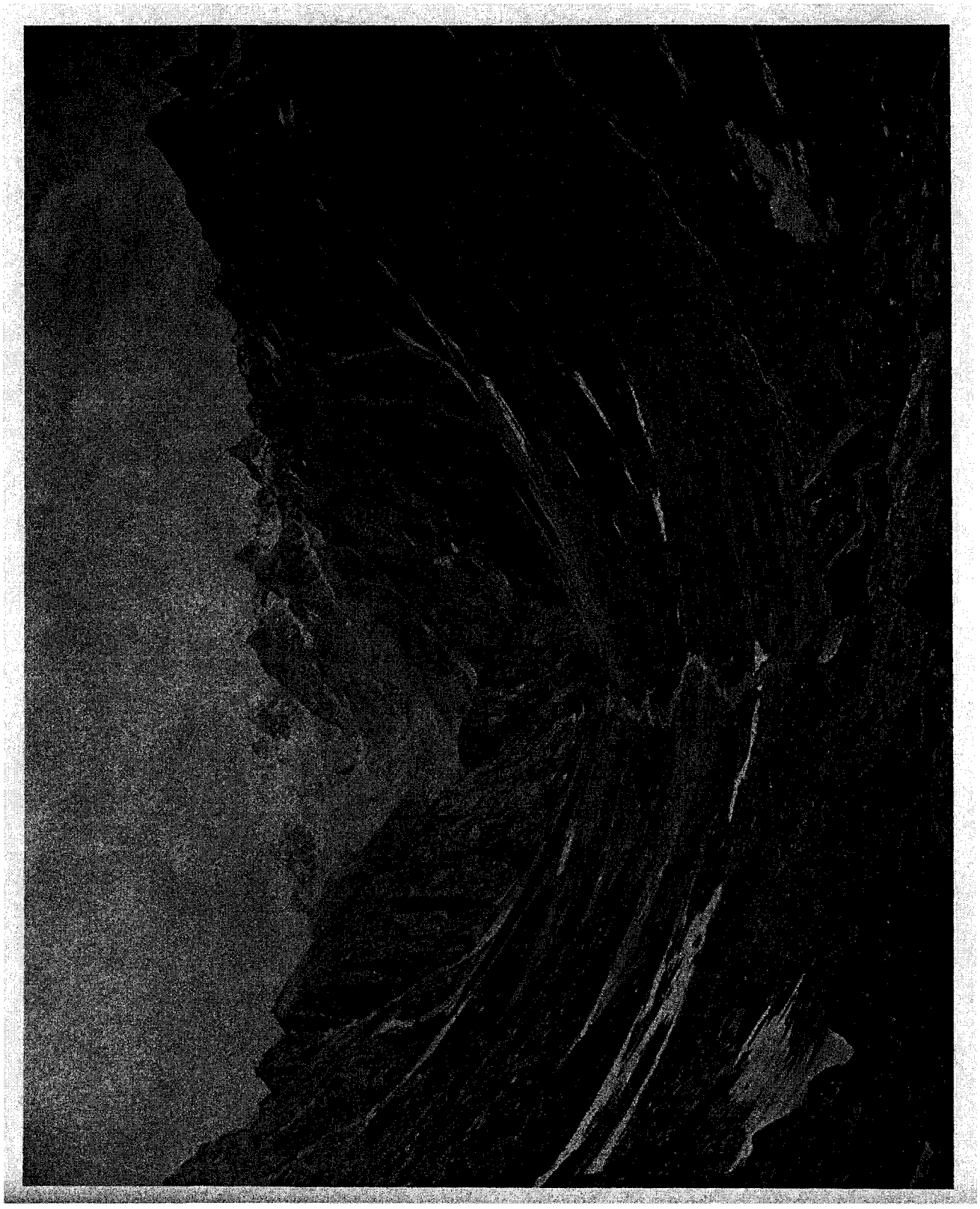

Photo 3.1.63. *Valley and Snowy Peaks, Seen from the Hamta Pass, Spiti Side*
Ollman's

Photo 3.1.64. *The Spiti Valley from Dunkar, Evening*
Ollman's

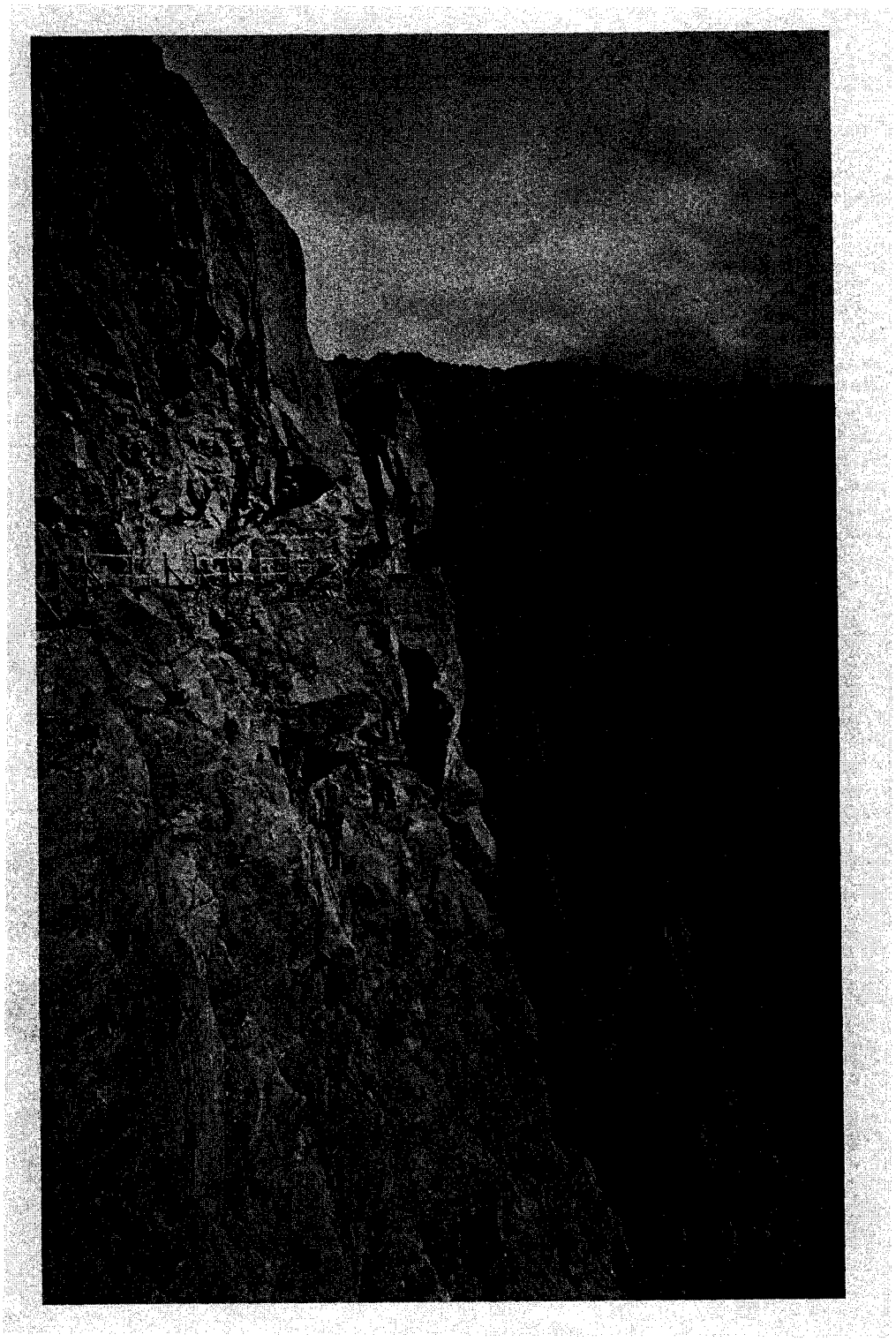

Photo 3.1.65. *The Cliff, Near view*
Ollman's

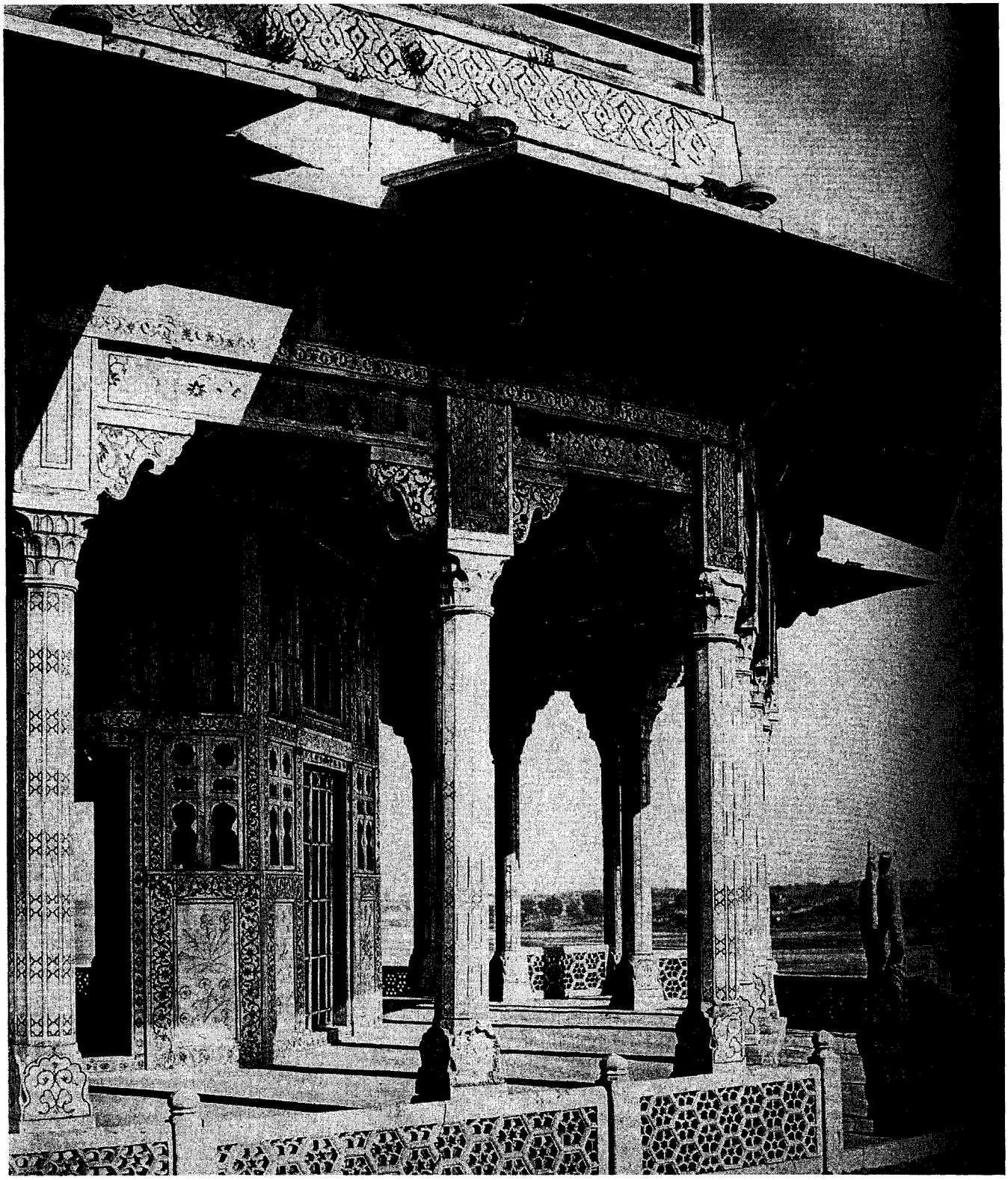

Photo 3.1.66. *The Fort, Exterior of the Zenana, Agra*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

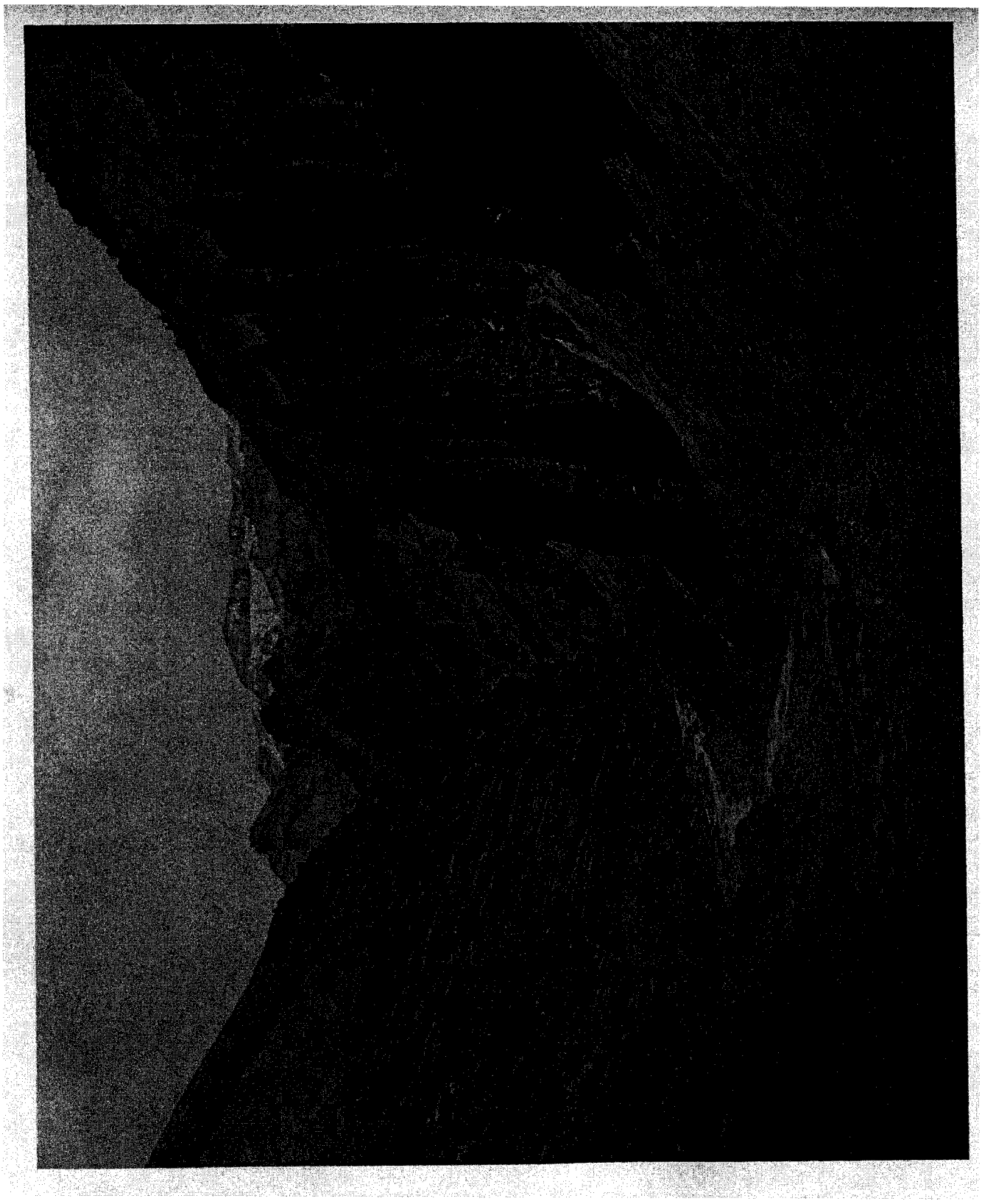

Photo 3.1.67. *The village of Kot, Kulu*
Ollman's

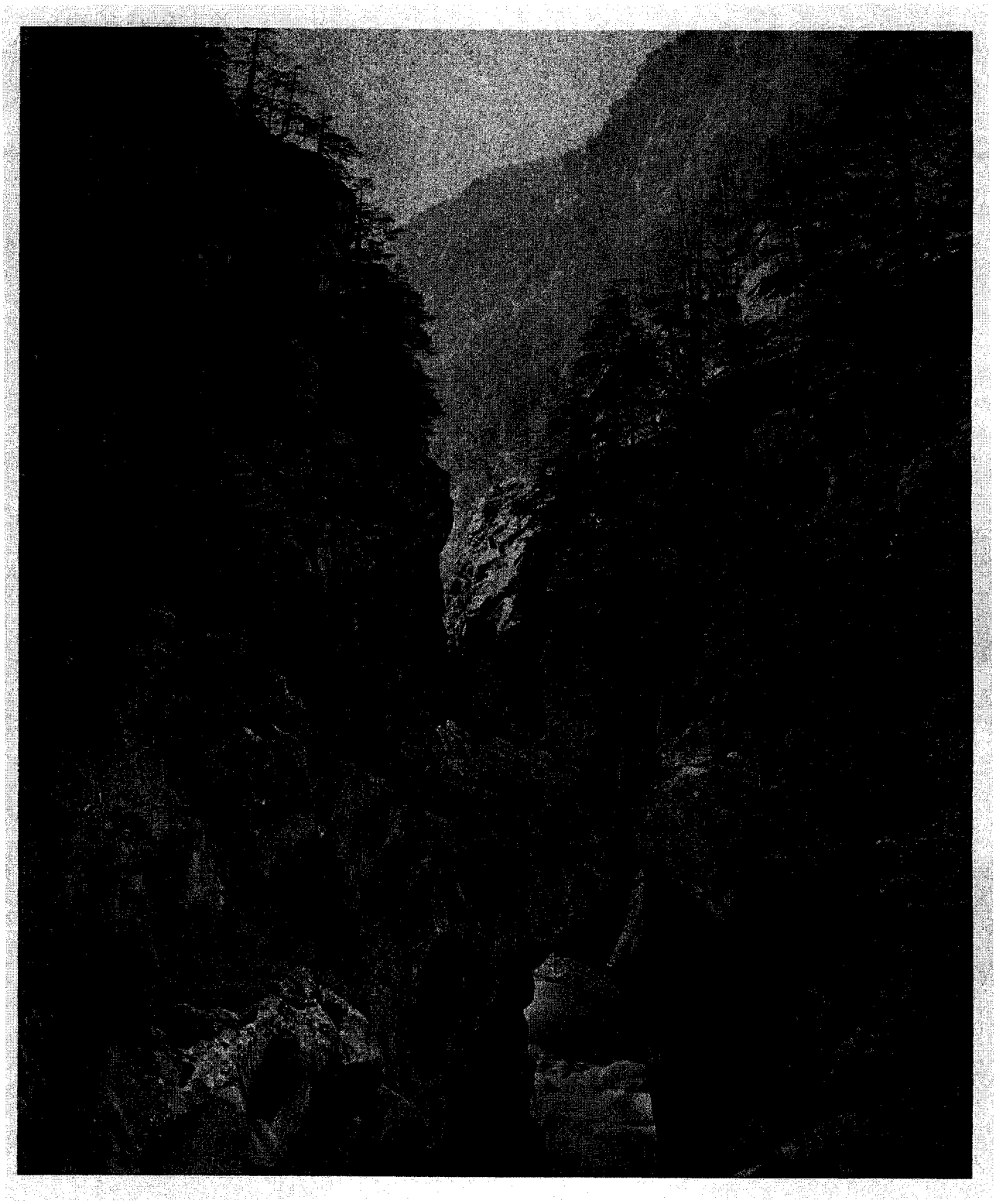

Photo 3.1.68. *Rocky channel of the Ganges at Bhairamghati*
Ollman's

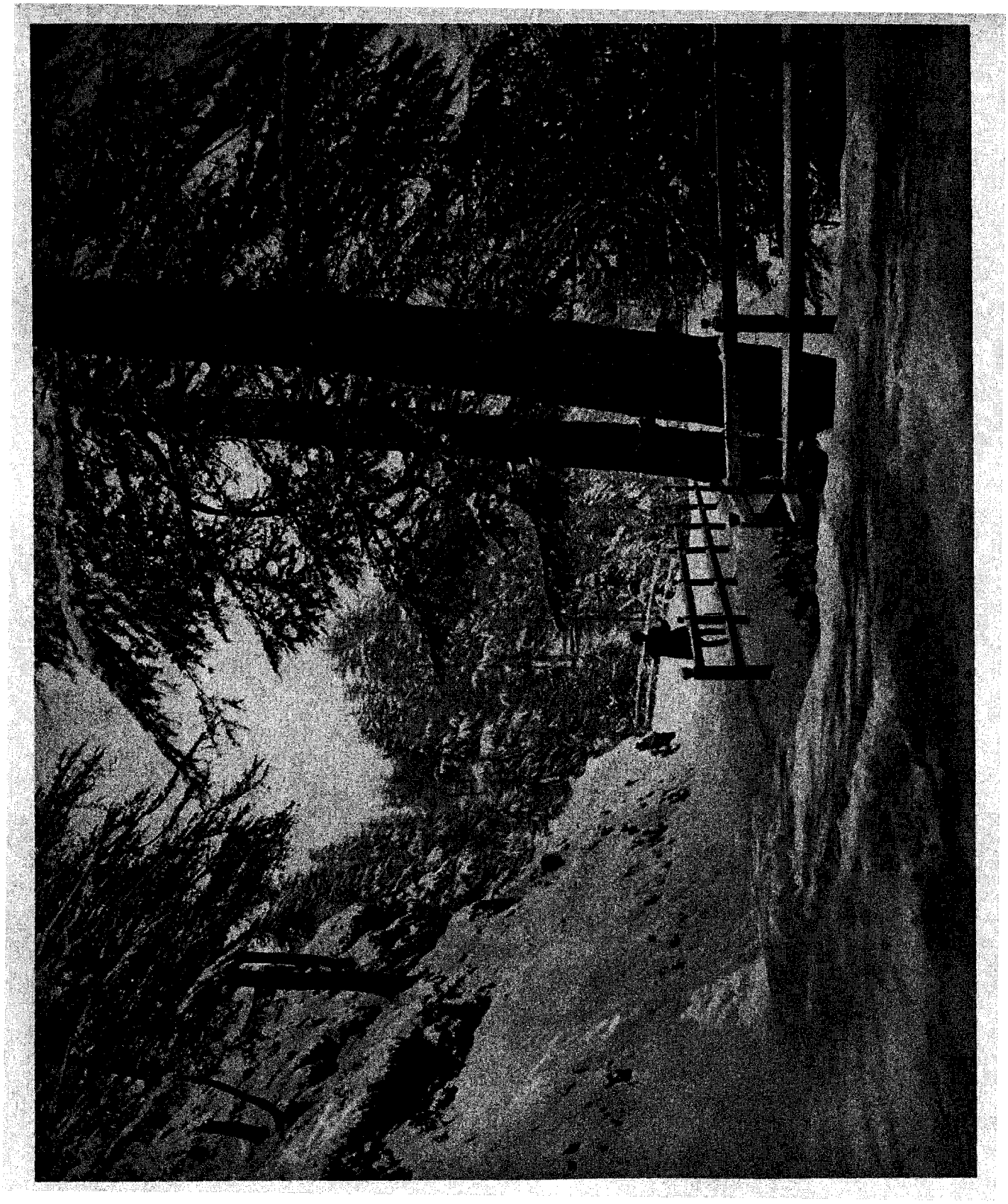

Photo 3.1.69. *Simla in winter, view from the Bowlee near 'Glenarm'*
Ollman's

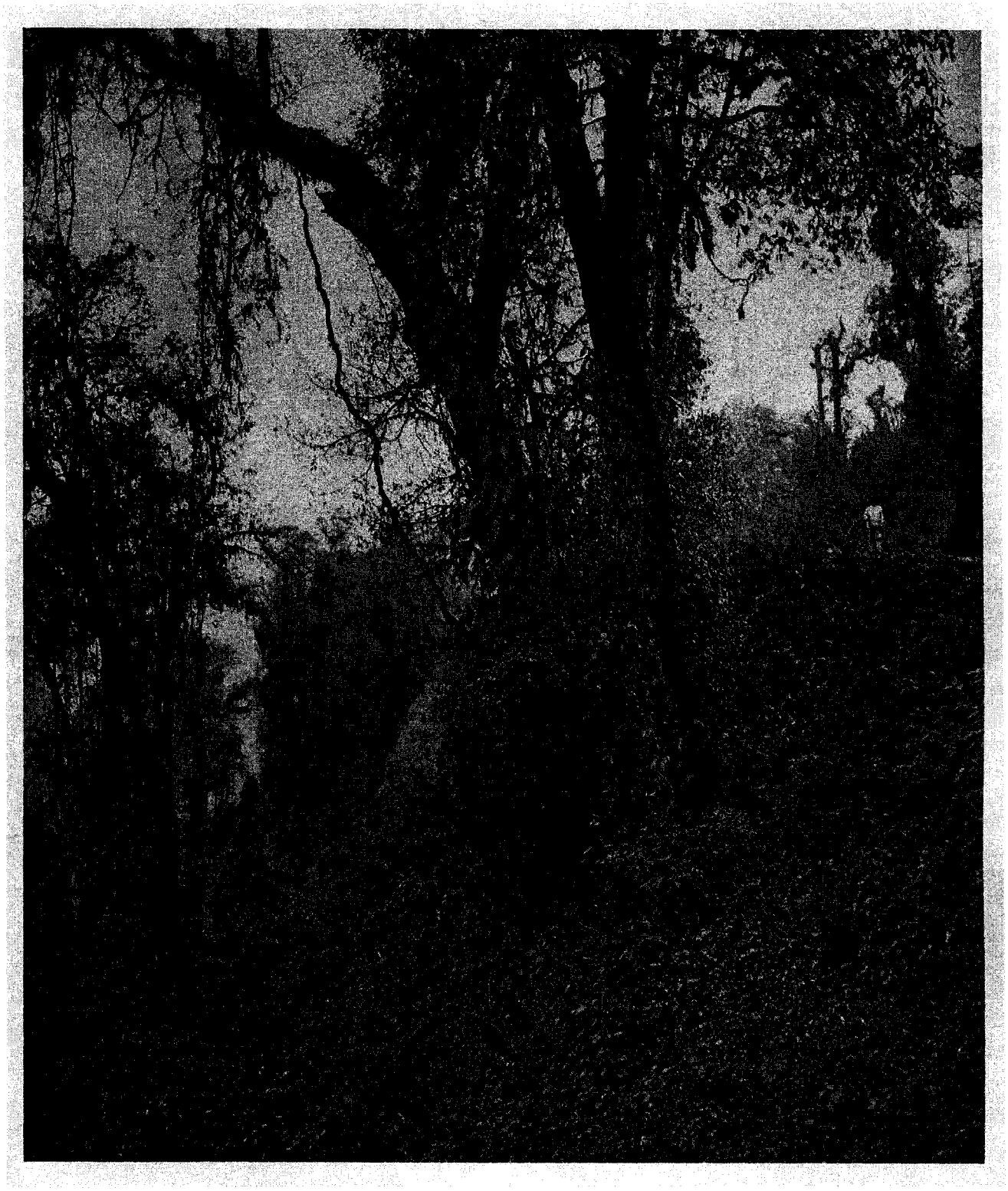

Photo 3.1.70. *On the road around Birch Hill, Darjeeling*
Ollman's

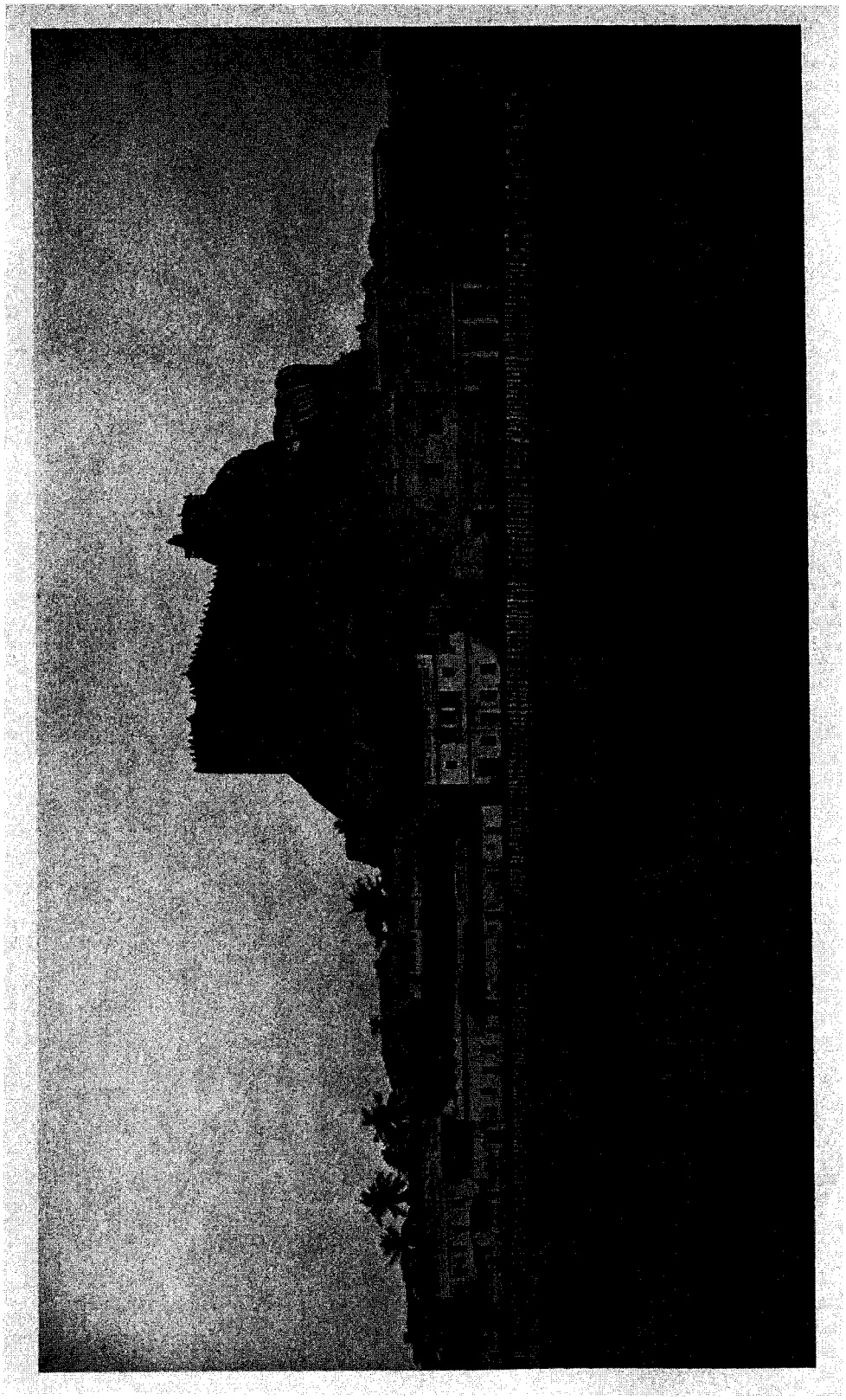

Photo 3.1.71. *The Rock of Trichinopoly, from the Tank on the West*
Ollman's

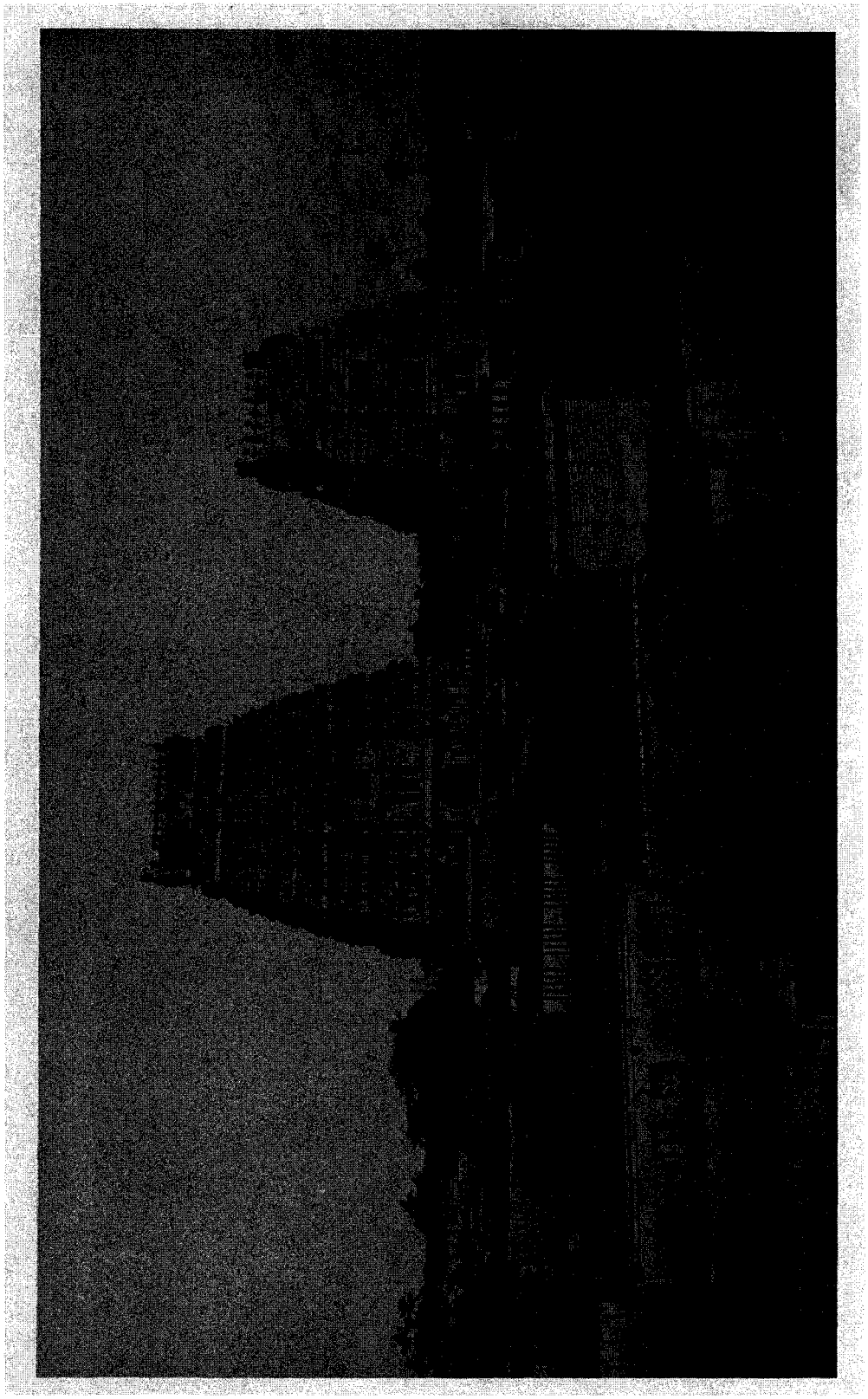

Photo 3.1.72. *Two Pagodas*
from the top of the Thousand-Pillared Hall, Trichinopoly
Ollman's

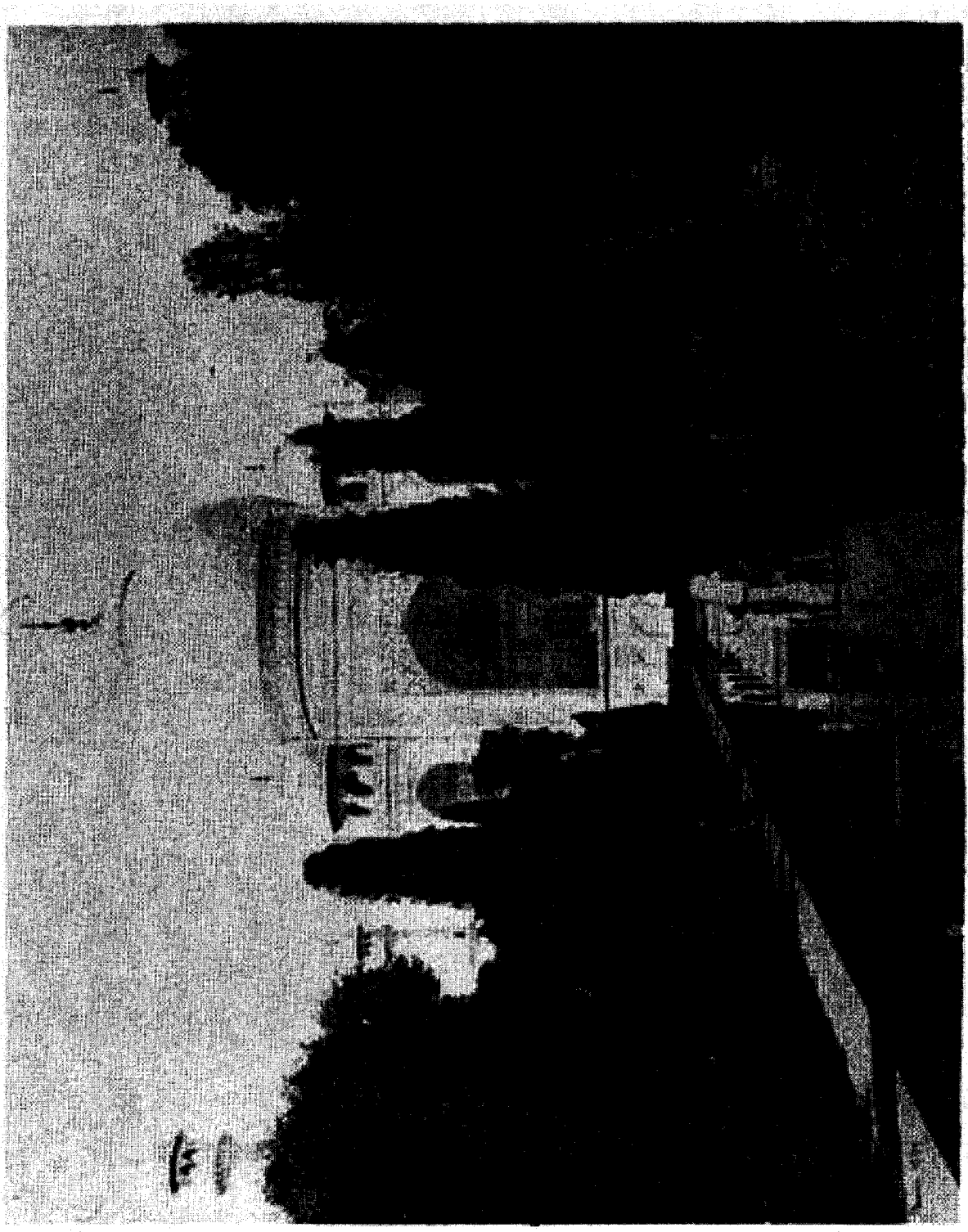

Photo 3.1.73. *Taj Mahal, Agra*
Woswick's

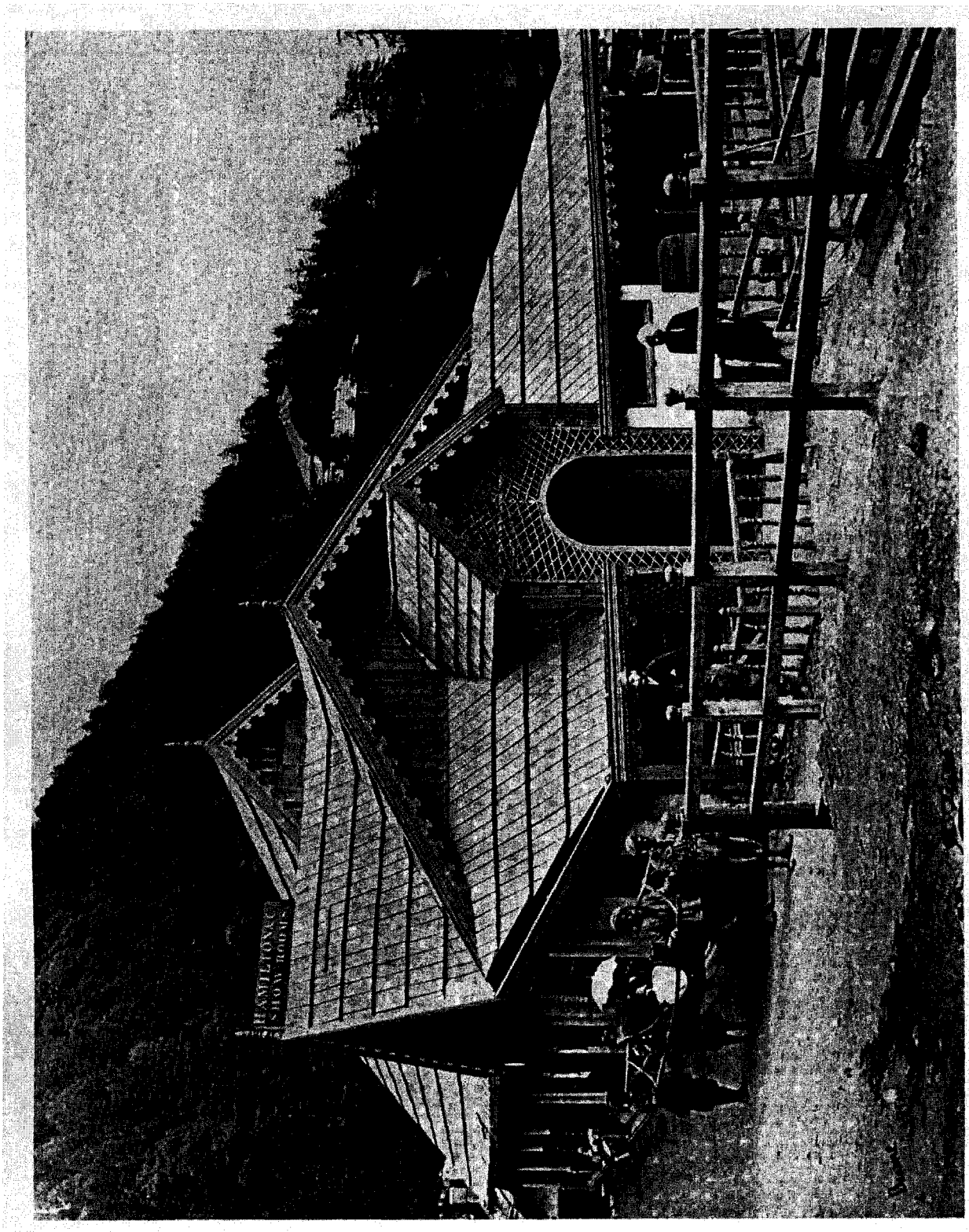

Photo 3.1.74. *Hamilton and Co. Show Rooms, Simla*
Woswick's

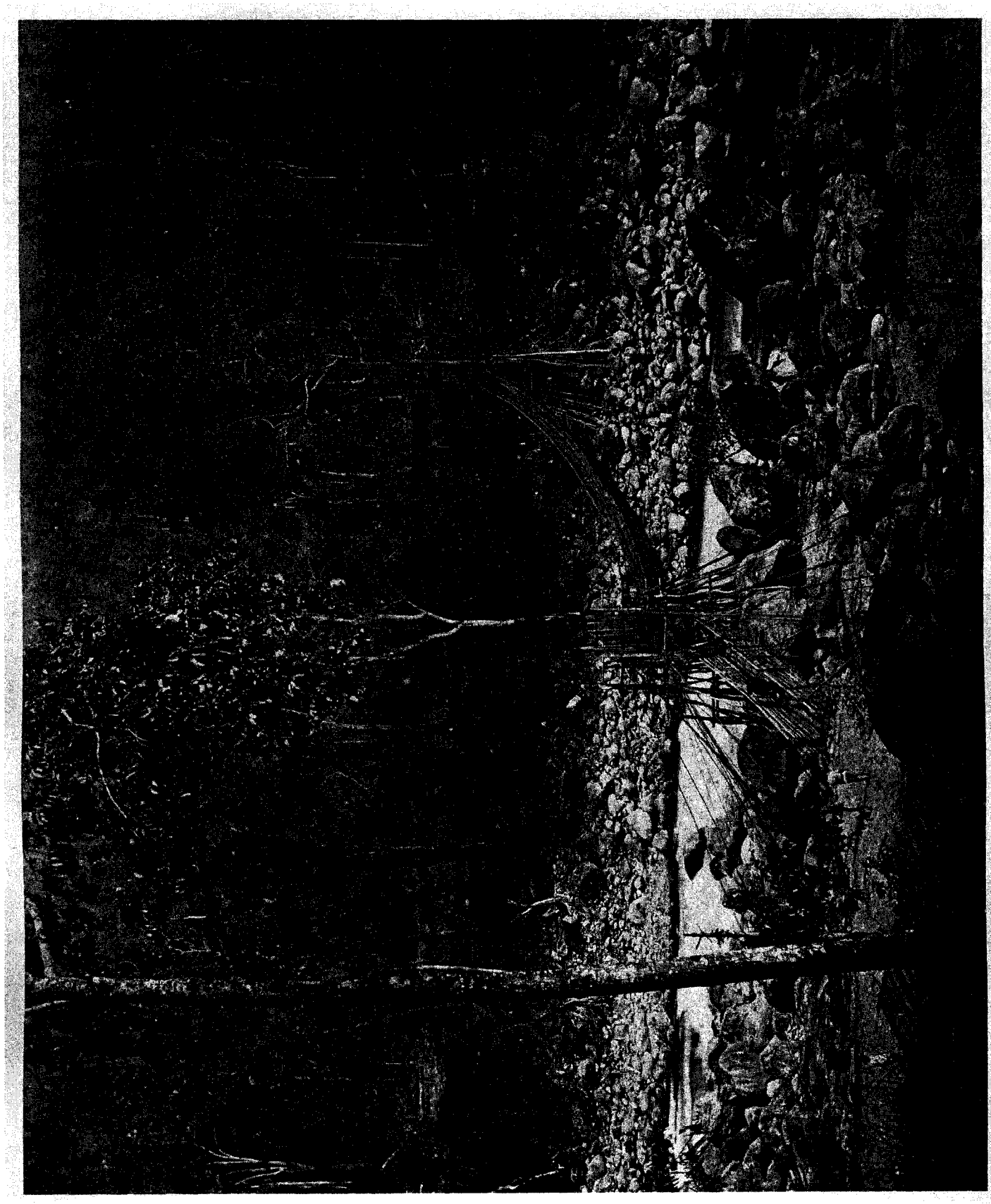

Photo 3.1.75. *Native bridge*
Woswick's

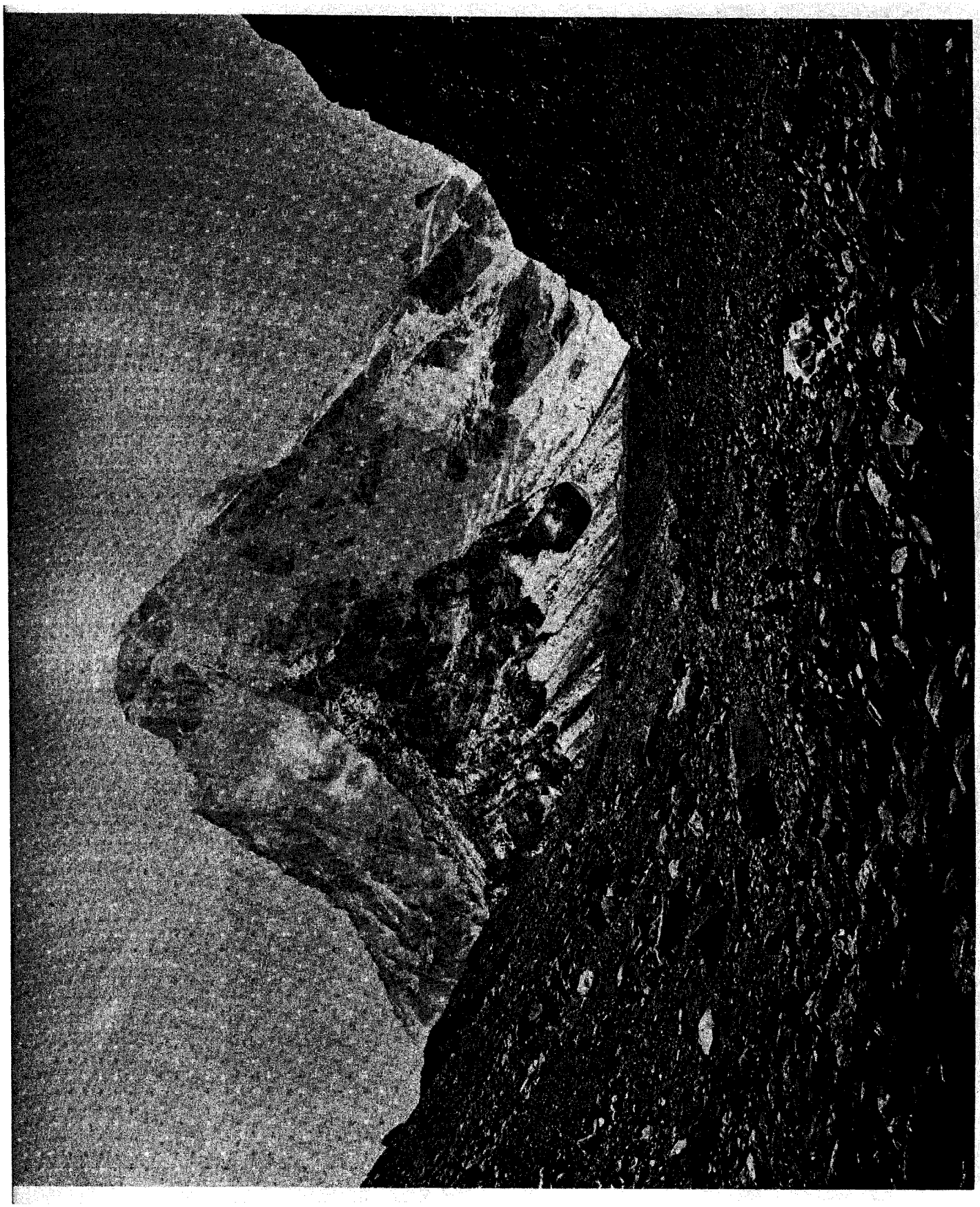

Photo 3.1.76. *Mount Moira, South of the Gangootri Glacier, elevation 22,621 feet*
Woswick's

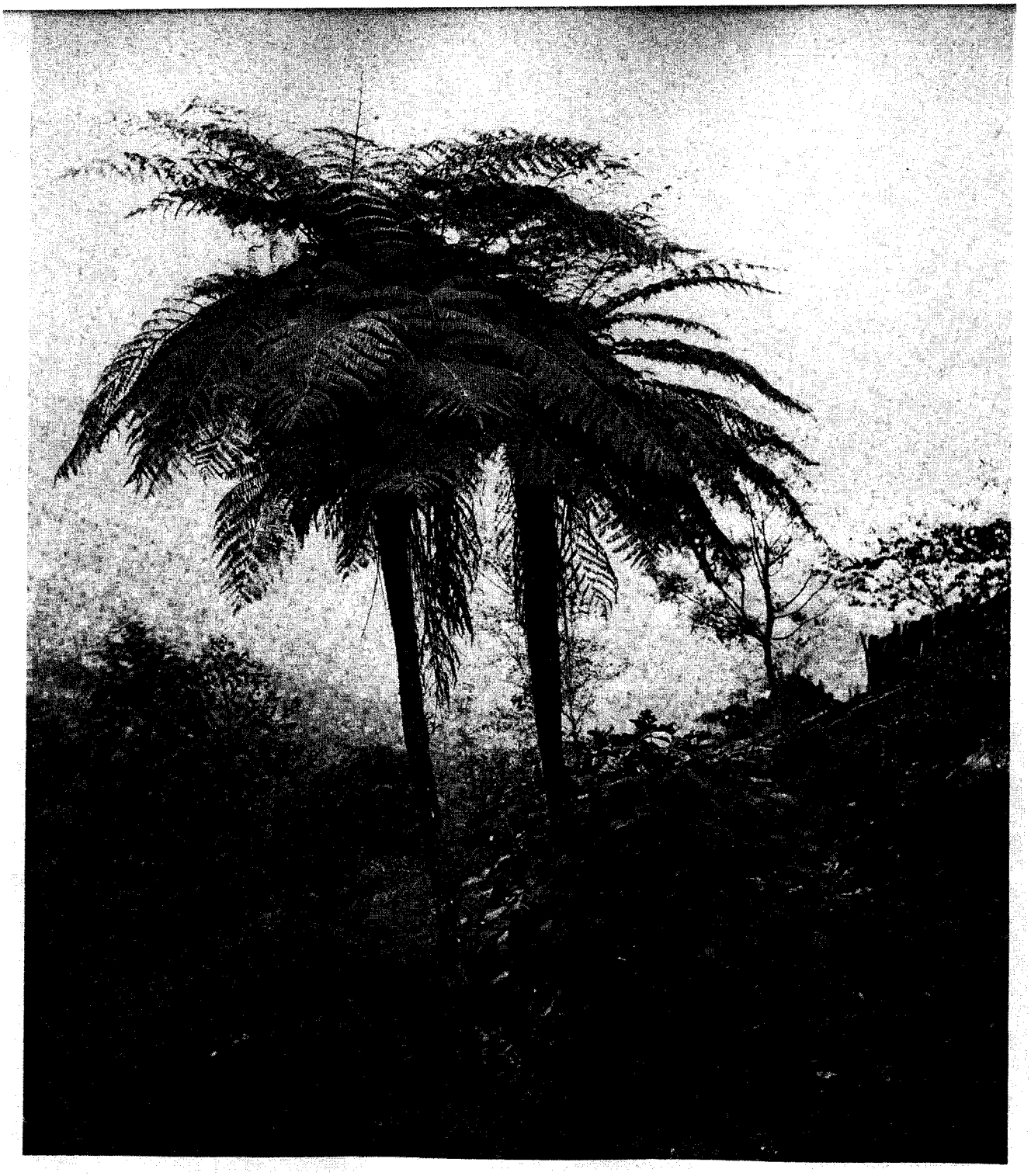

Photo 3.1.77. *Trees Ferns, Darjeeling*
Woswick's

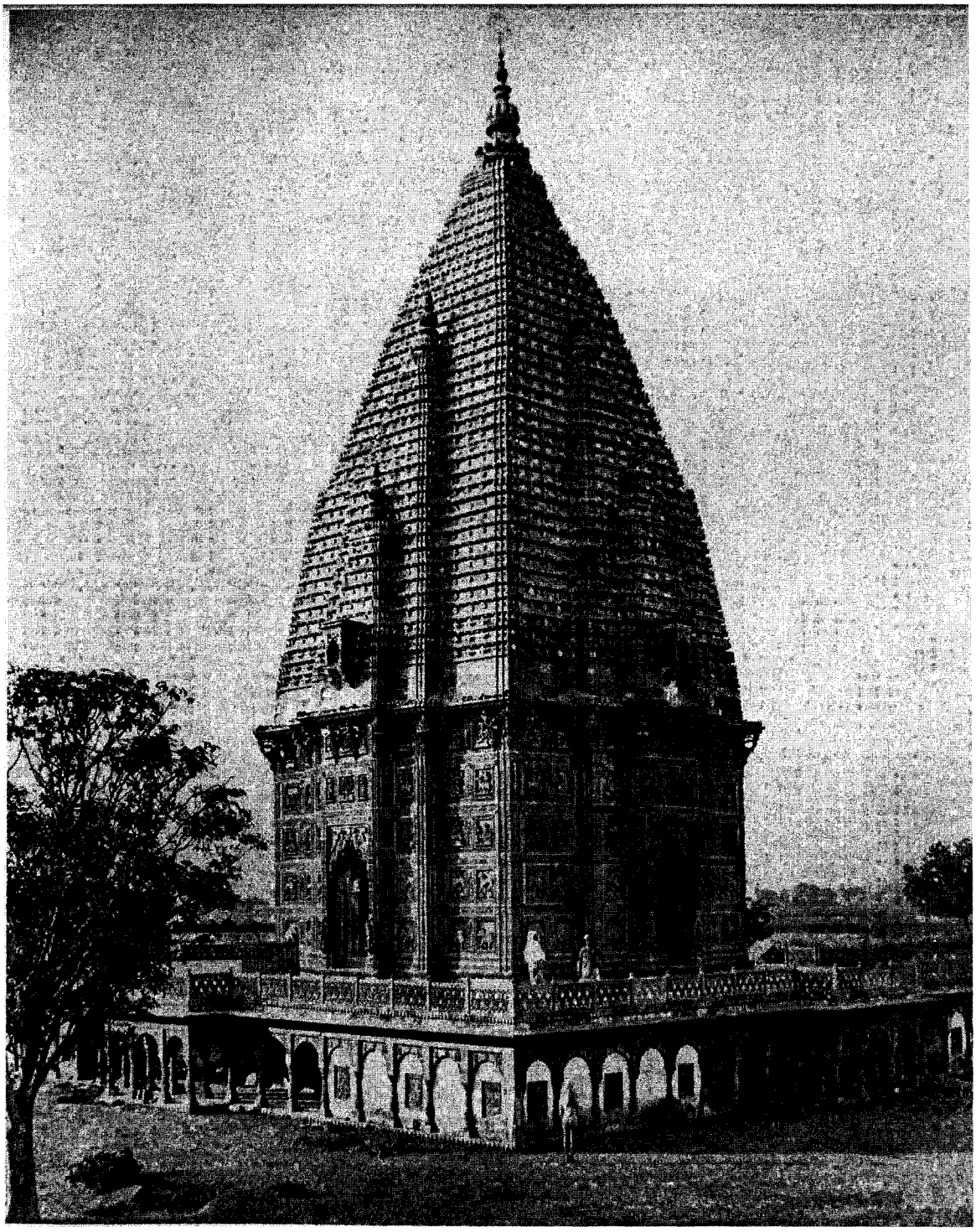

Photo 3.1.78. *Sumeree Temple at Ramnaggur, from the Tank*
Woswick's

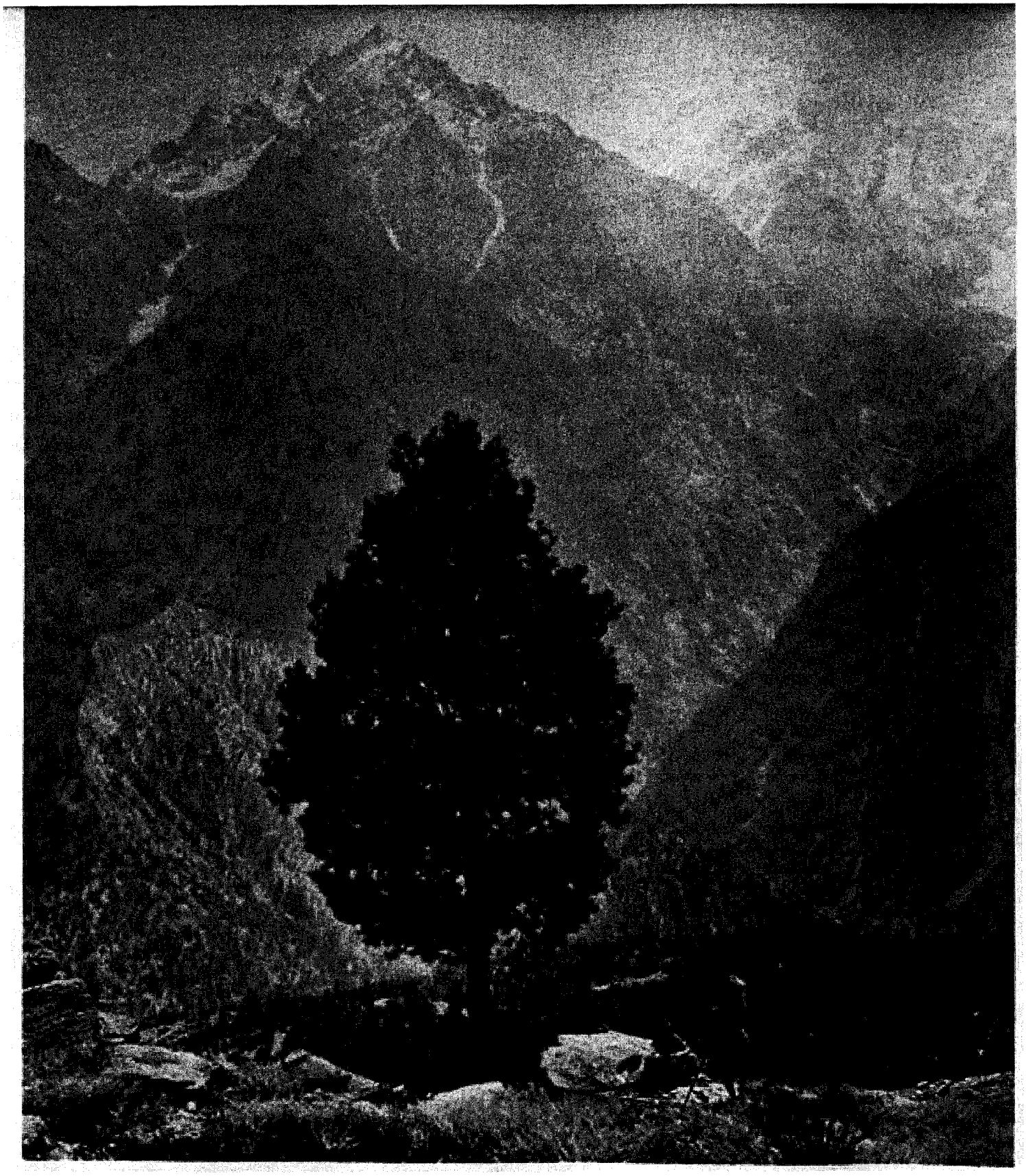

Photo 3.1.79. *Specimen of the Edible Pine*
Woswick's

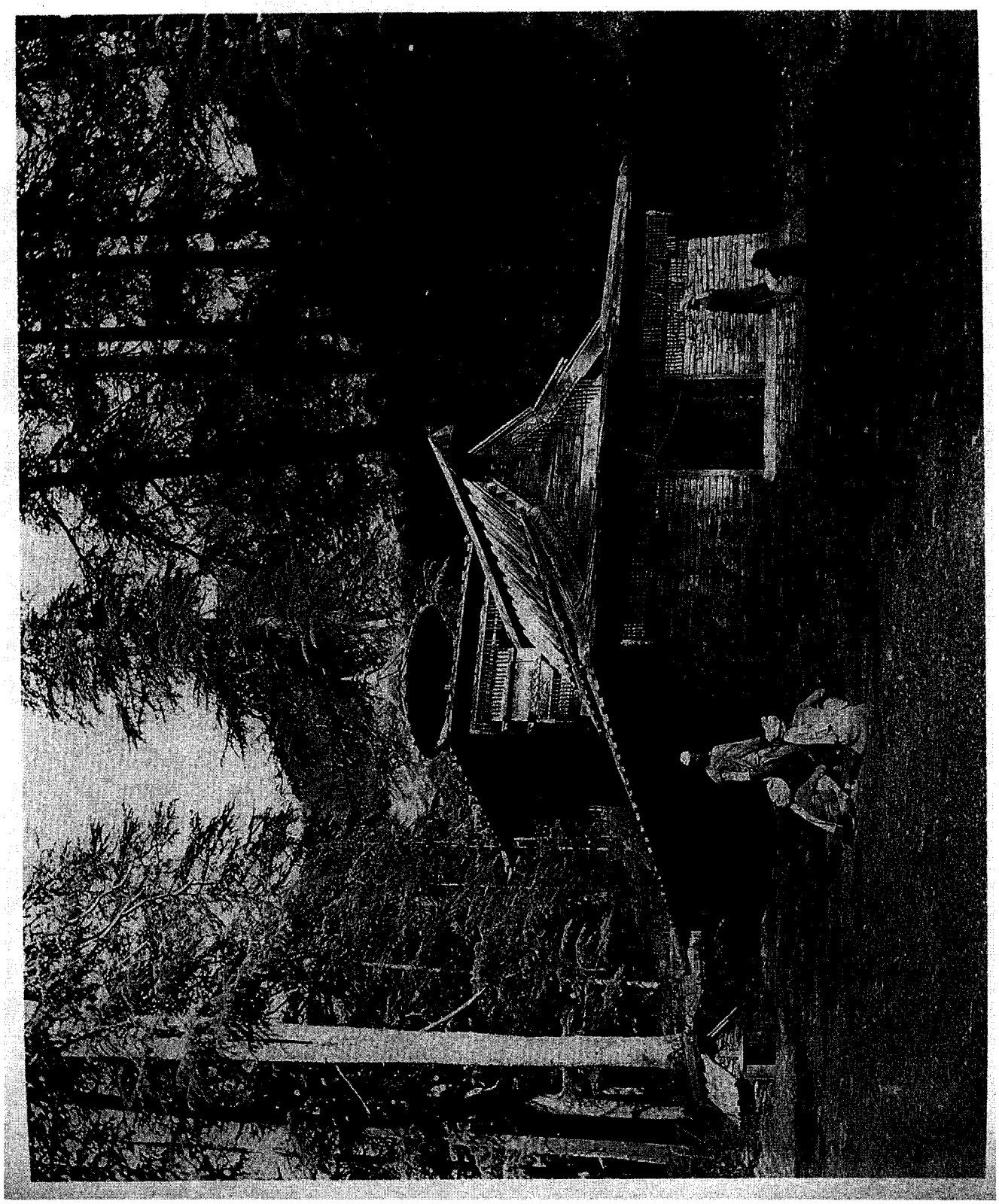

Photo 3.1.80. *Temple near waterfall, Simla*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

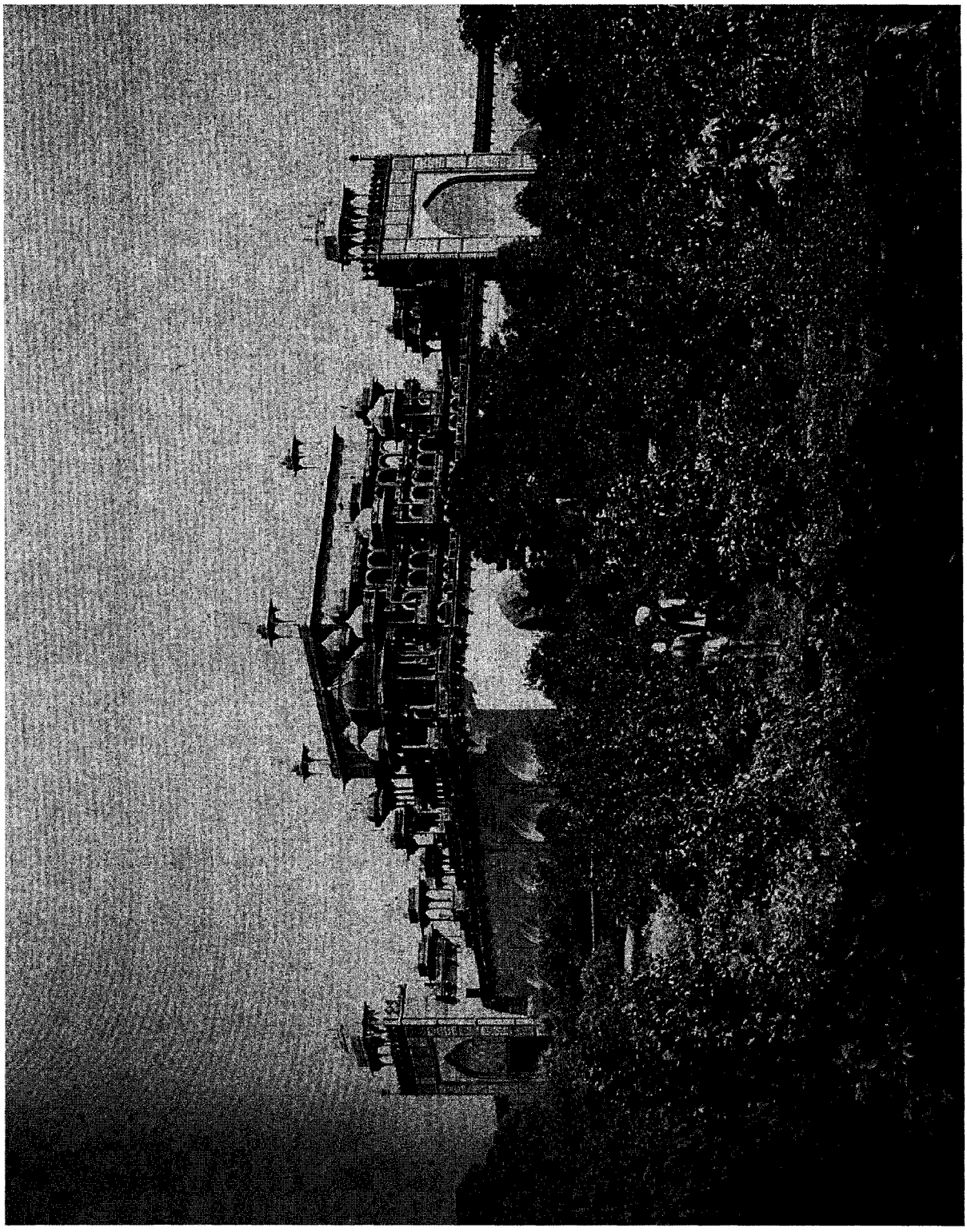

Photo 3.1.81. *Mausoleum of Akbar, Sikandra*
Smithsonian Institution

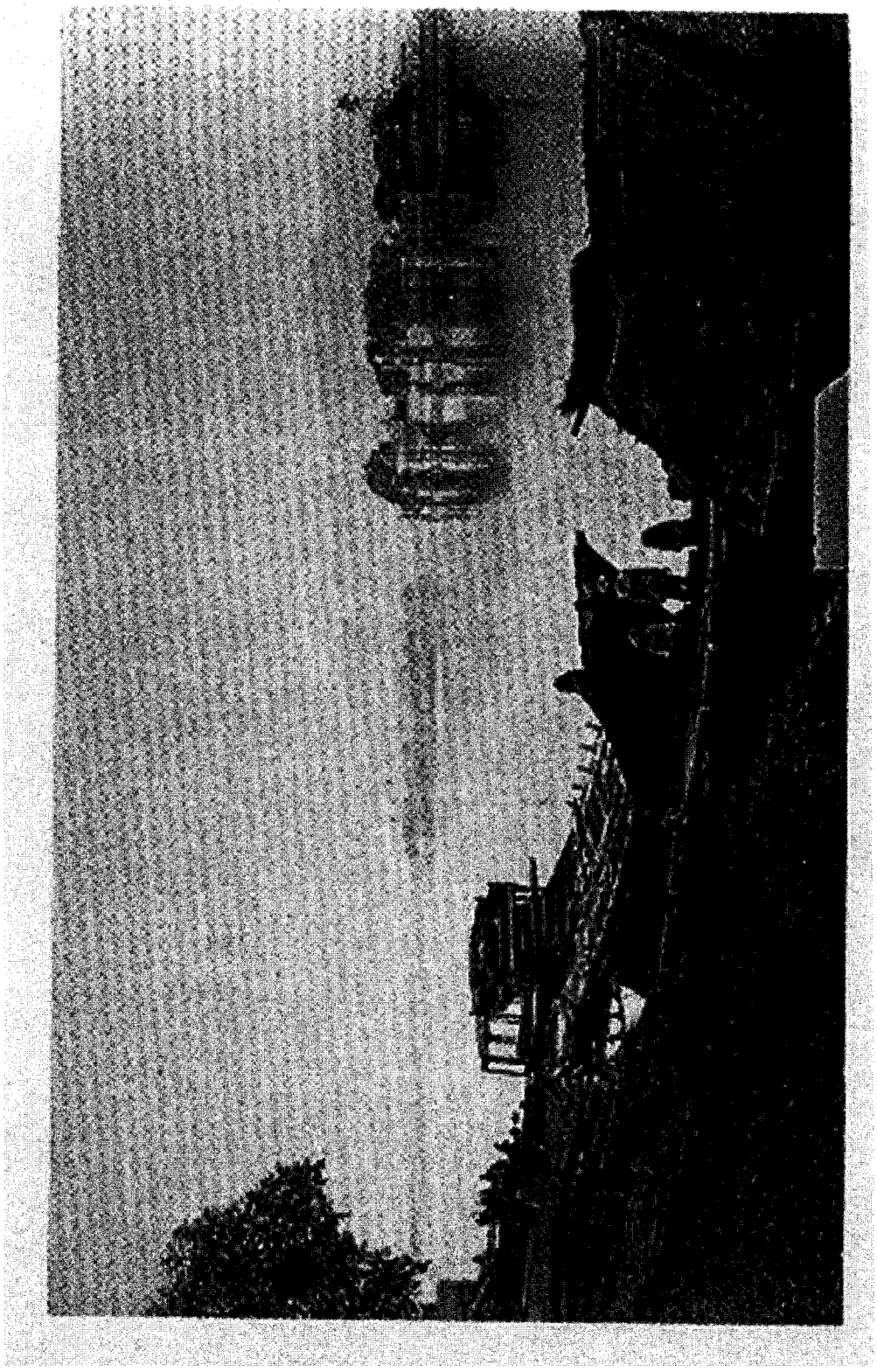

Photo 3.2.1. *The water Palaces at Udaipur*
Colin Murray for Bourne & Shepherd
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

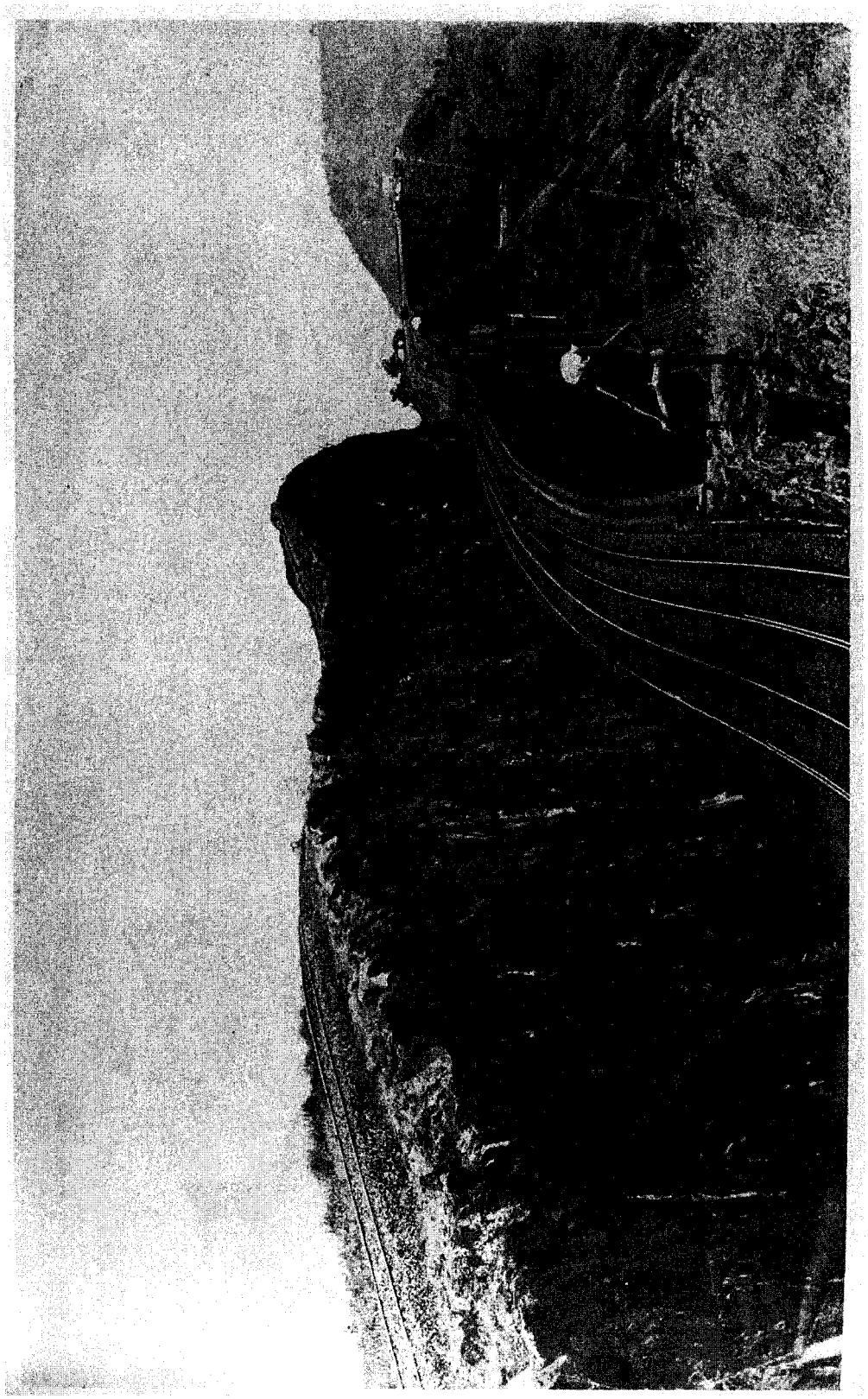

Photo 3.2.2. *Reversing station on the Bhore Ghat Incline*
Howard and Jane Ricketts Collection

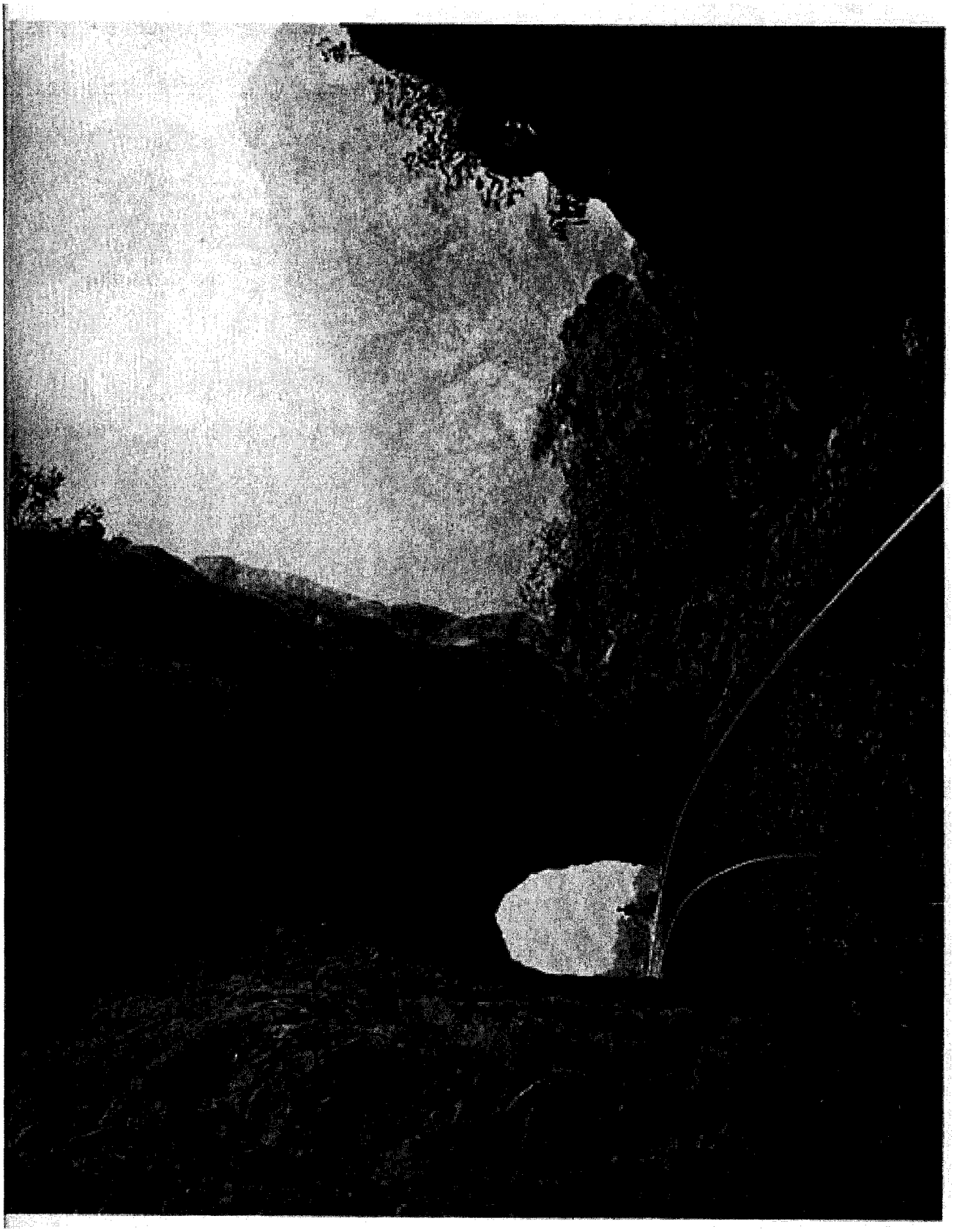

Photo 3.2.3. *View on the Ceylon Railway Incline*
Woswick's

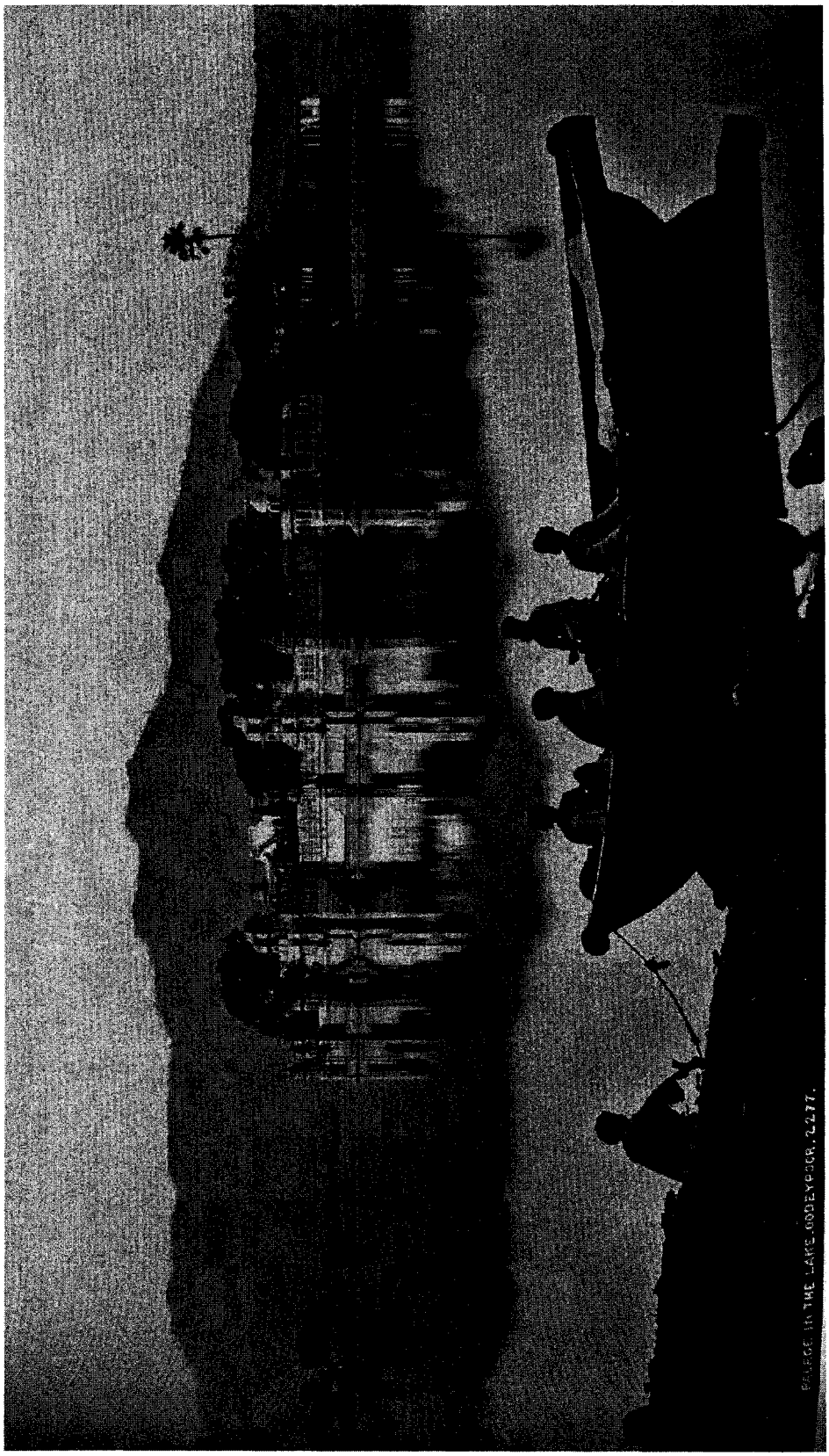

Photo 3.2.4. *Palace in the Lake Godeypoor*
Dehejia's

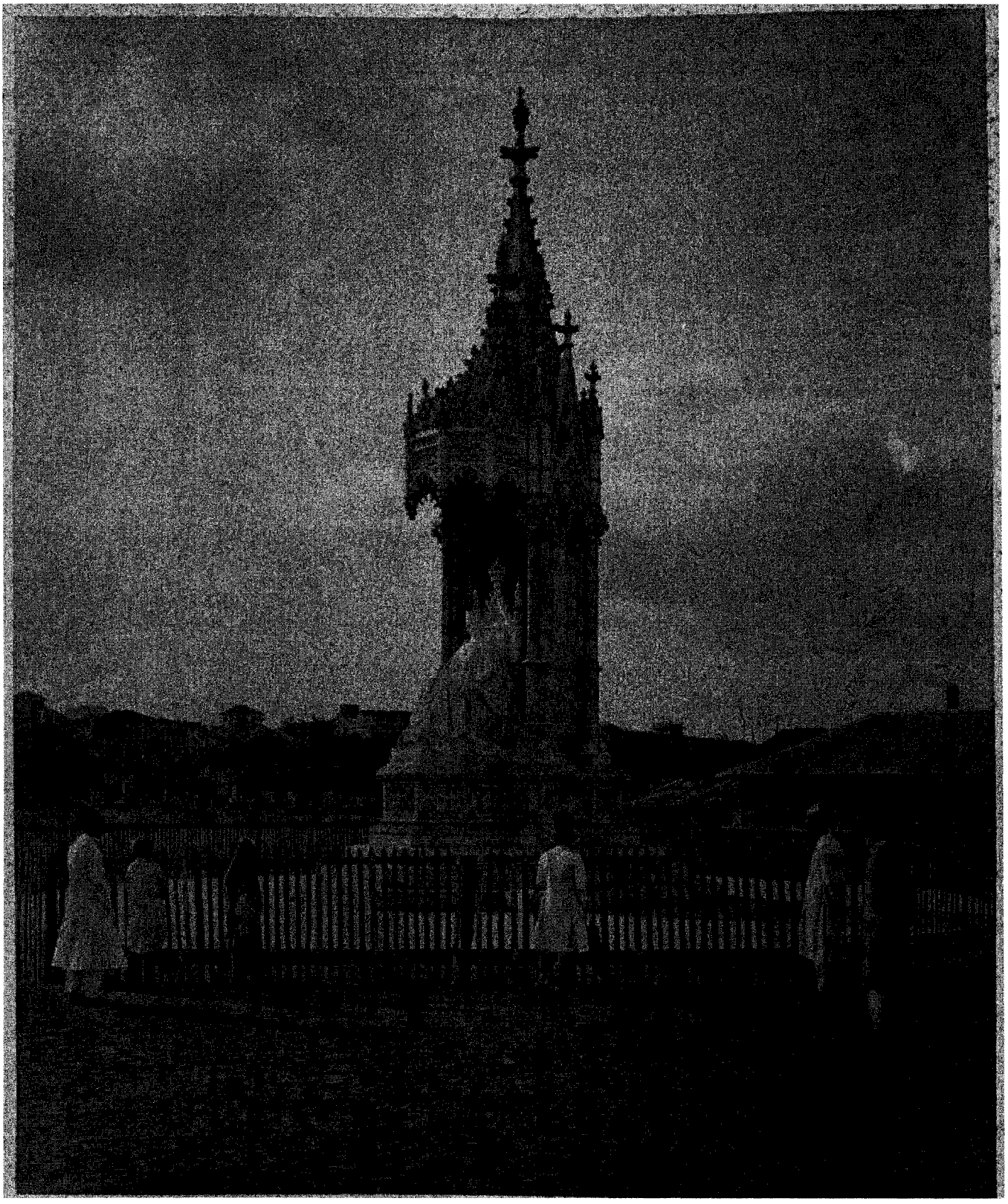

Photo 3.2.5. *Statue of the Queen, Bombay*
British Library

SAMUEL BOURNE AND INDIAN NATIVES
AESTHETICS, EXOTICISM, AND IMPERIALISM

XAVIER GUEGAN

PhD

Three Volumes
[Volume Three]

2009

Samuel Bourne and Indian Natives
Aesthetics, exoticism, and imperialism

Xavier Guégan

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment
of the requirements of the
University of Northumbria at Newcastle
for the degree of
Doctor of Philosophy

Research undertaken in the
School of Arts and Social Sciences

Three Volumes
[Volume Three]

March 2009

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Map 3: North-West of India

Map 4: West-Himalayas

Map 5: South of India

Achabul or Achabal or Achibul or Achabool (Cashmere) 3

Agora 3

Agra 2

Ajanta and Ellora 5

Allahabad 4

Ambala or Amballa or Umballa 3

Amritsar or Umristar 2 3

Annandale (near Simla) 3

Avalanche (Nilgiri) 5

Baijnath (Kangra District) 3

Bajoura 3

Balain or Balayn Pass 3

Banyan 2

Baramula or Baramulla (Cashmere) 3

Barrackpore 4

Barung 3

Beas river and valley (near Simla) 3

Benares 4

Bengal 4

Bhairam Ghati or Bhairamghati or Bhaironghati or Bharronghati (channel of the Ganges) 3

Bharatpoor or Bhurtpore or Bharatpur 2

Bheem Tal or Bhimtal Lake 3

Bhooteas and Nepalese peoples (certainly near Darjeeling) 4

Bij Bihara or Bijbehara (near Jhelum) 3

Bindrabun or Bindrabund or Brindaban or Vrindavan 2

Boileaugunge (road in Simla) 3

Bombay 5

Bunderpoonch 3

Buspa or Baspa Valley 3

Calcutta 4

Cawnpore or Kanpur 4

Chandra River 3

Chenab trees (Cashmere – certainly not far from Singpur) 3

Chini or Chinji 3

Chitkul 3

Chumba or Chamba (Cashmere) 3

Dal or Dhul Canal and Lake (Cashmere) 3

Dalhousie (Punjab) 3

Darjeeling 4

Deeg or Deg or Dig 2

Delhi 2

Deodars (not a place but tall cedars native to the Himalaya Mountains) 3

Dhurmsal(l)a or Dharmshala or Dharamsala (Punjab) 3

Diwali (on the Ganges, is not a place but the Hindu festival of Light often taking place at Benares (Varanasi)) 4

Dunkar Fort 3

Fatahpur Sikri or Fatehpur Sikri or Futtypore Sikree or Futtehpore Sikri 2

Gagangair or Gugangair (Sind Valley) 3

Ganges, the source of 2 3

Gangootri or Gangotri village and glacier 3

Glen (near Kôt – Kulu Valley) 3

Gobardhan or Govendhun or Goverdhum or Goverdhan 2

Gwalior 2

Hamta Pass 3

Hardwar or Hurdwan 2 3

Islamabad 2 3

Iverarm (near Simla) 3

Jakko (near Simla) 3

Jamnotri or Jumnotri (peak) (near source of Jumna – near the village Agora) 3

Jhelum river (near Srinagar) 3

Jubbulpore or Jabalpur 5

Jumna 2 3 4

Kangra 3

Ki, village (Spiti) 3

Kishtwar 3

Kulu or Kooloo (the Beas Valley) 3

Kutub (Famous Minar near Delhi) 2

Lahore 2 3

Lansdowne 3

Landour 3

Lebong 4

Lipi, village (Spiti Valley) 3

Lohagarh Fort (Bharatpur) 2

Losar 3

Lucknow 4

Madras 5

Mahabaleshwar 5

Mahassoo or Mahasu (near Simla) 3

Mandoo or Mandu 5

Manipur 4

Manirung or Monirang Pass (Tibet) 3

Manus Bul Lake or Manasbal Lake, Cashmere (near Srinagar) 3

Marqual Canal (in Srinagar) 3

Martand or Martund (Cashmere) 3

Mashobra (near Simla) 3

Meribul Pass (Singpur) 3

Mount Moira (from the Gangotri or Gangootri Glacier) 3

Munglaor 3

Murree or Marree (Punjab) 3

Mussoorie 3

Muttra or Mathura 2

Narkunda 3

Neela or Nila Pass 3

Nerbudda or Narbada or Narmada River 5

Noushera or Nowshera (Cashmere) 3

Nynee Tal or Naini Tal 3

Oaks (near Simla) 3

Ootacamund (Ooty – Nilgiri) 5

Pangi or Pongi (Punjab Hills) 3

Peermund (Nilgiri) 5

Peterhoff (area in Simla) 3

Prini (Kulu) 3

Pykara (Nilgiri) 5

Rajpootana (district which goes from Agra to the limits of the Bhopal State) 2

Ramnagar 3

Rampur or Pampur 3

Ravee or Ravi valley and river 3

Rogi 3

Roorkee 3

Sabathoo or Sabathu or Subathoo 3

Sambur (Nilgiri) 5

Sanawur 3

Sarahan or Serahan (on the Great Tibetan Road) 3

Sarnath 4

Satluj 3

Scinde or Sind or Sindh (Indus) River and Valley (Cashmere) 2 3

Sekandra or Secundra Bagh (in Lucknow) 4

Shalimar Gardens (next to Srinagar) 3

Shillong 4

Shingri Glacier and Range, and Chandra River 3

Sikandra or Sikangra 2

Simla or Shimla 2 3

Singhpur or Singpore or Singpur 3

Sona-moorg or Sonamurg or Sonamarg (Sind Valley – Cashmere) 3

Sootlej or Sutlej river 3

Sopur 3

Spitti or Spiti (at Kioto, Kangra District, Punjab Hills and Upper Sutlej Valley, borders of Tibet) 3

Srinuggur or Srinagar or Sirinugur 2 3

Srirangam 5

Sungla (source of Baspa Valley) 3

Sunam or Sungnam 3

Tanjore 5

Tannin or Tanin 3

Tibet Road 3

Toda Munds (Nilgiri) 5

Trichinopoly 5

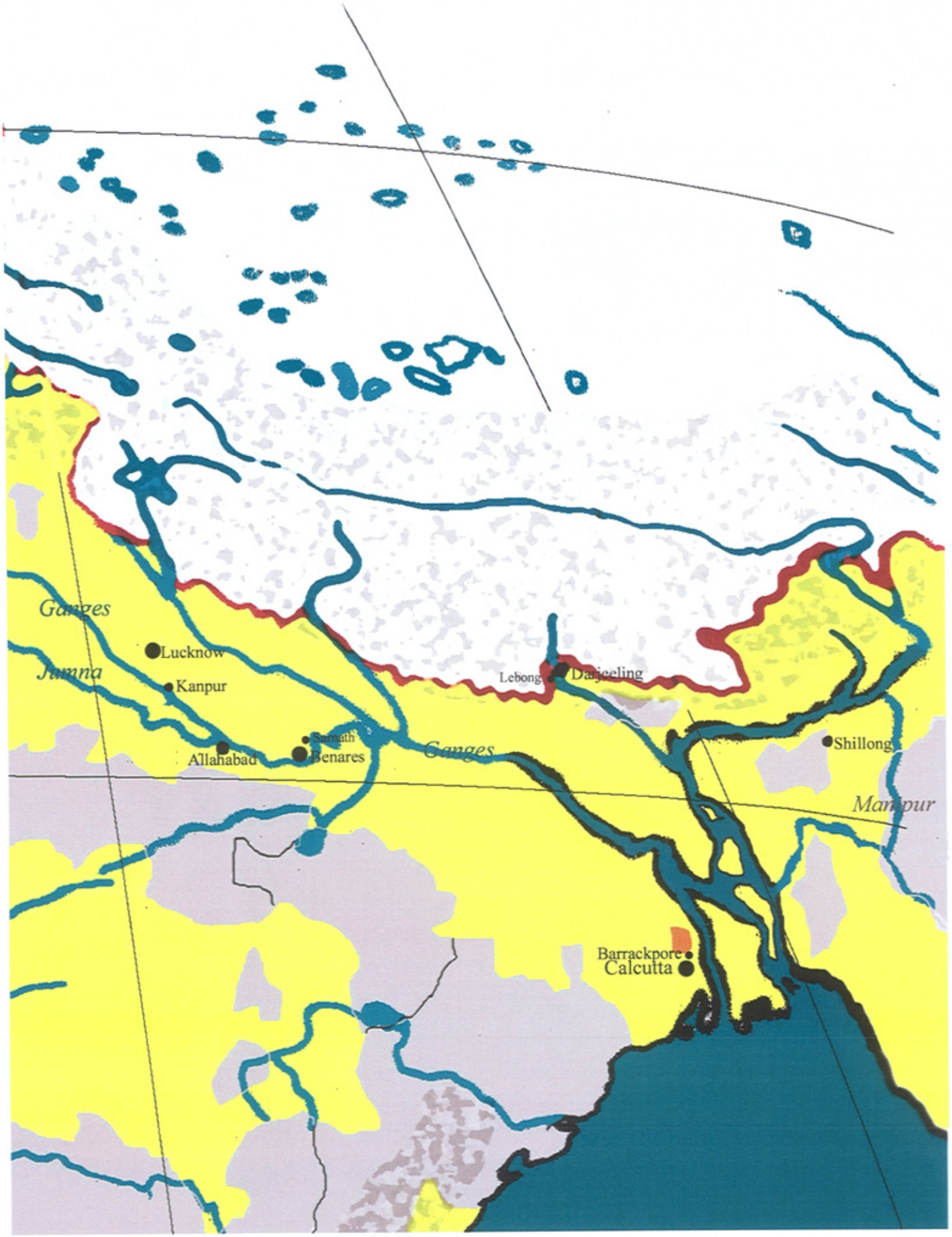
Varnag or Verinag or Vernag (source of Jhelum) 3

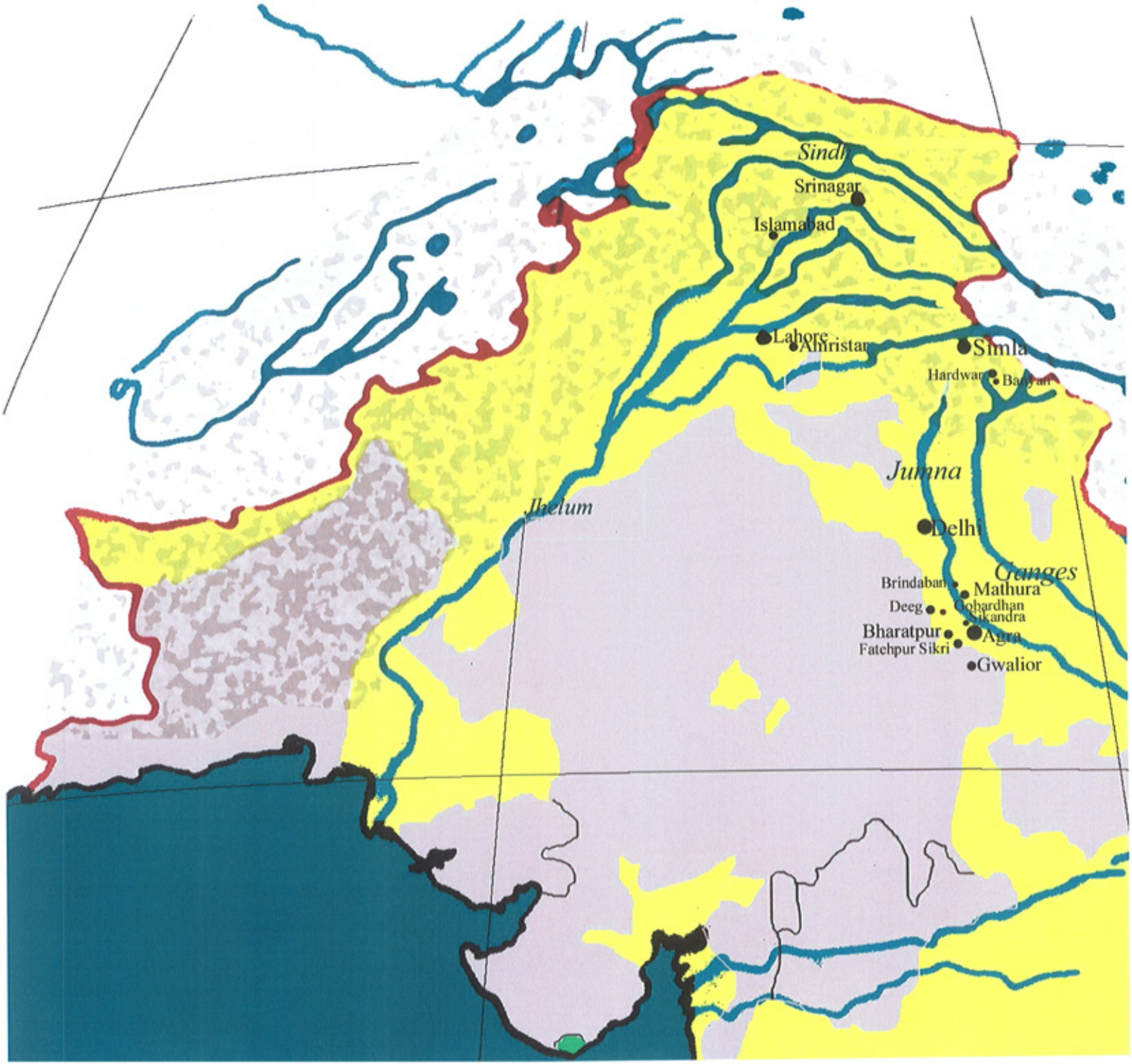
Wanga or Wanja Valley (near Simla) 3

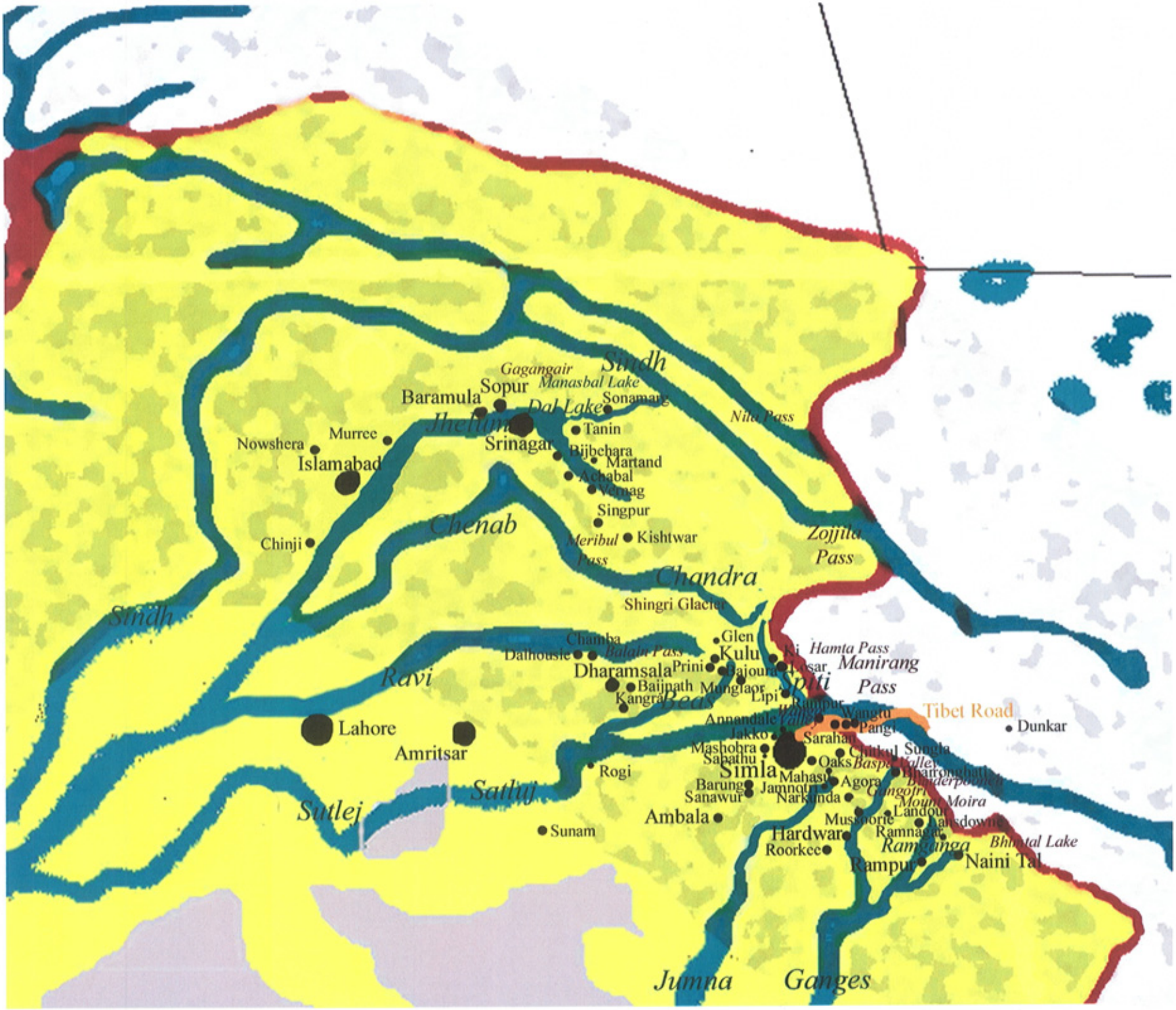
Wangtu 3

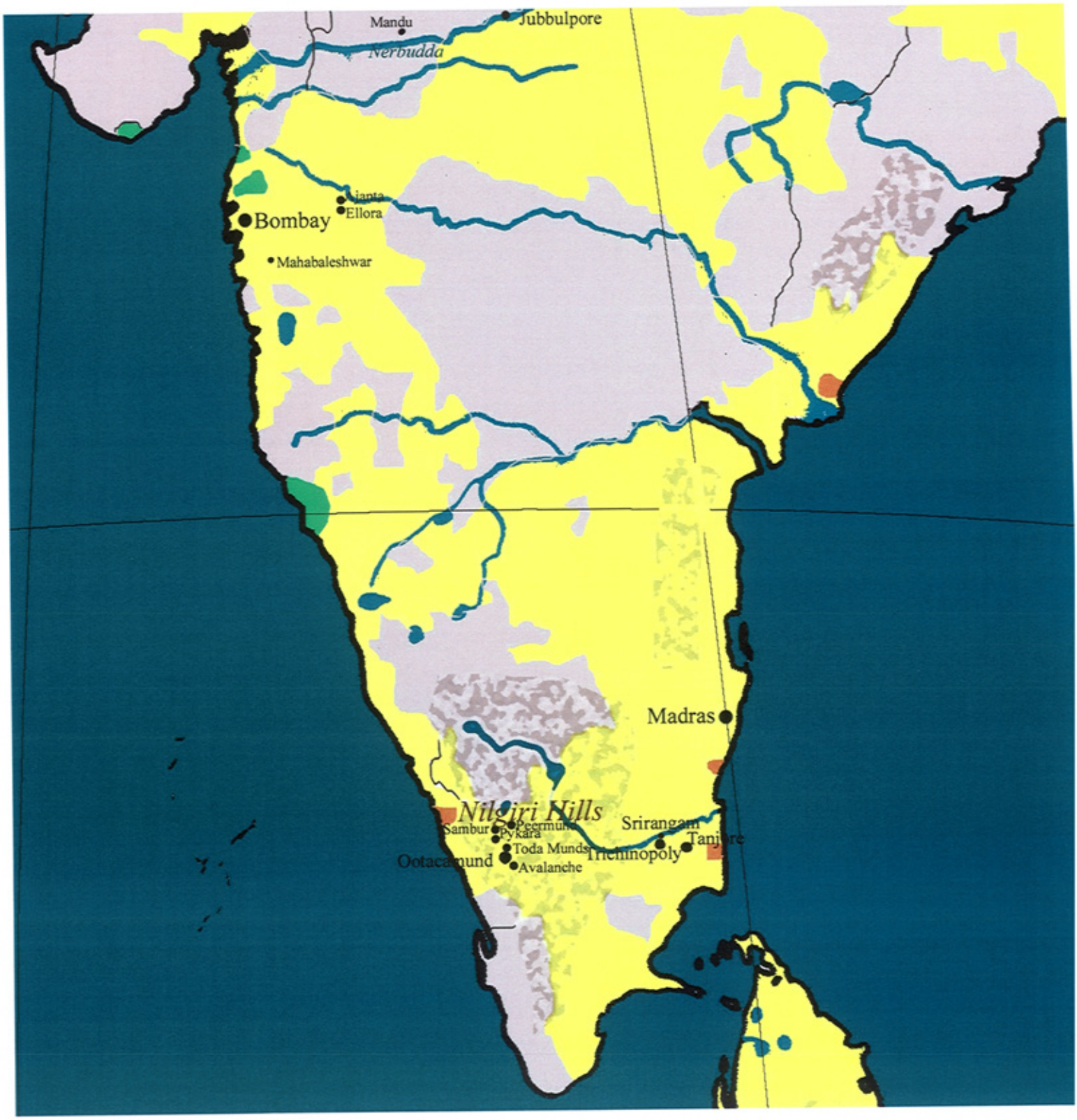
Zojjila Pass or Zojji-la Pass (Scinde Valley – border of Tibet) 3

Geographical and Political India and the Main Cities where Bourne was during the 1860s


Ganges
Jumna
Lucknow
Kanpur
Allahabad
Sarnath
Benares
Ganges
Lebong
Darjeeling
Shillong
Manipur
Barrackpore
Calcutta


Sindh
Srinagar
Islamabad
Lahore
Amristar
Simla
Hardwar
Badyan
Jumna
Jhelum
Delhi
Ganges
Brindaban
Mathura
Deeg
Gohardhan
Sikandra
Bharatpur
Agra
Fatehpur Sikri
Gwalior


Gagangair
Manasbal Lake
Sindh
Baramula
Sopur
Dal Lake
Sonamarg
Nila Pass
Jhelum
Srinagar
Tanin
Murree
Nowshera
Bijbehara
Islamabad
Martand
Achabal
Verinag
Singpur
Chenab
Meribul Pass
Kishtwar
Chinji
Zojila Pass
Chandra
Shingri Glacier
Sindh
Chamba
Glen
Dalhousie
Balain Pass
Kulu
Hamta Pass
Manirang Pass
Dharamsala
Prini
Tabo
Ravi
Baijnath
Munglaor
Lipi
Spiti
Kangra
Beas
Rampur
Wangtu
Tibet Road
Annandale
Pangi
Dunkar
Lahore
Jakko
Sarahan
Amritsar
Mashobra
Chitkul
Sungla
Sapathu
Oaks
Simla
Rogi
Mahasu
Agora
Satluj
Barung
Jamnotri
Sanawur
Narkunda
Gangotri
Mount Moira
Sutlej
Ambala
Landour
Mussoorie
Sunam
Ramnagar
Hardwar
Bhimtal Lake
Ramganga
Roorkee
Rampur
Naini Tal
Jumna
Ganges


Mandu
Jubbulpore
Nerbudda
Ajanta
Ellora
Bombay
Mahabaleshwar
Madras
Nilgiri Hills
Sambur
Pykara
Toda Munds
Ootacamund
Avalanche
Srirangam
Tanjore
Trichinopoly

Appendix C: Samuel Bourne's Articles

MR. FOTHERGILL'S DRY PROCESS.

(From *The Times*, Tuesday 13th July, 1858.)

PHOTOGRAPHY.

To the Editor of The Times.

Sir,—As you have already conferred a great boon on the photographic public by publishing in *The Times* the beautiful process discovered by Mr. Fothergill for preserving the sensitiveness of collodion plates, perhaps you will also, for the benefit of those who are anxious to know how it answers in other hands, publish a few facts in recommendation of it.

In the beginning of June I prepared a large number of plates 10 by 8, transported them two hundred miles, exposed them in the hot weather during the latter part of the month, and developed them at home this week (five weeks *after* preparation). Out of forty-one plates exposed I have thirty-seven first-class negatives; the few failures were owing to accidents of exposure, and not at all to the process. This, I think will be admitted, was a fair trial, and speaks well for its keeping properties, while the quality of the negatives equal any I have seen taken on fresh collodion—far surpassing in softness and delicacy those taken by the collodio-albumen process.

The thanks of all who take an interest in this beautiful art are due to Mr. Fothergill for his valuable communication, for, after trying all the methods which have been published, I have no hesitation in pronouncing this in every respect superior to them all. I may just remark that the chief points to be attended to in the manipulation are an uniform collodion film, thoroughly washing off the albumen, and allowing the plates to become quite dry before storing away in the dark box.

If these remarks should induce amateurs who are perplexed as to which of the many keeping processes to adopt, or those who have been, like myself, so repeatedly annoyed by the numerous failures attending most of those previously published, to give this process a trial, my object for thus trespassing on your valuable space will be achieved.

I have the honour to be, yours respectfully,

Bank, Nottingham, July 10. S. BOURNE.

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. L. BOURNE.

IN his preliminary observations, Mr. Bourne remarked that he had nothing very new or abstruse to offer, and that his remarks were addressed rather to the novice in the photographic art than to the adept. Although the Society had been established a year and a half, this was the first meeting at which a paper had been read, or at which the art of photography was discussed; consequently, the Society is yet young in photographic experience. Under these circumstances he thought it would be out of place to bring forward anything that required a considerable amount of photographic experience to understand, and as the committee wished him to make his paper popular as well as practical, he thought he should best carry out their wishes by selecting a subject which, while it should be second to none in importance, would yet be suitable for a first paper, and capable of being understood by all; useful and acceptable to a mixed audience, composed of photographers and non-photographers. Mr. Bourne then continued:—

It may serve to elucidate the subject if I divide it into two parts, viz.—the photographer, and his materials,—and consider what conditions are requisite in both.

To begin with the photographer. A person totally unacquainted with the elementary principles and *modus operandi* of photography, while he might have some vague and indistinct notions of its being a wonderful and mysterious art, would yet estimate very slightly the requirements of its followers, were he to form his opinion from his personal knowledge of some of its professors, and from the productions they so generously displayed to the public. An individual who should contemplate "those abominable distortions of humanity" and nature which he finds conspicuously dangling in smutty cases in every street and alley of our large towns, would certainly find but little difficulty in coming to the conclusion that photography was an art capable of giving nothing but wretched caricatures of "the human face divine," and that nothing was required of its professed followers but total ignorance of all knowledge of art, and an absolute want of taste.

Photography being a *novel* discovery, and the rapidity and cheapness with which these so-called likenesses could be produced, the public, seized, as it were, by a portrait mania, bestowed upon the new art a patronage unparalleled in the history of any other discovery; so that at the present time there is, perhaps, not a house in the kingdom in which its productions cannot be found. This great popularity induced numbers to rush into—what shall I call it?—the profession? whose previous training had been anything but what we should imagine an artist would require; hence the uncouth nature of many of its productions.

But this great popularity also gave rise to another evil. It produced in the minds of some a fear lest it should overturn some time-honoured institutions already existing; and as a great outcry is always raised in such cases, photography formed no exception to that class of grand discoveries on which abuse and odium have at first been heaped by those persons whose interests they most closely disturbed. Artists of every class have stigmatised it as a purely mechanical art, and as unworthy to approach even the threshold of their own exalted and mysterious domain. From an innate dread lest the high and sacred province of art, in which it was their peculiar prerogative to move, should be desecrated by unhallowed and unconsecrated footsteps, and

* Read before the Nottingham Photographic Society, Jan. 31, 1860.

from a dreadful alarm lest its sacred mysteries should become the property of a vulgar populace and unsanctified hands, and produce something which an unrefined public might consider equal to their own mysterious creations, they have exerted all their energies, and tried every means to separate it as far as possible from the frontier of the high region over which they are pleased to consider Heaven has called them to preside. I shall not stop now to consider how much of this alarm is unfounded, or whether this purely "mechanical invention" is deserving a higher place than artists are willing to assign it. I am content to let it fight its own way, and commit its interests to the common sense and impartial judgment of mankind, in the confident assurance that whatever merits it may possess will ultimately find their proper level.

Perhaps you will consider this a digression from my subject, but I think it has an important connection with it. Photographers will see that if the art which they so much admire is to rise superior to the hostile criticism of those who are jealous of its growing popularity, and if it is to wipe off the disgrace which has hitherto justly attached to it, they are the parties on whom the important task devolves, and they must show themselves equal to it by cultivating those peculiar qualifications which shall enable them to produce works which artists shall not only fail to condemn, but which they must of necessity admire.

What, then, are these qualifications? In the first place, no photographer will ever travel very far in the pathway of success, unless he devotes to the pursuit of his art a considerable sacrifice of time, and no small amount of hard and laborious exertion. However easy a matter the taking of a photograph may appear to some, those who have had a tolerable degree of experience in it know that it is not such a very easy matter, after all. These pictures, unlike those produced by pencil or brush, are not obtained by taking your portfolio of drawing-paper, and seating yourself comfortably in the cooling shade of some overhanging tree for a few hours on a delicious summer afternoon, and which a few finishing touches in your own study at home are all that is necessary to complete. No; to produce a finished photograph, which shall charm every beholder by its inimitable beauty and absolute perfection, a far different class of operations is demanded.

Many a long and weary hour must be spent in mastering the theory of those subtle chemicals by whose magic properties, in conjunction with the sun's own pencil, the mysterious result is produced. Many a time must our bones ache with rubbing and polishing to a marvellous degree the surface of the tablet which is to receive the delicate impression;—many a time must we be imprisoned in the dark closet with scarcely a breath of air, inhaling the suffocating odours which load its circumscribed atmosphere, as we proceed by its sickly light to go through again and again the mysterious operations of coating, sensitising, developing, and fixing a plate. And when, with sore and weary feet, we have travelled far over hill and dale, searching for the picturesque, in the broiling heat of a summer's sun, we return home with our burden to commence the long and tedious work of development, many a sigh must we expect to heave as we see, perhaps, the result of our labour in nothing but a mass of dirty stains and patches, with only here and there a perfect bit of the lovely landscape we so much wished to perpetuate. Or, if we wish to make sure of our pictures on the spot, and lug about a huge tent and a score or two of bottles, in addition to what is required for a dry process, the thing absolutely becomes the work of a slave. Great as is my liking for photography, I confess that were I always compelled to adopt the latter expedient when I wanted to take a picture far away from home, my journeys abroad for that purpose would be something like angels' visits—"few and far between." How many photographers could relate pleasing narratives of certain not over-pleasing incidents connected with their pictorial wanderings!—how, being mistaken for a pedlar, they have been told, when about to plant their camera to take a view of some curious old farm-house or uninhabited ruin, that they need not unpack their traps, as there was "nothing wanted;"—how many times they have had to mourn over an upset bath of nitrate of silver, or a collodion bottle from which an ejected stopper has allowed all the precious fluid to escape;—how the perspiration has streamed from them as with lightning rapidity they popped in and out of the suffocating tent;—how some curious bull, anxious to know the contents of the suspicious-looking camera, has playfully employed his horns to lift it up for that purpose; and how they have stood looking on in silent and pensive amazement, while a gust of wind has sent tent, bottles, and camera on a rolling expedition down the mountain's side. Such are a specimen of what every photographer may expect to meet with and undergo, in the ardent pursuit of his favourite study. Those, then, who imagine that photography is nothing more than a pleasant and idle pastime, are likely to find themselves greatly mistaken when they make trial of it. And that class of ease-loving gentlemen who, if photography could be practised in the drawing-room either by the "gin and water" or the "wet" process, would make the best of photographers, will find little in the art suited to their luxurious inclinations (except the expense); and the odious black stains on their white and delicate hands will soon cause them to relinquish it in disgust.

Another indispensable condition of success is *resolute and untiring perseverance*. Perhaps you will think I need not have named this quality, as it is indispensable to the accomplishment of any object. That I am well aware of, but the photographer requires it in a *special degree*. And this is the grand test of the genuine photographer, for, unless he has a real love for the art, and the labour which it involves is a pleasure rather than a task, the thousand and one difficulties he will meet with, and the innumerable failures he is doomed to experience, will be sufficient to quench the hope he once indulged of success, and cause him to give it up in despair.

Those persons who are simply admirers of the art, and unacquainted with its operations, as they contemplate some finished and perfect specimen, enchanted with its wondrous truthfulness and delicate rendering, have little conception of the many baffled attempts, and the long career of well-fought experience, which the artist had to pass through before he could produce the matchless gem. The same may be said of photography as was said of knowledge—"there is no royal road" to its acquirement. It must be by patient and plodding working, step by step, marked ever by close and careful observation, and a keen detection of the causes of failure. For I need not tell those who have had any experience in the art at all, that failures form an overwhelming majority of their earliest and even later efforts, and that both patience and perseverance are often put to the severest test. Perhaps there could not be found a single photographer, who has attained to any degree of proficiency, who has not more than once or twice thrown aside his camera, and resolved, as he emerged from his dark room, the subject of a new disappointment, that he would never enter it again. How often has it happened that, when we made most sure of success, we were the least successful? We have renewed our attempts with the determination to be more careful in every particular, and have met with a similar result. We change the collodion; now we are certain to succeed; no, as far from success as ever. But we will not be beaten; and, like a candidate at an election, are determined to make the silver fly; so we mix a new bath of that material, but, alas! perhaps, like the same candidate, we are disappointed after all. What infernal demon, we are ready to ask, has bewitched the whole concern, and, taking advantage of the dark chamber, sits laughing at our misfortunes? What is up with the collodion? What has got into the bath? What provoking cause persists in smearing our carefully cleaned plates with stains of every shape and size? Whence these showers of stars, comets, and meteoric stones, that sweep across our skies? What *can* be the reason that camera, collodion, and chemicals have all

combined to frustrate our efforts and prevent our success? Some cause or causes for all these annoyances of course there must be; but where they reside, and how to avoid them, can only be ascertained by continued and unwearied efforts on the part of the photographer, and by carefully noticing the peculiar character of every failure; so that, whatever else the photographer may or may not require, he must possess a character opposed to indolence, and largely endowed with a dauntless spirit of perseverance.

(To be continued.)

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. S. BOURNE.

But there is another very important qualification which the photographer must possess, and which is of a kindred character to that just adverted to—viz., a *facility for observing and attending to the smallest particulars, united with a patience that can stop to do everything thoroughly.* I am fully convinced that it is the possession or non-possession of this qualification, which more than anything else constitutes the chief difference between a successful and an unsuccessful photographer. All the various manipulations involved in the production of a perfect photograph, are of such a delicate and peculiar character, that we may consider them in this respect almost unique, and unlike what is required for any other business or profession. Consequently, it not unfrequently happens, that persons who take up photography, apply to it the same *comparatively rough* handling which suffices when engaged in ordinary pursuits. But this sort of treatment will not answer for photography; hence the reason why so many fail, and that without knowing the reason why. The perfect result depends in so great a measure upon the *minute and careful manner* in which every operation is conducted, and success or failure hang so tremblingly on certain apparently trivial and unimportant particulars, that those who have not that calm temperament which such operations require, and whose business habits or impetuous manner prevent them from exercising the necessary amount of patience and caution, are almost certain completely to fail. For instance, a person of this description may think that the glass which is to receive the impression is sufficiently clean, if when he holds it up to the light he can see no stains upon it, whereas it is necessary that it should not only be visibly but chemically clean; or he may think that any ordinary clean cloth will do to wipe it, whereas it requires cloths washed free from every trace of soap, and kept specially for that purpose.

Again, it is not unusual with a photographer of this description, when about to coat a plate, as he lifts the collodion bottle from the shelf for this purpose, unthinkingly to disturb the sediment, or to forget to wipe off the dust, and dry particles of collodion which adhered to its mouth—the consequence of which is, some ugly spot, comet, or blot, or a number of them, which completely spoils the picture, however perfect in other particulars. The condition of the nitrate bath is a matter of the greatest importance, and yet one, perhaps, which is most neglected by those inattentive photographers. If it becomes alkaline even in the smallest degree, every picture is covered with a dense fog or mist; and if it were the portrait of a friend, it would not be very consoling to see him always in a fog. If there is too much acid in it, or if it is deficient in silver, the plates will be extremely insensitive; and our friend's portrait, in this case, will resemble that of a nigger, the general outline, shirt-front, nose, and forehead being all that are visible. A slight *pause*, when lowering the plate in the bath, will leave its effect after fixing in a well-defined straight line across the whole plate. The addition of too much silver to the developing solution will give us to perfection the pictorial effect of "soot and whitewash."

The existence of any one of these apparent trifles is sufficient to determine the character of every picture, and render all our efforts perfectly useless.

Hence, those who overlook or pay no attention to these and many similar particulars, need not be surprised at their want of success, or that their best productions are often deformed by some hideous stain, or other serious defect. I have heard of photographers who have employed one of the servants to prepare their albumen,—the grand agent in

* Continued from vol. iii. p. 238.

preserving their plates,—imagining, I suppose, that what would give effect to some fancy article of cookery, would be equally efficacious in cooking a picture; and *cook* it I have no doubt it would, though, I am afraid, not in a very satisfactory manner. It may be a very pardonable mistake, but a mistake it certainly is. The photographer who succeeds the best, or succeeds at all, is he who detests these slight, but radical, errors, and employs all his diligence and patience to avoid them; who conducts every operation himself, and permits not the slightest circumstance to escape him; and whose whole energy and activity are directed to the attainment of that tact and consummate skill which such careful and delicate operations require.

Once more—and I have done with this part of the subject—the photographer should be a person of taste and artistic perception. As the subject of artistic photography will, I expect, be brought before you by a far abler hand, it will not be necessary for me to dwell long on this point; but, as it forms one of the qualifications of a photographer, and a most important one, it was necessary for me to mention it. A knowledge, at least, of some of the principles and rules of art, is indispensable to any photographer who wishes to be something more than a mere dabbler in the art; for it matters not how skilled he may be in the scientific and manipulatory departments—if he is totally ignorant of what constitutes an artistic picture, he will never produce anything, except by mere accident, which will have any charms for persons superior in this respect to himself. I do not think it requisite, as some would seem to imply, that the photographer should be a trained artist, though, of course (as the gentleman said, when speaking of the many excellent virtues of his wife, who possessed, in addition, a considerable fortune, that the latter made her none the *worse*), he will be none the worse if he is one. I think it quite possible for a person possessing an artistic eye, and a knowledge of the general principles of composition, light and shadow, perspective, &c.—though he may not be able to sketch a landscape or paint a picture—to produce a photograph that shall likewise be a *picture* in every sense of the word. It may want, perhaps—nay, it certainly *will* want—those adventitious embellishments which are rarely found in nature, but which artists are wont to employ to adorn their drawings and paintings; but this, of course, the photographer cannot supply.

A photograph is simply the reflection of nature, and while everything that exists in nature (meaning, of course, in any particular view) is represented with absolute fidelity and precision, that which does not exist cannot, of course, be represented. Whether or not, by the rules of just and severe criticism, this is a defect in photography, is a question for artists to decide.

There should, however, be some allowance made for it when photographs are judged by the same principles as paintings. The photographer is bound to simple truth—happily, that is an important, if not the all important, principle in representation—he can neither add anything to adorn his picture, nor remove from it anything that is offensive, both of which privileges are in the power of the artist, and also his acknowledged rights. Hence it follows that if an artist and photographer should both select the same identical spot, as being the best possible point of view from which to depict a certain landscape, and should both take it when in the best position as regards light and shade, the two delineations may widely differ, some objects appearing in the painting which are not in the photograph, and others left out of the painting which are given in the photograph—the one sacrificing absolute fidelity to pictorial effect, the other appearing as the exact transcript of nature. The consequence of this may be that one picture shall be extolled as a meritorious production, while the other, though selected with equal judgment, and being a more truthful delineation of the scene, shall be condemned as a flat, unartistic production, casting a sad reflection on the poor unfortunate photographer.

But I am running away from my subject. Photographers should strive at any rate to make the most of what is in their power, and though they may not be able to satisfy the requirements of a scrupulous, not to say fastidious taste, they should endeavour to approach as near *perfection* as possible. So many difficulties are presented in the chemical and manipulative departments of his art, that the young photographer in his eager desire to master these, very frequently pays no attention to the artistic properties of his pictures, and is totally indifferent, if the photograph be perfect, whether the picture be a flaming red brick house in which he can count every brick, or an ivy covered ruin, "grey with antiquity," and "hoary with the years of time."

Such, I freely confess, was the case with myself, as those of you who have seen my earlier productions will not dispute. But I learned, and that at some cost, that what once pleased myself was far from giving pleasure to others; so having in some degree mastered the difficulties of manipulation, my ambition spurred me on to attempt to produce pictures which should be as much admired for their artistic qualities, as for their excellence viewed in a purely photographic light. How far I have hitherto succeeded in the attempt, you will have an opportunity of judging from the specimens on the table.

(*To be continued.*)

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. S. BOURNE.

HAVING, therefore, considered the more prominent qualifications a photograph should possess, I must hasten to the remaining and more practical part of my subject, viz., the materials required. I have thought the best way of dealing with this part of the subject would be to deviate slightly from the apparent course, and instead of treating abstractly of the different chemicals required, and describing the various forms of apparatus which the photographer has to use, to take a more practical course, and confine myself to one special department and process, going briefly through its different operations, noticing, as I pass along, the apparatus required, and the kind which, according to my judgment, is best adapted to it. This course I thought would be more useful to those, if there should be any present, who were thinking of devoting some of their leisure time during the coming summer to the sensible, pleasant, and rational enjoyment which photography affords.

What I have to say, then, will have special reference to *landscape* photography by the "Fothergill dry process." Portrait photography is the especial department of *professionals*, and, by describing what is necessary for a *dry* process, I not only encompass all that is required for the *wet*, but something more; and I have selected the "Fothergill process," not only because I am more familiar with it, but because, in the hands of amateurs generally, it gives results quite equal to any other process, with manipulation less complex than most of them require.

In selecting a camera and lens, considerable judgment is required, as, if these are of inferior quality, imperfect in construction, or not adapted to our purpose, the difficulties we shall have to encounter in our progress will be considerably increased. In a camera the chief points to be considered, next to accuracy of construction (for which we must rely on the reputation of some well-known house), are durability and portability. Though many excellent cameras are now in the market, there are none, to my knowledge, which better fulfil

* Continued from vol. iii. p. 309.

these conditions than the sliding and folding cameras manufactured by Ottewill and Co., of Islington. The prices are rather high, but the workmanship is excellent in every particular. As regards the size, every amateur of course will be guided by his pocket, and the opportunities and facilities he possesses for *practising* the art. Many confine themselves to taking stereographs; but those who aim at larger, if not greater things, will find from 8 × 6 to 12 × 10 inches, useful sizes. If the latter size is exceeded, the photographer must expect a large increase of cost, both in the original purchase of apparatus and in the after working, as well as increased difficulties in manipulation.

But, if an amateur is equal to these, I would say by all means take pictures as large as you can, for I can well imagine no photographer would grudge either trouble or expense when he develops a picture, perfect and beautiful, of some noble Gothic cathedral, or lovely landscape, of dimensions similar to some we see hanging in these rooms. Imagine the pleasure Mr. Fenton must have experienced when he developed those noble pictures of his which have rendered his name so famous, and placed him foremost in the art.

In choosing a lens, the beginner will be puzzled by the many different kinds, each purporting to be the best, now advertised in the journals. The manufacture of lenses for photographic purposes has lately received such attention from our leading opticians, and, in consequence, so many excellent ones have been brought out, that it becomes a matter of considerable difficulty to determine which maker's are the best. I don't think the purchaser can be very far wrong in any of them, providing he obtains that specially adapted for the particular purpose for which he requires it. But, as it is unreasonable to expect one kind of lens to answer equally well for all purposes, the photographer should provide himself with at least two—I do not mean one for portraits and one for landscapes, as I am not now dealing with portraits—but one for general landscape work, and one for architecture. That adapted for the latter should embrace a large angle of view, and give straight marginal lines, such as the new "periscopic" lens of Goddard, or the "orthoscopic" of Ross or Petzval. For general landscape work, I think none surpasses the old single achromatic form. When *two* are used, it is a great convenience to have them mounted so that both will fit the same screw, as we can then adapt either indiscriminately, without moving the front of the camera. In taking stereoscopic views, also, two cameras should be provided, or one camera which admits of either one or a pair of lenses being used, as the subject may require.

It may be as well to remark here, that, when an amateur resolves to try a certain process, he should pursue a firm and steadfast course, and stick to it until he has thoroughly mastered it, and not be continually changing—trying every new process or modification which the restless brain of some photographers are constantly putting forth. Those who are always changing their process and their collodion seldom succeed, because, before they have given one a fair trial, they are off to something else. When a photographer has thoroughly mastered any one of them, and can produce good results thereby, then, if he thinks it complex, or it fails to satisfy him, he may try another which appears more simple, and offers superior advantages. I have already stated that, in my estimation, founded on a practical acquaintance with several of the leading dry processes, there are none so simple and none more certain than the "Fothergill," which I will now briefly describe, according to the method I have adopted myself.

(*To be continued.*)

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. S. BOURNE.

CAMERA, lens, and tripod having been selected with judicious care, and a stock of chemicals purchased, the first operation is cleaning the plate. This, as I have previously stated, requires to be done thoroughly, or no end of stains will be the consequence. The simplest plan I know is to rub the plates well with a mixture of equal parts of ammonia and spirits of wine, rendered about the consistency of cream with tripoli powder, and when dry wipe them with cloths such as I have before described, finally polishing with a clean wash leather. This method is very effective, and no water is required, which, in cold weather, is an advantage.

The glasses should be cleaned just prior to using, because, if put aside for some time, the surfaces contract moisture and deleterious substances, which produce spotted and imperfect pictures. The *collodion* best adapted for this process is one which has been iodised some time, as it then gives a porous and creamy film, and adheres firmly to the glass. If these conditions are present, I do not think it much signifies whose make it is, or what may be the character of its pyroxyline, or the nature of its iodising compounds. It should possess good flowing properties, as, if it is thick and glutinous, it will be impossible to coat a large plate evenly and uniformly. As the proper coating of a plate is an operation of the greatest importance, every facility possible should be called in to assist in effecting it. A pneumatic plate-holder will be found very useful; in fact, large plates cannot be coated successfully without one. In order to avoid specks and lumps in the film, the collodion should be allowed to settle until it is perfectly clear, and then decanted into long 2-oz. bottles, which should be emptied after each operation, and refilled with the clear portion when next wanted for use. This simple precaution will save many an imperfect plate.

Two baths will be required, and the best sort we can have are the solid glass ones recently introduced, it having been

* Continued from vol. iii. p. 329.

proved that gutta percha exercises an injurious influence on the silver solution. One should be filled with distilled or pure rain water; the other with the silver solution. This is composed of 40 grains nitrate of silver to 1 ounce of distilled water, and should be very slightly acid. A new solution requires saturating with iodide of silver, to prevent it from attacking and dissolving the collodion film. This may be done, either by adding a few grains of iodide of potassium to a concentrated solution when preparing it, or by leaving a plate, coated with collodion, in it all night. When two or three dozen plates have been sensitised in a bath, fresh silver must be added to it to keep it up to the proper strength. When a bath has been in use for a considerable time, it frequently gets contaminated with organic impurities, and yields foggy and unsatisfactory pictures. In such a case, it is the wisest and most economical plan to precipitate the silver in the form of a chloride (which we may either sell or reconvert into pure nitrate), and make a new one. Great care should be taken to have it always well filtered.

The plate, having been coated with collodion, should present a film as level and as uniform as the glass itself; for be it remembered that, in this process, every irregularity in the film shows itself in the finished picture—consequently, it detracts so much from its perfection. Having allowed the collodion to set about half a minute, the plate is now to be immersed in the silver bath, with one steady and continuous motion; if a *pause* be made, the defect I have before stated will be the consequence; when it has been in one minute, it should be lifted up and down several times to get rid of the ether; and in from two to four minutes, according to temperature, it must be lifted out, drained, and immersed in the water bath which stands by its side. When the oily appearance is got rid of, which takes about a minute, it must be washed under a tap—over which a piece of muslin has been tied—for three minutes, with a gentle but moderate stream.

You are doubtless aware that Mr. Keene, of Leamington (who is usually considered as an authority in the Fothergill process), recommends a very different washing to this. He has been at considerable trouble to convince us that 4 drachms of water is sufficient, and must not, in fact, be exceeded for a stereoscopic plate; and the same proportion is to be observed for all larger sizes. On what such a proposition is founded, of course I cannot say; but I am certain it is not the result of a practical and extensive acquaintance with the working of it. While such a system might answer for plates intended to be kept only a few hours, or, in cold weather, a few days, I have learned, by a dearly-bought experience, that it will not answer when they are intended to be kept a fortnight or three weeks in hot summer weather. The large amount of free nitrate of silver left in the film rapidly hastens its decomposition, which is manifested by a red appearance over the whole plate as soon as the developer is applied. Mr. Keene has stated, that if a plate is washed, as I have recommended, with an unlimited supply of water, the film becomes so insensitive as to render it totally useless. How far such a statement is worthy of being credited, you will be enabled to judge, when I tell you, that the majority of the pictures in that album were taken on plates prepared precisely in that manner.

But to proceed. When the plate has been washed, it should be drained for about half a minute, then the preservative albumen is to be poured on, letting it run well up to every edge three or four times, and then it must be washed off under a tap as before. Great care must be taken that this is done thoroughly; as, if any surplus albumen is allowed to remain, the film, in those parts, will be partially or wholly insensitive. For this reason, I recommend the washing under a tap in preference to a dish, as you have then the advantage of a running stream. The albumen is made of equal parts of white of egg and distilled water, with the addition of 8 minims of liquor ammoniæ to each ounce; the whole is well beaten into a froth, and allowed to subside, when the clear portion is poured off for use. Some recommend a small piece of camphor to be dropped in to make it keep; but, when the ammonia is added, I do not find this necessary. The albumen should never be used twice, but a fresh portion for each plate. As it is cheap, and easily prepared, this is a matter of no consequence.

When the final washing is completed, the plates should be reared on clean blotting-paper to dry, resting by one corner only, collodion side to the wall. They must, of course, be carefully protected even from candle-light while drying, and by no means must they be stored away in the dark box until they are quite dry. Some recommend heat to be applied, when the surface is dry, to insure absolute dryness of film; but I do not think this advisable, inasmuch as a certain degree of moisture is favourable to sensibility; and as I know the film is sufficiently dry without it, it is not only a needless addition, but positively disadvantageous; it has also a tendency to make the film so hard that the developer has great difficulty in penetrating.

A few words on the dark box in which the plates are carried. This should not be made of common deal, as that wood exercises an injurious effect on the sensitive plates. It should be either japanned tin or mahogany—I prefer the latter—and, to insure complete security from the resinous effects of the wood, the grooves should be twice coated with shellac dissolved in naphtha.

Many ingenious contrivances have been invented for changing the plates after exposure. The one I use is the registered "Dark Box" of Ottewill and Co., which they can adapt to any description of camera. It answers admirably, and twelve or eighteen plates—quite sufficient for one day's exposure—can be transferred to the dark slide of the camera, and back again to the box in full sunshine, without the possibility of light gaining access to the plates. When the photographer is on an excursion, those which have been exposed can, of course, be replaced every night by others from the store-box. Those who do not like to go to the expense of a "dark box" of this description take a black bag, which they slip over their heads and fasten round the waist, having the slide and plate-box inside; but this plan is attended with considerable risk, and is not nearly so convenient.

(To be continued.)

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. S. BOURNE.

AND now the ardent and enthusiastic amateur, having with much labour carefully prepared a good round number of plates, is anxious to start on his excursion. Before doing so, he should carefully examine his apparatus, to see there is nothing missing or out of repair. A good plan is to have a *list* of everything required, big and little, and, by consulting that when packing, he will be sure nothing is omitted.

I have heard of photographers who, when many miles on the road, have suddenly discovered that they have left that "trifle, the *lens*," behind; and it has frequently happened that focussing cloth or dark slide have been quietly resting at home when their presence was required "over the hills far away."

These precautions having been taken, he now, for a fortnight, bids farewell to business, its cares and anxieties, and sets off some bright morning in June or July, brimfull of hope and glad expectation, to visit some region of beauty or romantic grandeur—some famous spot which has long figured before his imagination—the object of his longing desire;—perhaps the wild mountains of Scotland, the picturesque valleys of Wales, or the sylvan "banks of the Wye." As he whirls along towards the scene of his destination, and looks out of the windows, Nature—robed in her most gorgeous dress, and smiling in sunshine—he fancies, is made only to minister to his enjoyments. His heart thrills with intensest pleasure when he remembers the delightful nature of his mission, and the sublime scenes he is about to visit.

Those who have never experienced them can form no conception of the feelings of a genuine photographer when he finds himself surrounded by scenes of beauty or grandeur. If he is a true lover of nature (which every photographer should be), he knows that not only, like the ordinary tourist, can he take his fill of that sublime enthusiasm which a magnificent landscape never fails to kindle in a poetic mind, but he feels that he can transfer to his delicate and mysterious tablets, with absolute truth and unerring pencil, every feature of the grand spectacle spread before him; constituting pictures which will ever possess the magic power of recalling and producing again the same unmingled pleasures he then enjoys, though, perhaps, removed hundreds of miles from the original and enchanting scene. He thus forgets his toil and his previous disappointments, and, resting with full confidence in a more hopeful and triumphant future, pictures to himself the transporting delight he will feel when, in the retirement of his own dim but much-loved apartment, he sees—starting up from the impressed tablets, as if instinct with life—the truthful and delicate images of those lovely and sequestered spots where, far from the busy haunts of men, amidst the tranquil scenes of nature, he has loved to roam and meditate.

There are few pleasures I know of equal to this. Let the frequenter of the ball or the billiard-room boast of enjoyments, and tell of the many happy hours he spends in the company of his merry and jolly companions; or he who thinks man's highest pleasure consists in moving in the gay circles of fashionable life, and frequenting the brilliant gatherings of polished society, dilate on the satisfaction *he* feels when on some occasion, and in some brilliantly-lighted and heated apartment, he takes part in what he is pleased to consider the most exalted and dignified employment (if such it can be called) in which it is possible for a human being to engage. But ask that true-born lover of the beautiful, who has succeeded in training Nature's own pencil to produce a likeness of herself—ask the genuine artist of the sun, when he finds himself face to face with the stupendous and lofty mountains, the rugged and romantic "passes," the lovely and picturesque valleys, the calm and tranquil lake, the verdant meadows and luxuriant woods, and with all the fairest and grandest of Nature's handiworks!—ask him, as he returns from his magnificent wanderings, laden with his precious burden, to his own apartment, to commence the work of bringing to view the latent impressions these scenes have themselves produced—ask him when that work is completed, and he beholds before him a complete panorama, painted by no hand of man, of every spot he has visited, possessing such marvellous truth and power, that he is able to visit them again, and that without the toil;—ask, I say, such a true-born poet and artist whether he would exchange the pleasures which such scenes and such employments afford him, for the more ambitious, yet more gilded and less solid, enjoyments which they seek whose aspirations or footsteps never wander beyond the scenes of revelry, mirth, and fashion. One answer only will he give. "No!" he exclaims; "feeling that the Maker of all things has implanted within me *chords* which the scenes of nature are calculated to wake to serenest and holiest harmonies, I envy not the restless votaries of fashionable indulgence the fickle pleasures of an inglorious career."

If I may be permitted to refer to my own experience, I can truly say that if, in my earlier attempts at photography, I spent many a sad hour and experienced many a bitter disappointment, I have since been amply repaid; and some of the happiest hours of my life have been spent in this fascinating pursuit. I shall not soon forget the pleasure and satisfaction I enjoyed when, in the summer of 1858, I visited that region of beauty and poetical renown—the Lake district of Cumberland and Westmoreland. It was on the 21st of June—such a day as we seldom see in this country, the atmosphere clear and calm, and the sun shining with unclouded brilliancy—that I stood on the walls of Lancaster Castle, and, looking across Morecombe Bay and the valley of the Sund, caught the first glimpse of the blue mountains which formed the scene of my destination. I was in the highest possible spirits, having a large number of plates with me which, I had good reason to hope, would turn out successful pictures, an almost certain prospect of fine weather, and a rich abundance of beautiful subjects, which would shortly crowd upon me. In a few hours, as the day wore on, I found myself rapidly nearing the spot of which I had read so much, and regarding which my expectations were now wound up to the highest pitch. It was half-past seven when I got to Oxenholme junction, from which a branch line carries you down to Windermere station, almost to the shores of the lake. Two or three other tourists were in the same carriage, and none of us could keep our seats, but were all striving to look out of the windows.

The sun was sinking behind the lofty peaks of Langdale,

* Continued from vol. iii. p. 335.

tinging their summits with the gorgeous hues of gold and purple, and filling the valley which intervened with a grand purple gloom, which, bounded by the dark masses of mountains standing out in bold relief against the clear sky, formed a scene of indescribable beauty and magnificence.

In a few minutes our attention was diverted by one of the gentlemen exclaiming, "There's the lake!" and at a considerable distance below us, reposing in tranquil beauty, we beheld for the first time, far-famed Windermere, studded with its little islands, and winding like a river, stretched far into the dim distance, bounded on the farther side by a lofty ridge of "fells," which cast a dark shadow on the unruffled water. A few minutes more, and we arrived at the station, and jumping on the "buss," were soon down at Bowness.

Having secured lodgings, &c., I went to a professional photographer, and begging the use of his dark room, developed two plates I had exposed at Lancaster, both of which turned out completely successful, which put me in better spirits than ever. I afterwards walked down to the margin of the lake; it was now growing dusk, and the calm serenity of the evening, the perfect quietude which reigned around—broken only by the dash of the oars of some boating party returning from a pleasure excursion on the lake, and the music of a flute which, played by one of them, re-echoed among the hills again and again, until it died imperceptibly on the ear—the huge dark forms of the mountains seen across and at the head of the lake—coupled at that moment with the consoling reflection, that for the next few days it was my *sole* business to linger among these scenes, for the purpose of transferring their images to the sensitive plates I had brought with me—altogether made an impression on my mind that will never be obliterated, and which, at the time, almost made me fancy that I was in faëry land, or that it must be a dream from which I should awake in the morning to find the enchantment gone.

However, on the morrow I was not disappointed; my expectations were not only fully realised, but surpassed. I began my work early, and so numerous were the views which presented themselves, that I went on exposing my plates without proper discrimination; the consequence of which was, I missed many I might have taken, and took some which I found afterwards were but very indifferent pictures. I spent a week in the district, visiting Ambleside, Rydal, Grasmere, Derwentwater, Ulleswater, &c., and a week of such mingled pleasure I never spent before; and had the photographs I took proved failures, the gratification I experienced in taking them, and the pleasure which the *anticipation* of their successful development afforded me, would still have been sufficient to cause me to remember the excursion with feelings of the most unequivocal delight. But I was extremely fortunate in the plates, for with the exception of a few which were under-exposed, *not one* proved a failure.

(To be continued.)

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. S. BOURNE.

We come now to the *development* of the latent image. When, foot-sore and fatigued, the photographer returns from his ramblings, he has now the pleasantest of all the operations connected with the art to undertake. And in his anxiety to see how his pictures will turn out, he frequently denies himself the rest which nature craves, until he has satisfied himself that he has nothing to fear, and that a goodly number of excellent negatives will crown his exertions. Supposing, however, that the plates are right in every other particular, the beauty of the resulting picture depends greatly on the manner in which this operation is conducted. I wonder how many excellent negatives have been spoiled by bad development? more, probably, than by any other cause. It requires careful attention and considerable experience to do it properly, combined with great cleanliness.

The operator will require *two glass measures, a glass rod, a developing stand with adjusting screws, and a spirit level.* The developing mixture, which should be made just before using, is composed as follows:—

Pyrogallic acid	1 grain.
Beaufoy's acetic acid	1 drachm.
Distilled water	1 ounce.

And another separate solution of 10 grains of nitrate of silver in 1 ounce distilled water.

When these have been filtered, pour as much of the first mixture as suffices to cover the plate into one of the measures,

* Continued from vol. iii. p. 349.

and any portion of the silver solution into the other, taking especial care that both measures and glass-rod are perfectly *clean*. The developing stand having been made perfectly level, and the light, if a candle, surrounded by a piece of yellow paper, the impressed plate is now to be carefully taken from the box, and immersed in distilled water for *one* minute. The vertical bath used for washing comes in very useful for this purpose, and the plate by its means is wetted uniformly. It is then to be lifted out, drained slightly, and laid at once on the stand, and the first mixture poured gently over it, blowing it well up to the every edge. In about a minute it must be poured back into the measure, and a few drops of the silver solution added, say ten to each ounce, stirring well with the glass rod. Pour it gently over the plate again, using the same precaution as before. If it has been rightly exposed, the image will now begin to show itself, gradually increasing in vigour as the development proceeds. The mixture should be kept moving by gently blowing on the plate. In a short time it will turn discoloured, when it must be immediately poured off, and the plate washed with water. The image must now be examined to see how the development is proceeding. It will most likely require a fresh dose of the developer, which must be applied as before. But before doing so, wipe out well the glass measure from the black deposit which settled at the bottom, as, if this precaution is neglected, the next portion of developer which is poured into it will turn black almost immediately, and great risk of stains on the picture is incurred.

It is at this stage, especially, that the greatest caution and judgment are required, as regards the amount of silver to be added to the developer—for on this depends the beauty or worthlessness of the result. If, on holding it to the light, all the details of the picture are distinctly though faintly seen, it is going on all right, and double—or if it has been at all over-exposed, treble—the original quantity of silver may be added to strengthen it and increase the opacity of the high lights. But if, on the other hand, scarcely any of the detail can be seen, and the high lights have already attained considerable opacity, you may conclude that the plate has been somewhat under-exposed, and in this case a very small portion of silver must be added, not more than two or three drops to the ounce of developer. If it has not been *greatly* under-exposed, this will allow of the half-tones being brought out without *blackening* the high lights to that degree which would spoil the picture.

The great fault with the majority of amateurs, especially beginners, is developing the image too quickly, by putting in too much silver, and imagining that a good negative consists in having the high lights perfectly black, and the shadows perfectly transparent. When a negative of this description is printed from, all light coloured objects, and those whose rays act the quickest, such as the slated roof of a house or church, a beaten path or gravel walk, or a stone building brilliantly illuminated by the sun, are represented only by patches of white paper, while all objects in shadow are rendered invisible by being necessarily so deeply printed, thus, as it has been aptly termed, giving it the appearance of "soot and whitewash."

A good negative is one in which violent contrasts are absent, in which the detail of the high lights is well preserved, and that in the shadows all brought out, and where the whole picture is marked by a beautiful scale of gradation. I confess it is not always an easy matter to obtain these qualities, but a negative that does not possess them cannot be classed as a perfect production.

When the development has been carried to the proper extent (which should be somewhat farther than is ultimately required, as a portion is taken off by the fixer), it must be well washed in water, and immersed in a solution of hypo-sulphite of soda, until the yellow iodide of silver disappears. It is then to be well washed again to remove every trace of the hypo., and set aside to dry. When quite dry, it may be varnished, and in a few hours is ready to print from.

I have described the operation of developing thus minutely, because, as I have before said, it is one of the greatest importance, and one in which beginners especially fail. There is nothing new in what I have stated, nothing with which an experienced photographer is not fully acquainted. But the few simple hints I have thrown out in this paper, were not intended so much for the experienced and successful photographer, as for those who feel they have still much to learn, before they can calculate on anything like general success. I confess that I have but few qualifications to entitle me to occupy the position that I do on this occasion; but if I have any claim at all, and if some degree of success has rewarded my exertions, it is owing to a spirit of determined perseverance, and a long-continued battle with difficulties. And, judging from this experience, certain I am that the best service I can render you, and the best advice I can give those who may now look disparagingly on their own productions (if such a thing were possible), and who are often cast down by their ill success, is to remind you again of the old but encouraging glorious maxim,—Patience and perseverance overcome all obstacles, and constitute the sure and certain pathway to success.

(To be continued.)

ON SOME OF THE REQUISITES NECESSARY FOR THE PRODUCTION OF A GOOD PHOTOGRAPH.*

BY MR. S. BOURNE.

I HAVE thus endeavoured, though very imperfectly, to carry out the object I had in view, which was to point out a few of the qualifications which I have found from experience the photographer must possess, as well as some of the requisites which are involved in the production of a good negative photograph. Other descriptions of photographs I have left unnoticed, neither did it come within the scope of my paper to enter on that great department of the art, the printing of positive proofs.

Before I conclude, permit me to congratulate the Society on the more hopeful and cheering character of its prospects. Our past history has exhibited but little progress, a dead weight has hitherto rested on our operations, and cramped our energies; but I am happy to think it is now in a fair way of being removed. The generous manner in which the committee of this Exchange has granted us the free use of these rooms, deserves our warmest thanks. I hope, as far as lies within our power, we shall endeavour to repay this generosity, by making the Society an ornament and an honour to the town, and useful in some way to its staple trades and manufactures. This, I firmly believe, is within the compass both of the Society and of the art. I am proud to say that we number amongst our members, gentlemen whose names rank high in the scientific and photographic worlds, and whose acquirements and productions are universally known and admired. We have, besides, gentlemen of eminent professional attainments, and others who take great interest in the practical development and application of the art. With such talent, it would be nothing to our credit if the Nottingham Photographic Society did not shortly rank as high as any in the provinces, whose proceedings are regularly chronicled in the journals.

As regards the art whose interests we are associated to promote, I conceive it is eminently calculated to be of service to the lace trade of Nottingham. Patterns of every description of lace goods—large or small—however elaborate, or however simple, could be obtained by its aid with a rapidity, a cheapness, and a precision unattainable by any other method. These put into the hands of a purchaser would possess great advantage over all drawings and litho-

* Concluded from vol. iii. p. 358.

graphs, on account of their superior accuracy and minuteness. In fact, to such a degree of perfection might they be brought, that the intending purchaser, by closely inspecting them, would be able to form some idea of the *quality* of the various articles submitted to him.

The objects of our Society, therefore, should be, to point out from time to time how photography may be of service in this and other ways to our own town; to spread a wider knowledge of its principles, and improve the character of its productions, as well as to contribute its share to the universal progress and future development of the art.

There is ample scope for us in each of these departments, and our favourite pursuit has a bright and promising future. Much as photography has already achieved, and marvellous as is the degree of perfection to which it has already attained, it is yet comparatively in its infancy; and if its future career is marked by the same brilliant success as that which has so wonderfully distinguished its past short history, what important results may we not expect from it?

It has already taken its place as one of the most useful and beautiful discoveries ever made. There is scarcely any department of art, science, or industry, in which it has not rendered valuable service. The painter has turned its inimitable "studies" to good account. The sculptor has welcomed its invaluable aid when, with its handmaid, the stereoscope, he has been enabled to contemplate, in all their solidity and life-likeness, those "master-triumphs of genius, consecrated by the taste of ages," which form his models; to realise the same advantage from which he would otherwise be compelled to visit nearly every city on the Continent, and spend months and years in studying and copying; and even then his drawings would lack that absolute exactness (on which to him their value chiefly depends), and, greater still, that relief and solidity, which he obtains in binocular photographs.

The astronomer, by its aid, has made the moon delineate her own surface, has registered the sun's eclipse, and measured the angular distance which separates some of the double stars.

It has copied for the antiquarian and the linguist—with a precision no hand can imitate—the inscriptions and hieroglyphics which cover the rocks, temples, and monuments of Egypt. It has brought to our own fireside pictures from every land; and the splendid monuments of Gothic architecture which adorn some of our own and many continental cities; the sacred spots of Palestine, Galilee, Bethlehem, Jerusalem, Calvary; the crumbling monuments and broken columns of Egyptian temples; the squalid-looking inhabitants and cities of China;—in fact, the grand features and general appearance of nearly every country are almost as familiar to us as though we had actually visited them. And one of the most recent and greatest of its triumphs has been to place within the reach of all—what *none* before could enjoy—exact and faithful copies of those grand cartoons of Raphael, which have long been the wonder, the admiration, and the envy of every true lover of the fine arts.

These are great and useful achievements, but I believe the future of the art is pregnant with still greater. I hope yet to see *photographs in natural colours*. If this great and sublime discovery is ever made (and who can doubt that it will?), it will produce a revolution in every department of the art. What has before been valuable, will now be doubly valuable. We now admire and highly prize the portrait of a friend—resembling life in every particular except the *colour*; but how shall we admire—how shall we prize it, when not only every minute feature and outline is reproduced, but when the very colour which beamed from the eyes, cheeks, and rosy lips, perhaps, of some *deceased* friend, beams from the impression they left behind? Certainly, as long as that exists, they will still live. If we have stood in rapture over a photograph representing some choice and lovely landscape, in which one colour only prevailed, what will equal our transports to see all the gorgeous hues and colours of nature radiating from the charming picture?

And if it is possible for any species of art—or, rather, if it is possible for any description of picture—to charm *every* eye which should behold it, and, as it hung continually before us, embody in itself the grand sentiment, "a thing of beauty is a joy for ever," such a picture, we may imagine, would be a photograph of large dimensions of some magnificent autumnal landscape, in which were combined every element of the grand, the picturesque, and the sublime, as seen in the bewitching light and soft effulgence of a gorgeous sunset, and in which (*i.e.*, the photograph) the wondrous *reality* of every colour, tint, and hue of the grand original was beheld.

Such are some of the objects, and such, I conceive, the sublime future, of photography.

Mr. S. Bourne.—Letters, dated from the Cape, have been recently received from Mr. S. Bourne, whose photographs, from Fothergill dry plates, are well known for their softness and beauty. This gentleman has forsaken banking and become a professional photographer, and is now on his way to India, under an engagement for two years; and we wish him both good health and all success. We hope, ere long, to present our readers with the first of a series of papers from him, on his "Experiences in the East."

Photography in the East.—Our readers will doubtless be pleased by the perusal of a communication just received from Simla, from Mr. S. Bourne, which will be found in the current number. In addition to the account of the journey thither, and description of the locality itself, there are some interesting observations relative to photographic difficulties in hot climates; and we have no doubt that Mr. Bourne has correctly interpreted the cause of the disagreeable phenomenon noticed by him with regard to the apparent deterioration of albumenised paper. The specimens received (which we shall take the first opportunity of exhibiting) fully bear out the assertions made in Mr. Bourne's communication, and are just such as a skilled operator would produce in this country—in fact, but for the presence of some natives, the views amongst the fir trees might readily be mistaken for scenes in Scotland.

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE EAST.

By S. Bourne.

Simla, Himalayas, May 5th, 1863.

As you have already led your readers to expect some account of my experiences in the East, I cannot do less than sit down and inflict the first of what may, perhaps, be an irregular series of letters upon them. It is not, however, my intention to conjure up any extraordinary occurrences or adventures therewith to flavour my communications, but to adhere rigidly to truth in whatever I may write; and, when I have nothing to say, I hope I shall be wise enough to say nothing. It will, of course, be impossible always to be writing undiluted photography. I shall not, however, forget that this is my central topic, from which (to borrow an illustration from our own science) the rays of other subjects may sometimes diverge, but to which I trust they will mostly converge.

As there is now scarcely a nook or corner, a glen, a valley, or mountain, much less a country, on the face of the globe which the penetrating eye of the camera has not searched, or where the perfumes of poor Archer's collodion have not risen through the hot or freezing atmosphere, photography in India is, least of all, a new thing. From the earliest days of the calotype, the curious tripod, with its mysterious chamber and mouth of brass, taught the natives of this country that their conquerors were the inventors of other instruments besides the formidable guns of their artillery, which, though as suspicious perhaps in appearance, attained their object with less noise and smoke. From the untrodden snows of the Himalayas to the burning shores of Madras the camera is now a familiar object; and though a native from some secluded hut among the mountains where I am now situated may now and then manifest a desire to be out of its range, the majority pass it unalarmed, or their curiosity has taken the place of fear. At Calcutta it is no uncommon thing to see native portrait establishments; and at Madras there is a "school of arts," for the purpose of instructing the natives in various useful and ornamental arts. I got permission to go over this establishment, when I found that amongst other things taught was photography. The principal showed me several specimens, portrait and landscape, done by the students, and they certainly were very creditable. I have seen worse at professional establishments (!) in London. I was rather amused at a remark made by the principal, in reply to an observation of mine that in the landscape specimens there was too much contrast, and a want of development in the foliage. He said that this could not be avoided in India, owing to the brilliancy of the light, and consequent deep, intense shadows. I felt that if photographers at home had only the pureness and brilliancy of this unmanageable light they would turn it to good account, and soon convince the doctor that, so far from its being a hindrance to the perfection and gradation of a good photograph, it constituted its great charm and beauty. I have heard a similar remark from several photographers since I arrived in India (and, if one might judge from many of their productions, one should think there was some truth in it). I infer from this that iron development is not very generally adopted in this country, since, if this and a bromo-iodised collodion were used, there ought to be no difficulty in overcoming this apparent obstacle. For my own part I have as yet only had about three weeks' work with the camera in the Himalayas; but, so far, I have found no difficulty in the matter. In fact, the more brilliant the sunshine, the more I love to see the image on the ground glass; and, arriving just fresh from England, where the dampness and thickness of the atmosphere so sadly mar the brilliancy and crispness of the picture, and are so unfavourable for producing anything like breadth of effect, I have frequently stood transported at the wonderful brilliancy of the image portrayed on the screen, at the beautiful touches of sunlight amongst the trees, and the fine masses of broad light and shadow everywhere pervading the picture. The sensations which a devoted disciple of our art, who has only followed his hobby in England, feels when first he quits its shores, and emerges into a tropical climate, must be experienced to be understood: a new thrill of delight and a new devotion at once spring up within him. What are all the obstacles to be overcome—the attendant heat, and the plague of intractable chemicals which still incline, perhaps, to their native fogs, in comparison with the marvellous brilliancy he beholds poured over all surrounding objects—the calm, transparent atmosphere—the absence of his greatest enemy, wind—and the invariableness and constant succession of this state of things? If he could only transport English scenery under these exquisite skies, what pictures would he not produce! for I am perfectly convinced that no scenery in the world is better or so well adapted for photography, on the whole, as that of Great Britain. Its mountain streams and lovely fertile valleys—its rustic cottages, overhung with thicky-foliaged trees—its cascades and waterfalls—its lakes, rivers, and verdure—are especially suited for and often so combined as to meet the peculiar requirements of the camera. Place these beside the arid plain, the naked palm trees, and the absence of water of tropical lands, and the contrast is great indeed. Nature, on the principle of compensation which obtains through all her works, is true to herself in this case also. You must not infer from this that as I am now writing in India there are no elements of beauty and no objects of pictorial interest to be found here; on the contrary, so far as I have at present seen the country, they are not wanting, as I hope to show you by and by.

It may, perhaps, interest those of your readers who are connected with the various photographic societies to hear something about the Bengal Photographic Society, as we may fairly take this as an index of what photographers are doing, and the position and recognition accorded to the art in this country. A few days after landing at Calcutta I ascertained from the daily papers that a meeting of this Society was to take place on the 26th (January); and, wishing to be present if possible, got the permission of a friend who was a member to accompany him to the meeting. The Society holds its meetings in the spacious rooms of the Asiatic Society. On entering I was surprised to see so many present (about fifty), and still more surprised when the report was read (it was the annual meeting) to find that the Society numbered no fewer than 243 members, and had a balance in hand of 1500 rupees. The Society has a quarterly journal of its own, each number containing a selected photograph by one of the members. The Chief Justice of Calcutta, Sir Mordant Wells, and other distinguished persons, were present on this occasion. A very ingenious panoramic camera, strongly and roughly made, was exhibited by a Mr. Stewart as his own invention. Without diagrams I could not describe it, but may just state the principle of it. The camera, furnished with a large double-combination lens, moved through a semicircle by means of a cord and pulley; the slide carried a plate 20 × 6 inches, and was furnished with a revolving shutter made of black cloth, with a slot or spring two inches wide, which, as the camera moved in its circular groove, passed along the plate, exposing the whole successively without stopping. Three or four pictures, not very well executed, but sufficient to show what the camera was capable of producing, were exhibited. They included an enormous angle, about 120 or 130 degrees, while the plates are free from the objection of being curved. If the instrument were nicely made, and furnished with a smooth mechanical appliance, such as clockwork,

or, what would perhaps answer as well, a weight attached to the cord and pulley, so as to supply an equal and uniform motion, I have no doubt this would prove a very beautiful invention. The inventor has taken out a patent for it. I was glad to find the Society in such a flourishing state: it betokens a growing interest in the art, and an extensive recognition of it in high places. Its prosperity is no doubt owing in a great measure to its indefatigable Secretary.

The lover of the picturesque will find very little *materiel* in Calcutta. The place is totally devoid of architectural beauty, and its immediate neighbourhood of pictorial interest. Large stuccoed houses, with verandahs and flat roofs, are no doubt very cool and convenient for the Calcutta climate, but they are nevertheless very ugly; and the same remark applies to the public buildings. The professional photographers in Calcutta appear to be doing a good stroke of business; the *carte de visite* is as popular as in England, and the amazing wealth of the place enables artists to realise good prices. Evidences of this wealth are seen on all sides, and Calcutta can boast of a Rotten Row not inferior to that of Hyde Park. There is a wide, open, park-like space called the "Maidan," on one side of the city, intersected with wide carriage roads, and this every evening presents as gay a scene as can well be imagined. Hundreds of carriages, buggeys, and equestrians chase each other along these open roads, all making to the grand drive by the river. Portly dames and fair damsels, easy-going merchants, military officers, civil servants, and well-to-do tradesmen—all turn out when the sun's rays can no longer scorch them, to enjoy the coolness (if such it can be called) of the evening air. I do not know what the heat must be in July and August, but in February it was surely hot enough to satisfy the most phlegmatic mortal in existence. How photographers manage to work there in glass-rooms in the summer months I cannot imagine.

As there was nothing to tempt me to linger in Calcutta, I at once decided to leave for the north; but had, first of all, to get my goods through the custom-house. This is one of those labyrinths of bewilderment and confusion which at once stamp it as being under the administration of Government. I fortunately secured the services of an old commercial resident to whom long experience had made the ins and outs of this Babel familiar, who got the necessary documents passed through the hands of sixty or seventy clerks, and at length succeeded in releasing the goods. But when I came to open the cases I felt inclined, if I did not really do it, to wish deeper confusion to the place than that caused by the presence of some hundreds of useless clerks. Carefully packed as everything had been in London, I found many precious articles broken and smashed in a pitiless manner—all done, as I verified by my own inspection, by the recklessness of the coolies in the "godowns" of the custom-house. Four of these fellows get a package on their heads, carry it to its destination, and then at a given signal spring from under it. The consequence is that anything which can break does break, and the unhappy owner has the consolation of pocketing the loss and kicking the coolies, for which he gets fined fifty rupees.

Having made the necessary arrangements and repacked what articles I wanted, I left Calcutta about the middle of February for Simla, a journey of 1200 miles. I shall have more to say of Simla by-and-by. I will only state now that it is one of the sanitariums of India, and is situated in the Himalayas at an elevation of nearly 8000 feet above the level of the sea. The ride by railway from Calcutta to Benares (where at present there is a break in the line of eighty miles before it starts again at Allahabad) is not diversified by any of that pleasing variety of hill and dale, cornfields, and pastures which give such a charm to railway travelling in England. A wide plain stretches on either hand, diversified now and then by clumps of trees and groups of palms, and broken up into small square rice or paddy-fields, the crops, when I passed, having apparently been just gathered in. Now and then we whirl past a village of miserable mud huts, swarming with sprawling, nude children, who, together with the men and women, suspend their operations to gaze in mute astonishment at the flying train. I tried to imagine the sensations with which these poor ignorant semi-barbarous inhabitants of the plains must for the first time have beheld the flying engine dragging its retinue of carriages with their mighty rattle through their peaceful territory. No wonder that they thought it was an incarnation of the devil flying away with the wicked "barbarians" who had taken possession of their country. At length, after two day's travelling, the train shot us at ten o'clock at night on a platform of sand three miles from the city of Benares. This place is well worth the attention of the photographer. It stretches for two or three miles along the banks of the sacred Ganges, and, seen from the opposite bank, its temples and mosques, with their minarets and gilded domes glittering in the sun, looks truly magnificent and imposing. A bridge of boats spans the river, which adds greatly to the picturesqueness of the effect. While waiting here for the arrival of my luggage, I had an opportunity of inspecting this ancient eastern city. The streets are so narrow and so crowded that it is difficult to get along them; and as you wind about through these narrow defiles, turning sharp angles, entering dark and obscure passages, threading your way through crowded and interminable bazaars, you are lost and confused in the intricate labyrinth. At length, however, your guide leads you to the foot of a flight of steps, which land you on the platform of the great Mohammedan mosque by which Benares is known, and which forms so conspicuous an object from the river. I ascended one of its minarets, from which there is a fine panoramic view of the city and surrounding country, which, with the Ganges winding through it, would make a good picture. Descending from this elevation to the banks of the river, I witnessed the ceremony of the burning of two dead bodies. Five or six savage-looking men were heaping wood on the blazing piles, but I could discern, through the flames the roasting skull and feet of one of the bodies. One of them was that of a woman, whose husband stood by evidently regarding the horrid spectacle with the highest satisfaction. On every hand you are reminded of the religious zeal of this deluded people. Their gods—hideous, shapeless monsters—are daubed on every wall, and adorn hundreds of little dirty so-called temples. I thought the heat greater here than at Calcutta: not a breath of wind stirred the most trembling leaf, not a cloud stained the serene blueness of the sky. A dâk stage of seventy-six miles from Benares, along a straight level road adorned on each side by a row of mangoe trees, brings you to Allahabad, which, from the number of barracks built and building there, is not likely again to suffer so fearfully at the hands of mutineers. Here the railway starts again, and after a stretch of 280 miles lands you at Agra, famous in the mutiny, and famous also as containing that gem of architecture, that wonder of the world, the "Taj," or Mausoleum of Shah Jehan. There are several interesting objects and buildings to be seen in Agra, but they are all eclipsed by the dazzling brilliancy of the Taj. Shall I attempt to describe it? If I do I undertake a task in which I must of necessity fail, since the ablest pens have pronounced it indescribable. However, as it is one of the things which every photographer who sees it tries to reproduce, but in which, I am sorry to say, he so often fails, I will endeavour to give my readers an idea of it.

As you cross the Jumna by the bridge of boats into the city, and take the road beneath the walls of the huge fort, a white building, glistening in the sun, stands out conspicuously on your left, its domes and slender towers being reflected in the Jumna as its dark waters flow beneath its walls. It appears nothing extraordinary in the distance, and excites no uncommon curiosity. As you get nearer you see a massive red stone wall enclosing this building, above which the tops of richly-foliaged trees are visible. You enter beneath an arched gateway into something like a courtyard, and see on your left another lofty gateway with a fretted arch: this is the entrance to the garden or enclosure in which the Taj is situated. You admire this curious workmanship for a few minutes, and then pass beneath it. The view which now meets you is of a very pleasing and gorgeous character. Looking down a walk, straight as an arrow, bordered by a double row of cypress trees, with a row of fountain jets in the centre, your eye rests on a huge white dome at the other end. Lofty trees intervening hide the other parts of the building, which is shortly to burst on your enraptured gaze, and you saunter forth through a glorious garden of flowers and foliage unconscious of what awaits you. Midway you come to a fountain of white marble, and you linger by it in delight and astonishment, half afraid to set your feet on its pure and polished slabs. Here on either hand you look down another straight vista at right angles to that down which you have passed. Georgeous flowers and shady trees almost tempt you to turn down one of these avenues, but the glorious object now rising grandly before you beckons you forward. A wall of white marble arrests your progress, which is the boundary of the platform on which stands the building you are now so anxious to see. You soon discover a flight of marble steps in the wall, which, having satisfied yourself that they are meant to be trodden upon, you ascend. Arrived at the top, why do you stand in breathless astonishment, your feet rivetted to the spot? Ah, why indeed? To that question I can give no satisfactory answer: I can only say the Taj stands before you! After the first sensations of bewilder-

ment and surprise are over, you ask yourself—"Do I look on a real tangible object, or is it a vision that spreads before me, stopping my senses in admiration, and my whole being in an ecstacy of rapture? Has some fairy with a wand of enchantment suddenly transported me amidst marble palaces, where I enter through marble doorways, look through perforated marble windows, ascend marble towers by means of marble steps, and where I walk everywhere on marble terraces?." Whether a fairy has done it or not there can be no mistake that such is the fact. Beneath your feet spreads a platform of white marble, with a round lofty tower rising at each angle, also of white marble; before you rises a palace entirely of the same dazzling material, of most exquisite design and finished workmanship, decorated with flower-wreaths and devices wrought in precious stones. So pure, so graceful, so calm and silent does it rise through the serene blue air, that even yet you are half unconscious if it be a dream. It is, in fact, an embodied dream—a fancy—a flight of the imagination turned into marble! But enter through that arched doorway, glistening with gems, and explore the interior of this sublime edifice. The threshold crossed, you pause again. Amazement and admiration can go no farther; they reach their climax in the spectacle before you. A soft and subdued light fills the vaulted chamber; a murmur, like the blended music of distant voices, falls on the ear; footsteps on the marble floor are echoed and re-echoed through the sounding apartment; the sun, entering by the western window, throws an image of its beautiful perforations on the floor and walls, and brings out into stronger relief the marvellous sarcophagus on which your eye rests in the centre of the chamber. A perforated screen of marble, decked all over with gems, encloses the monument of magnificence and pride. Here are placed the unoccupied sarcophagus (the real ones are in a chamber immediately below) of the great Shah Jehan, "king of the world," and his consort; and on them have been lavished untold wealth and the most elaborate skill. Flowers, wreaths, scrolls, and texts from the Koran, in jasper, bloodstone, camelian, agate, and amethyst, are strewed thick as hail over the surface of these marble tombs, as well as on the walls and vaulted dome above. As one stands in mute astonishment before this gorgeous array of pearls and marble, one is almost "dumbfounded" at the ingenuity of the mind which conceived such an idea as this matchless mausoleum, and at the boundless wealth and surprising skill lavished on every portion of it. Call it a monument of Eastern pomp and pride! but it is unequalled. The world knows not another building to be compared with the Taj. It rises in its queenly beauty on the banks of the Jumna—

> A palace lifting to eternal summer
> Its marble halls from out a glassy bower
> Of coolest foliage, musical with birds—

and the eye that has once gazed on its snowy whiteness and dazzling splendour can never forget it. How much I regretted when I visited it that my cameras were not accessible, for the camera is the only instrument which can give to those who have not seen it any idea of its proportions and beauty. I, however, hope to have the pleasure of photographing it shortly; for, despite the difficulties of successfully developing a white object, lit up by brilliant sunshine, and surrounded by dark cypress trees, a subject like this is worth any amount of trouble, and going any distance to secure. So I left this dreamlike though solid object behind me, with the conviction that I had seen another of those things which are "a joy for ever."

PHOTOGRAPHY IN THE EAST.

By S. Bourne.

Simla, June 25th, 1863.

My last communication left my readers admiring the Taj at Agra. I now propose to transport them a little further "up country." But we must now bid farewell to the railway—for here at present it terminates—and betake ourselves to the rattling, clattering dâk. The grand trunk road lies straight before us, level as the railway we have just quitted. We start at nine o'clock at night, the air being cold and frosty, and after getting a few miles on the road wrap ourselves up in rugs and great coats, and compose ourselves for a sleep. Except to those fortunate individuals who can sleep at will—be it on the top of a coach, in a railway carriage, or a London omnibus—this, the first night, is no easy matter; and scarcely is this desired end accomplished before you are awoke by the sound of heavy blows—a great Hindustani shouting and shoving, and with a perception that your rattling express has come to a dead stand. Thrusting aside the sliding shutter you look out and find three or four sable fellows hammering away at a poor skeleton of a horse, which either can't or obstinately refuses to move. After about twenty minutes have been spent in this way, there is a jump, a sudden start, and away you rattle again at full speed; but if you get to the next halting place without a couple more stoppages you may consider yourself fortunate. Presently we reach Allyghur, and, taking possession of the traveller's bungalow, cause a commotion amongst the fowls—one of which has to be slaughtered for our curry.

At 4 p.m. we are off again, our next stage being Delhi, a name sadly famous to every Englishman. The approach to this city is rather imposing. Situated on a sort of ridge above the general level of the plains it forms a conspicuous object for some distance. The slanting rays of the morning sun glitter over minarets and domes, bringing them out into bold relief through the clear atmosphere. The whole aspect is serene and peaceful, presenting a strange contrast to the aspect it must have worn a few years back. The dark cloud of war no longer hangs over the doomed city, and the smoke of booming cannon no longer rises thick around its walls. You look on its threatening fort without alarm, and enter the gate—where so many of our brave countrymen perished—without hindrance or molestation. Its walls and buildings still bear testimony to the severity of the struggle it underwent during the mutiny. Of course Delhi can't fail to be interesting to the photographer: the "Cashmere Gate," the fort, and other noted places *must* be taken, while its mosques and similar buildings will be photographed for their own merits. About eleven miles from Delhi is the famous Kootub, of which many of my readers have doubtless seen Beato's large photograph, published by Hering, of Regent-street. But we cannot afford to spend more than the day in this great and interesting city, as we are bound for Simla, and anxious to see the mighty Himalayas.

The next place of importance we come to is Umballa, a large military station, from which we get our first view of "the hills." After travelling for a whole fortnight through a country flat as a cricket ground, and devoid alike of hill and dale, picturesqueness or beauty, you may imagine the delight with which a photographer sees once more ranges of blue mountains, lifting their summits to the clouds; or, better still, crowned, as was one of these, with glittering snow. A journey of forty miles more brings us to Kaeka, at the foot of the hills, and we are now only fifty-five miles from Simla. We spend a night at the hotel, and having procured ponies, start early next morning on our mountain journey. The road we traverse is the new Hindustan and Thibet road, which, when completed, will connect the north-west provinces of India with Chinese Tartary. This road is a marvel of engineering skill and enterprise. Running entirely through a mountainous country, and such mountains as the Himalayas, it is nearly *level*—in many places completely so. To obtain this result it must, of course, be rather circuitous, and many are the windings round the spurs and limbs of great mountains through which it leads you at every turn. A new valley or ravine opens out far below you, with generally a small stream at the bottom fed by rills from the almost perpendicular sides of the mountains. In some places the hill sides are covered with pines, but more generally they present an unvaried surface of barren rock and sand.

On turning the sharp angle of a mountain when about half way on our journey, we catch our first glimpse of Simla. It seems no very great distance as the crow flies, but such is not our course: we must round many a corner, and circumvent many an off-shoot before we reach this coveted spot. Another night spent in one of the staging bungalows, where a bedstead is all the accommodation you can get, and an early start next morning brings us about four p.m. in full view of the place we so much wish to see.

I must confess to disappointment on my first view of Simla. A mass of apparently tumble-down native dwellings on the top of a ridge, with bungalows scattered here and there on the sides of a mountain covered partially with fir trees, without a single yard of level cultivated land—such was the appearance of Simla at five miles' distance, and I naturally began to wonder where I should find the series of views for which I had undertaken this long journey. All the snow had not yet (March 1st) disappeared from the top of Jakko, which is 8,000 feet above the sea, and on which the English love of pure air has induced them to build their houses, even to the very summit. A further acquaintance with Simla has not altogether banished the disappointment its first sight gave me, yet it is not to be condemned. It has afforded me a considerable number of pictures of a certain class, while, as regards the climate, nothing could be finer; and, were the scenery far inferior to what it is, one should still be satisfied and thankful to know that here one has escaped that frightful heat which this season has been laying man and beast prostrate in the plains. Its great defect to the photographer is its lack of water; I do not mean for the purpose of carrying on his manipulations, but for introducing into his views. There are no lakes, no rivers, and scarcely anything like a stream in this locality, neither is there a single object of architectural interest, no rustic bridges, and no ivy-clad ruins; trees, and mountains; and the beautiful play of light and shadow about them are, therefore, all that the photographer has to compose his pictures. On some days we get a very good view of the higher and snowy ranges of the Himalayas; but they are too distant, and the atmosphere not sufficiently clear to render them in a photograph. When the rains, which have now set in, have cleared the atmosphere, perhaps on one of the few fine days that at intervals occur I may be able to accomplish this difficult task.

And now, as I have brought my readers to the place where I first commenced my photographic operations in India, my gossip

will have a more direct bearing on the art than it has hitherto had, and I shall proceed to tell them how cameras and chemicals have at present behaved themselves in my hands in this country.

That there are more difficulties to be encountered in the practice of photography here than in England I suppose most will admit; but I can scarcely go so far as Dr. Underwood, who stated, at a recent meeting of the Photographic Society in London, that it was impossible to produce as good pictures in India as in England. I have just been inspecting a series of large views of Lucknow, and I do not think I have seen better architectural photographs in England. Indian landscapes I do not think will ever compare with English; not because the photography cannot be as good, but because the scenery is not so beautiful or so well adapted for the camera. I have no doubt that in some parts of the Himalayas grand and striking views are to be found, as I hope ere long to verify; but they would consist chiefly of ravines, passes, and mountain ranges—without verdure, without foliage, and without water; and a photograph minus these three elements must possess very striking compensation features indeed to render it a pleasing and enjoyable picture. I am told that in some parts of Central India, and nearer Bombay, there is good rock and river scenery, which I sincerely wish may be true; but I have seen nothing at present comparable with this class of scenery to be found in Great Britain. I hope presently to extend my travels into Cashmere (or, as it is now written, Kashmir), where, according to Tom Moore,

> "If there be an elysium on earth
> It is this! it is this!"

and where I hope to find and produce pictures which I shall not be ashamed to send to England. But this is a digression, and I have a few words to say on collodion, albumenised paper, and varnishes.

It is often supposed that collodion is apt to deteriorate during a long sea voyage and lose its sensitiveness; but, for the benefit of such as may be contemplating coming out, I may state that I have not found this to be the case. I brought out a large quantity of collodion by different makers in stoppered bottles—the stoppers well cemented and tied over with a skin, and the bottles packed in sawdust in a tin case. I have at present used only that of three makers—Mawson, Ponting, and Perry; but these do not appear to have lost any of their sensitiveness or to have deteriorated in any way. Mawson's especially is exquisitely sensitive, changing, as it used to do in England, to a lemon tint after iodising, which does not deepen by keeping. With this collodion and a *single landscape lens*—one of Grubb's admirable 8¼ in. focus—I have taken pictures of horses in half a second, in which the detail in every part has been well brought out. The only objection I have to make to this, as well as to many other collodions, is that they are too thick to flow freely over large plates. This is especially the case in India, where the ether evaporates so rapidly. To give the requisite fluidity so large an amount of ether has to be added as to render the collodion deficient in iodiser. I may say that I have not yet met with a collodion well adapted for working large plates in hot weather, even in England; they are all too thick and apt to produce lines in the direction in which the collodion is poured off, which in hot weather will not coalesce. And yet if manufacturers would give their attention to it, there is surely no difficulty in the matter. The chief points to be observed, I imagine, are a pyroxyline made with acids at a high temperature, a preponderance of absolute alcohol in the solvents, and a very limited amount of the salts of cadmium in the bromo-iodiser.

But I have found a still greater difficulty here in trying to get *good prints* when the negatives are taken; and if photographers at home had to encounter the tendency to red spots and measles which albumenised paper manifests here, we should hear still louder complaints of this great annoyance. But on this subject I think I have made a discovery. I brought out two reams of albumenised Saxe paper from England, securely packed in tin cases, which I did not open till I arrived at Simla. Though it was obtained from one of the first houses in London, I do not think it could ever have been very good, but at any rate I could get no satisfactory pictures with it here. I tried every experiment I could think of—the silver solution of all strengths from 50 to 140 grains—all times of floating from one minute to six, alkaline, and acid with different kinds of acid, with and without the addition of alcohol—all methods of toning, except the old hypo and gold, to which I have long since bidden an eternal farewell; but nothing would cure those blessed spots, which always came on in the printing, and were distinctly visible when the prints came from the pressure-frame. They completely destroyed the sharpness of the picture, and also prevented it from toning properly, and I was day after day fated to see my negatives (many of which I flattered myself were almost as perfect as negatives could be) turn out nothing but dull, dirty, speckled prints, disgusting to look at. I therefore came to the conclusion that the paper was totally bad, and was about throwing it aside, which I should have done sooner, but that I had noticed on one or two occasions the prints were almost free from these red spots, and much richer in tone, and yet under the very same treatment. I could not account for this circumstance at the time, though I can now. The weather all this time was very hot, and the atmosphere very dry; but it never occurred to me that the heat and dryness had anything to do with the character of my prints. At length a stop was put to my operations by rain: for two or three days it came down as rain only can in this country, the air became charged with moisture, and the oppressive heat was replaced by a refreshing coolness. As soon as the rain had cleared away I noticed a most striking and pleasing difference in the appearance of the prints. So! the red spots had all disappeared! On going into the toning bath they rapidly changed to a rich purple, and when fixed, washed, and dried, the whites were so pure, the shadows so rich, and such a general brilliancy pervading the whole, that I could scarcely believe they came from the same negatives. Rain now kept falling at intervals (for the rainy season was just setting in), and day after day the prints continued equally rich and beautiful; then the beauty of the negatives became apparent, and I almost leaped for joy. But what, I naturally began to consider, is the cause of this wonderful and pleasing change? I said to the printer, "Have you made any difference in the sensitising bath, or in the toning?" "Not the least," was his reply. The conclusion was irresistible: it must be owing to the change in the atmosphere—to the moisture, in fact, produced by the rains. Whatever may be the scientific explanation, there can be no doubt that the paper had become so thoroughly *dessicated* during the hot, dry weather, as to cause the silver to act unequally on the chloride albumen. But now that I know the cause I do not intend to be troubled again by this great annoyance; for when the rainy season is over, and dry weather comes again, I shall either suspend the paper all night over water in a damp room, or place the sheets before floating between folds of damp blotting-paper. I have dwelt thus minutely on this subject, as it is one of great importance, and one which has given rise to no small amount of complaint and speculation in England: but amongst all the remedies I have seen suggested for this defect in albumenised paper, I have never met with the one which has thus forced itself upon me. I can now get first-rate prints upon the paper which I regarded as useless; and though I can sometimes by careful examination detect traces of these red spots still, which shows that the paper is not of first-rate quality, yet they now never interfere with the vigour and brilliancy of the prints.

I am glad to see that the subject of varnishes has been revived in England. I thought at one time the Solnée varnish could not be improved upon, and at home it was generally all that could be desired. I brought out a large quantity of it to India, as being the best varnish I was acquainted with; but, alas! I found it was here worse than useless. It softens so much in the heat that the paper is firmly glued to the negative; and if the latter is not spoiled by the first sheet that goes upon it, it will be before half-a-dozen are printed off. I was recommended to try Thomas's, a bottle of which I procured from a dealer in Simla, and found that while it did not give quite so hard a film as might be desired, it did not in the least degree grow soft and sticky even in the hottest sun. But it has one drawback which will greatly militate against its extensive use, viz., its high price. For the four-ounce bottle I paid five rupees, or 10s., which, I believe, is just double the price for which it can be had from the maker. But even that is much too high; and if Mr. Thomas would only do with it as he did some time ago with his collodion, reduce the price to one-half, or nearly, he would find it much to his advantage. I am now using a varnish I prefer myself, which is simply one ounce of mastic dissolved in thirteen ounces of alcohol s.g. ·820. It gives a hard film which does not soften in the sun. I am told, however, that it is liable to crack and spoil the negative, but I see no indication of it at present, and no reason why it should do so. If it has such a tendency, I have no doubt that the addition of a little gum sandrac would remove it. But, if we are to believe M. Rolloy, of Paris, the varnish which he has just brought out will meet every requirement, and leave nothing more to be desired.

You will have learned from the newspapers that Simla is now honoured with the presence of His Excellency the Governor-Genera

and Lady Elgin, and also with that of the Commander-in-Chief in India, Sir Hugh Rose, together with a large number of visitors, chiefly officers, who have left for a few months the hot breath of the plains to seek the bracing air of the hills; and you may, perhaps, remember that a short time ago the *Illustrated London News* favoured the British public with two Simla representations, Peterhoff and Barnes' Court, the respective residences of the Vice-roy and Commander-in-Chief. We were amused here to see how greatly the artist had *drawn* on his imagination, and pressed into his service beautiful overhanging trees, which, no doubt, ought to have been there, but were not. If you are in possession of, and will refer to the number in April which contains it, and compare the view of Peterhoff with the accompanying photograph taken from the same spot, you will see how far we can rely on these artists' creations. I have much pleasure in sending you also a general view of Simla, and one or two of its "bits," which will give you an idea of the place, and serve to show you how far Indian photographs are behind the English.

I conclude for the present by wishing all my readers at home a prosperous summer excursion, and you, Mr. Editor, amongst the rest, for you have need of it.

P.S. The prints are sent on a roller per same mail, and all printed on the paper referred to in this letter since the rains set in.

Foreign Correspondence.

TEN WEEKS WITH THE CAMERA IN THE HIMALAYAS.

Simla, 7th November, 1863.

My absence on the journey which is to form the subject of this pa must be my apology for the long time that has elapsed since my l communication. Had pens, ink, and paper been available, I was so beyond the limits of post-offices and letter-carriers that I could neith enjoy the privilege of writing nor the luxury of receiving letters.

The rainy season in Simla having by its continual downpour and de fogs of mist quite put a check on all photographic operations, I decid in July to make an excursion with my camera into what is called t "interior," to get beyond the influence of the rains, and to see w elements of beauty and grandeur lay concealed in some of the higher a little-known regions of the Himalayas. To my English readers t will, perhaps, sound as a pleasant thing, but they must not invest it wi all the romance of a pleasure trip in Great Britain. To spend a holid rambling with the camera amongst the mountains of North Wales through the Highlands of Scotland—(I can speak from experience)— one of the pleasantest things imaginable. But in these wild and u trodden Himalayas there are no comfortable hotels where the tired p tographer after his day's ramble may lounge at ease and refresh h inner man with all the luxuries of a well-spread table; no le turnpike roads on which he can bowl along in his dog-cart, pullin up when a nice "bit" presents itself; and no town or village with distance where he may replenish his broken ground-glass, or procur fresh supply of some exhausted chemical. A disciple of the camer therefore, who would travel here must make up his mind to dispen with these pleasant accompaniments, and be prepared for an amount hard work and fatigue which makes photography something more than, rather something the very reverse of, a pleasant recreation. But I m not say that if he return safely laden with a stock of good negatives some of the grandest scenery in the world he will feel himself amp rewarded.

With a retinue of thirty coolies carrying cameras, chemicals, ten bedding, provisions, &c., I left Simla on the 29th July, taking the ne road which is now making to Cheenee, a village about 160 miles nort east of Simla, said to be famous for its grapes and scenery. The road open for about 100 miles, and, as it is nearly level, forms a beautif mountain road for the pedestrian. It winds along successive range following their windings, sometimes at an immense height above th valleys or deep "ruds" which it opens to view. Here it leads throug tremendous forests of noble deodoras; there it is carried along the pe pendicular face of cliffs hundreds, and in some places thousands, of feet height, making one giddy to glance down to the awful depths belo Foggy and rainy weather prevented my seeing much of the beauties the scenery. Now and then I was favoured with a fine day, and reg tered a number of good pictures to be dealt with on my return wh the rains would be over. But how many lovely and charming pictur are there in the secluded valleys and ravines of these mountains th never have been, and never will be, pourtrayed by the camera! Not day that I did not pass dozens of waterfalls of every size and variety from the dashing headlong torrent to the little tumbling rill; but the all, or nearly all, displayed their charms in places totally inaccessible the foot of man, rushing down some steep mountain gorge, or fallin hundreds of feet over precipices that were unapproachable. As I walk along a ridge on one side of a valley I could sometimes see, but often only hear, them rushing and foaming down the mountain slopes opposite and occasionally could see them glistening in the sun like a streak o silver on a range thirty or fifty miles away. Of course the road now and then came into contact with one of these falls, and afforded a pla form from which I could get a view of it and the little wooden bridg which had been thrown over it. As it was now the middle of the rain season these falls were at the full height of their beauty, and I, therefor despite the dull weather, often found myself eyeing their appearanc under a black cloth. After sixteen days' marching I reached Cheene where I was beyond the rains, and could therefore begin to work. M intention was to push on as far as Thibet and the frontiers of Chine Tartary, where my progress would doubtless have been stopped by th Chinese; but, when I had got within about fifty miles of the borders, th country became so uninteresting, all vegetation having ceased, an nothing but bare mountains with great camel-back ridges one lik another, that I turned back and retraced my steps to Cheenee.

This place, which is nothing but a native village, has attained som notoriety among the annual visitors to Simla (a few of whom occasionall penetrated as far) from the near and splendid view which it afforded o one of the highest snowy ranges in the Himalayas. It is situated in pleasant valley about 9,000 feet above the sea, which slopes dow rather steeply to the Sutlej River, which runs some 3,000 feet below Directly on the opposite side of the river rise the great Kylas and Raldung peaks to the elevation of 22,000 feet. The view of thes mighty pyramids of snow from Cheenee, situated as it is immediatel beneath them, is truly magnificent and imposing. It was so even i August, when the snow was at its minimum. What, then, must it be i March or April, when winter has thrown its white mantle thousand of feet below, and covered the whole sides as well as summits of thi gigantic range! To select the best point of view for a panorama of thi

ing prospect was one of the first things I did, but ere I could it was compelled to "let patience have her perfect work." It was by glimpses that the summits could be seen—clouds, sometimes in heavy masses, at others as light fleecy vapours, kept resting upon rolling about them, rendering the snow invisible. Instead of waiting, days for many days, till they should be clear, I decided to leave them time and explore the banks of the Sutlej. I crossed the river by a bridge—one of those singular inventions which belong to the natives first. It consists of six or seven ropes stretched across the river, which slides a sort of rope chair, in which you place yourself, and pulled across from the opposite side. As these ropes, which are of grass, sometimes break, it is a relief to feel yourself safe on the side, especially when the river runs some forty feet below with a which would defy the most expert swimmer to extricate himself. now soon occasion to bring the camera into requisition. The Sutlej flows either through one of those natural channels which nature to have provided for the course of great rivers, or in the lapse of —who shall say how many?—it has worn for itself a remarkable ge through these giant hills. It is here almost a misnomer to k of the "banks" of the Sutlej, since, while the mountains do occasionally slope down more or less gradually to the river, it is far more common to find the rocks rising perpendicularly from the water's edge. some places these precipitous walls are so stupendous as to stagger the sense and imagination. In the case of the Rogee Cliffs, three miles from Chenee, they are found rising to the enormous height of 5,000 so that if an unfortunate traveller, venturing on the precarious path- which runs along the face of the cliff just below the top, should miss footing, or the planks should chance to give way (a circumstance more probable than otherwise), he would have nearly *a mile* to fall before his body in scattered fragments found a resting-place in the river below. With scenery like this it is very difficult to deal with the camera: it is altogether too gigantic and stupendous to be brought within the limits imposed on photography. Even the much-vaunted "globe lens" would find itself unequal to extend its great divergence over these mighty subjects, and compress their rays on the few square inches of a collodion plate. Here, where the cliffs do not rise more than a few hundred feet, with the river rolling between them, they form admirable subjects for the camera, having generally fine mountain background. The grand difficulty I had to contend with was to find a standing place for tent and camera, and also to get sufficiently near the river to bring the river in the foreground, since these grand mountain gorges lose half their effect if not taken from below and as near as possible to the water's edge. The track by which I endeavoured to follow the course of the river ran chiefly along the tops of precipices far above it, and but seldom did it make a sudden descent to keep the river company. But my anxiety to get views of some of these fine combinations of rocks and water often induced me to leave the regular track, and put myself and instruments in the greatest danger by attempting an abrupt descent to some spot below indicated by the eye as likely to command a fine picture. Though this was only accomplished with immense difficulty, sundry bruises, and great personal fatigue under a scorching sun, I was in every instance rewarded, always returning with pictures which the more contented gazer from above would scarcely believe obtainable. But this toiling was almost too much for me, and, I must confess, it at the time greatly outweighed the pleasure; and, were it not for the satisfaction one afterwards feels in the possession of a good negative of a difficult picture, and in looking back to enterprises the difficulties and trials of which are no longer felt, one would not often attempt such an excursion as that I had undertaken. This reminds me of some remarks of Harriet Martineau's—which I met with a short time since—on the toil and study of the modern artist; and, as they strike me as being applicable to the photographer as well as the painter, I will here quote them:—"At present," she observes, "the minute study of nature (which will enrich art hereafter as much as it seems to impoverish it now) imposes severe labour of body and mind. To become a painter in any style at present requires strength and hardihood of the bodily, as persistence and endurance in the mental, frame. It is one thing to lie in bed till noon in a 'simmering' state of thought or gazing at visionary scenes, and another to be abroad at daybreak, studying the earth and sky, and each day for a lifetime some new feature or fresh process of nature. It is one thing to represent historical tragedy in painting by means of established symbols as accessories, and quite another to go to the actual scene, and in suffering and privation, with labour and anxiety under an eastern sun, or an ocean hurricane, investigate what nature has there to express, and how she there expresses it."

During the three weeks I was thus exploring the Sutlej, I was most unfortunate in having to contend every day after ten o'clock with a hurricane of wind, and its concomitants, sand and dust. Though probably still enough in other places, the wind rushed with such violence through these narrow defiles that I had the greatest difficulty in keeping tent and camera from blowing over. Fortunately there were not many trees, or I could not have worked at all. On one occasion I waited six days rather than leave two remarkably fine pictures, or take them under unfavourable circumstances.

A peculiarity in the bath I was working with deserves to be mentioned. Before leaving I had made up two new bath solutions of eighty ounces each with distilled water, which I carried in water-tight glass baths. When I wanted to use one some days after, on opening the box I discovered that all the solutions had escaped, owing to the baths not being properly fitted. Having no distilled water with me, this placed me in a very awkard fix; so I proceeded to test the water of the hills, and to my surprise and delight found it entirely free from carbonate and sulphate of lime and organic matter. I at once made another bath with it, and found that it not only worked remarkably well, but that it had *a peculiar aptitude for rendering clouds*. When clouds are distinctly marked and present strong contrasts, as near sunrise or sunset, there is no difficulty in getting them, but it is otherwise when they are scarcely distinguishable from the colour of the sky itself. But with this bath, even with 12 × 10 plates, requiring from fifteen to thirty-five seconds' exposure, whenever there was the slightest trace of cloud it was always to be found in the negative; and I was thereby enabled to get some nice effects of clouds and mists rolling about the tops of the mountains. And even when no clouds existed, and the sky was nothing but a stainless arch of blue, I never with this bath got anything like hardness, but a beautiful semi-opacity, which, when printed, left the sky and the rest of the picture "one harmonious whole." I always use iron development.

(To be concluded in our next.)

Foreign Correspondence.

TEN WEEKS WITH THE CAMERA IN THE HIMALAYAS.*

I now returned to Cheenee, where I succeeded in getting a panorama, on three plates, of the great Kylass and Raldung peaks to which I have before referred, having the village for a foreground. As I was now fairly initiated in mountain climbing, and hardened in some measure to its hardships, I was anxious to see a little more of these mighty Himalayas before returning to Simla. Getting, therefore, some information from a surveyor I met with near Cheenee, I struck across the mountains in a westerly direction to reach the "Taree Pass," leading into a country called Spiti. I crossed two or three ranges of great elevation, from which I had magnificent views of the wondrous region around me. What a mighty upbearing of mountains! What an endless vista of gigantic ranges and valleys, untold and unknown! Peak rose above peak, summit above summit, range above and beyond range, innumerable and boundless, until the mind refused to follow the eye in its attempt to comprehend the whole in one grand conception. When at an elevation on one occasion of about 14,000 feet, the gloom of night began to steal suddenly o'er the landscape, which seemed to heighten the ponderousness of the huge masses around me, and give them an aspect peculiarly solemn and impressive. It was impossible to gaze on this tumultuous sea of mountains without being deeply affected with their terrible majesty and awful grandeur, without an elevation of the soul's capacities, and without a silent uplifting of the heart to Him who formed such stupendous works, whose eye alone has scanned the dread depths of their sunless recesses, and whose presence only has rested on their mysterious and sublime elevations; and it must be set down to the credit of photography that it teaches the mind to see the beauty and power of such scenes as these, and renders it more susceptible of their sweet and elevating impressions. For my own part, I may say that before I commenced photography I did not see half the beauties in nature that I do now, and the glory and power of a precious landscape has often passed before me and left but a feeble impression on my untutored mind; but it will never be so again.

After a toilsome journey of six days I encamped at the foot of the Taree Pass, ready for crossing it early next day. While of late we have read so much of "Peaks, Passes, and Glaciers," and all the world has resounded with the doings and exploits of the Alpine Club, thousands doubtless have felt an itching desire to see the giants of Switzerland, to look and tread upon a glacier, and try their prowess in climbing at high altitudes. Such, at least, had often been my desire, and I felt therefore a degree of satisfied curiosity in knowing that I was now at the foot of a "snow pass" with the probability of seeing its mysteries in a few hours. The valley of the Sutlej, which I had just left, had been oppressively hot; where I was now I had the greatest difficulty in keeping warm. A little snow fell in the night, but in the morning the sun rose serene and cloudless, throwing a rosy light on the white-capped peaks around. At daybreak I ordered the coolies to begin the ascent; the top of the Pass was about 3,000 feet above us, but the ascent was not *very* difficult, and before mid-day we stood on the crest of the Pass, at the edge of a glacier, about a mile in diameter, which we had to cross. I now halted to survey the prospect. I was at an elevation of 15,282 feet, or about 200 feet higher than the summit of Mont Blanc; but I was far from having reached the summit of these Alps. Immediately before, and close to me, rose three peaks which could not be less than from 4,000 to 7,000 feet higher than where I stood, while all around at greater distances scores of pointed peaks and broader summits lifted their snowy helmets far into the deep clear heaven. Though the sun was now shining brightly, and in the valleys far below everything was basking in all the heat of summer, yet winter eternal, with its biting, cold, and piercing blasts, reigned only on these desolate summits. The Pass, as I have before stated, was filled with an enormous glacier; and around the base of the peaks which rose from it as from a platform, the snow lay in great wave-like masses, rounded and smoothed by the strong and fierce beating of the blast. Huge boulders and giant fragments of rock had fallen from above, and were partially buried in the glacier, while the remainder of their huge bulks stood out in dark masses —a relief to the eye from the blinding whiteness of the wintry scene. Everything wore an air of the wildest solitude and the most profound desolation, and while I looked upon it I almost shuddered with awe at the terrific dreariness of the scene. But the cold was too intense to permit me to look long upon its stern and desolate grandeur, and while at this elevation I was anxious, if possible, to try a picture; but to attempt it required all the courage and resolution I was possessed of. In the first place, having no water I had to make a fire on the glacier and melt some snow. In the next place, the hands of my assistants were so benumbed with cold that they could render me no service in erecting the tent, and my own were nearly as bad. These obstacles having at length been overcome, on going to fix the camera I was greatly disappointed after much trouble to find that half the sky had become obscured, and that a snow storm was fast approaching. Shivering through my whole frame and almost frozen to the ice, I stood waiting to see if it would blow over. It did so in about fifteen minutes, but not in the direction I wanted to take a view; but as there was no probability that waiting longer would better my condition, I placed the camera and proceeded to coat a plate. I thought the collodion would never set. I kept the plate at least five minutes before immersing in the bath, and even that was hardly long enough. Exposed fifteen

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seconds (size 12 × 10), and found it was somewhat overdone; but my hands were so devoid of feeling that I could not attempt another. I managed to get through all the operations, and the finished negative—though rather weak, and not so good a picture as it would have been if the snow storm had not prevented my taking the view intended—is still presentable, and I keep it as a memento of the circumstances under which it was taken, and as being, so far as I am aware, a photograph taken at the greatest altitude ever yet attempted.

After crossing the Pass I pitched for the night in a desolate place about five hundred feet below, not intending to penetrate further into such an inhospitable region, but to recross the Pass next day. The snow (this was the first fall of the season) now began to come down in earnest (18th September), and was soon a foot deep or more round my tent. A misfortune now met me which entailed on me a great amount of suffering. The coolies who were carrying my baggage and apparatus now all ran away (I suppose on account of the cold) without giving me any warning, and I was compelled to wait in that freezing and ice-bound spot for three dreary days and nights without a particle of fire before I could get other coolies from the nearest village in Spiti. Not being able for the snow and the uncertain nature of my position to walk about, I could only keep myself from freezing by lying in bed; and oh! how wretchedly slow did the hours roll by! All my enthusiasm in photography and my great desire to see the mysteries of nature at high altitudes would not have urged me to this undertaking had I known what awaited me in that miserable interval. At length, on the fourth morning, fresh coolies made their appearance, and in half-an-hour afterwards my tent was struck, and I was once more on the move to recross the Pass and seek a more congenial climate. What a change had taken place in those three days! I now found that much snow as we had had below it was nothing to what had fallen on the Pass: all traces of the proper track were of course obliterated, and every step we took was one of great risk and danger. On arriving at the edge of the glacier I found that the yawning crevasses which intersected it, and which looked so abyssural and frightful when I crossed before, were now snowed over, and I saw the danger to which I was exposed. Fortunately, these coolies from Spiti (a most singular looking race) knew the Pass well, and, being provided with long spike staffs, sounded every step before they advanced. In this way we crossed in safety after having been for six hours nearly up to the neck in snow. One of the coolies tore off a piece of his head-dress and added another to the little flags that were floating o'er the crest of the Pass, which done we descended rapidly on the other side into the Wangu Valley, and left with little regret these domains of eternal winter.

In life, as well as in nature, sunshine succeeds to storm, and pleasure to suffering. If it were not so, how should we exist? I had now before me an interval of as much enjoyment as I had lately had of unpleasant endurance. It has seldom, if ever, been my lot to look upon and photograph scenery so magnificent and beautiful as that I now met with in the Wangu Valley. This valley is about twenty miles in length by half-a-mile in width, and runs nearly at right angles to the valley of the Sutlej, into which the little tumbling foaming Wangu flows. It is bounded on both sides by ranges of the steepest and loftiest mountains, in the ravines of which are embedded numerous glaciers, while their summits through the greater part of the year are capped with snow. The upper part of the valley approaching so near the snow line is devoid of trees, but in the lower part, extending for about eight miles, is a grove of the finest and most graceful trees eye ever beheld. The native name for them I believe is "chiel" or "chil," but I am not sufficiently versed in tree lore to give their Latin designation. They grow to an enormous height—I should say to 150 or 180 feet—and perfectly straight, throwing out a number of small feathery branches, which gradually form an apex as they approach the top, and end in a beautiful tuft. With the splendid mountain ranges on each side of the valley for backgrounds, these trees combined to form delightful pictures, and I lingered amongst them for a week hard at work every day with my camera; and being favoured with good weather, the pictures I then took rank first in my productions. Had I not been so anxious now to get back to Simla I should have left this lovely spot with regret, as, excepting perhaps in Cashmere, I do not soon expect to look upon its like again.

Having now nearly exhausted my stock of glasses and chemicals I set out on my homeward journey, being anxious to get back to civilisation and English society. In seeking again the road which I had taken to Cheenee I had some most difficult and dangerous places to get over, where, with the help of two or three coolies, I had narrow escapes from destruction. I was in constant dread for my instruments and precious negatives, and how these coolies contrived to get their burdens safely over the frightful places they had to cross is still to me a mystery. It may be partially explained when we consider that they have been accustomed to such roads from infancy, and by the fact that their own safety is involved in that of their loads, which, being strapped on their backs, one could not fall without the other. I stopped now and then on the road to take a few of the pictures which I had selected on my journey out. The rains had long since cleared off, and the weather was everything that the heart of a photographer could desire. The sun rose and set every day in a speckless heaven, and an arch of the deepest azure rested on mountain and valley: every tree and every leaf as motionless as if weighed down by an invisible doom. But my task was now accomplished, and about noon on the 12th October, I caught sight again of the well-known hills of Simla, scattered over with pleasant bungalows, the abodes of comfort and civilisation. I had been absent ten weeks, and, with the exception of a broken ground-glass, returned with all my instruments uninjured, and with a stock of 147 negatives, representing, as I believe they do, scenery which has never been photographed before, and amongst the boldest and most striking on the face of the globe.

Since the first part of this paper was written I have left Simla for Lahore, and in my next may probably have something to say about this ancient city. In the meantime I may mention that there is to be an Exhibition here in January next of the raw materials, manufactures, and fine arts of the Punjab. I am happy to inform you that, unlike the treatment which photography received last year at the hands of the Commissioners in London, it is here classified as one of the *fine arts*, and I was told yesterday by the gentleman who is superintending the erection of the building, and who will have the arrangement of the Exhibition, that it will be so placed as to have the best light which the building affords. Are we then more enlightened, or simply more just and unprejudiced, in this land of rising British enterprise than the would-be patrons of art in professedly free but somewhat clique-ridden England? The Bengal Photographic Society has given a prize of 100 rupees, but whether for the best single photograph or the best series I am not able to say. With the mention that in a few day the Society's own annual Exhibition opens at Calcutta I close this very lengthy communication. S. Bourne.

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.

By S. Bourne.

I must first of all ask my readers' and the editors' pardon for having been so long in sending this communication. The greater part of it has been written twelve months, but having been travelling nearly ever since I have not had time to finish it till now. I am sorry for this delay, as it will doubtless deprive it of some of the interest it would have possessed had it been sent earlier.

If I am right in supposing that the readers of The British Journal of Photography take an interest in narratives of photographic travel in foreign lands, I could scarcely hope to interest them more strongly, perhaps, than by presenting them with some notes of a trip with the camera to the far-famed Valley of Kashmir. The name of Kashmir is a familiar sound through every land, even to people who have no idea in what quarter of the globe it is situated. For—

> "Who has not heard of the Vale of Cashmere,
> With its roses the brightest that earth ever gave,
> Its temples and grottoes and fountains as clear
> As the love-lighted eyes that hang over the wave?"

The lovers of poetical romance have been charmed by the highly-wrought descriptions of *Lalla Rookh*, and the fairer portion of all civilised nations has loved to array itself in the richly-embroidered shawls which bear its name. Kashmir is also famous for the beauty of its women and the loveliness and grandeur of its scenery. It is of its latter claim to notice that I shall have chiefly to speak, as being most appropriate in the pages of a fine-art Journal.

I had a difficult and somewhat perilous undertaking before me, and, considering the sort of country through which I had to travel, felt by no means satisfied in the first place that I should ever reach my destination, and in the second place that I should accomplish my object and find myself safely back amongst my friends. It may perhaps interest my readers to know the sort of outfit with which I started on my long journey (I was not going direct to Kashmir), and the mode of travelling. From my former trip in the Himalayas (of which I sent an account to the Journal from Lahore) I had gained some knowledge of what was required to ensure expeditious and safe marching. On account of the state of the roads, and in some places the absence of roads altogether, everything has to be carried on the backs of coolies; it is therefore necessary that the packages should be as far as possible small and light, so as to form only one man's load. With one or two exceptions all my packages were so arranged, and, as the result proved, it would have been better had they *all* been so.

My photographic requisites consisted of a pyramidal tent ten feet high by ten feet square at the base, very simple in construction, having merely a bamboo rod at each of the four corners, and opening and closing like an umbrella. This, though only one man's load, will seem a ponderous article when compared with the tents used in England; but in this country I could not work in one of those little suffocating boxes without elbow room and without ventilation. I like to have plenty of both, as I am jealous of the bloom which I have hitherto maintained on my cheeks, and of the hale and robust constitution with which nature has blessed me. My stock of glass consisted of [illegible] plates 12×10 and 400 plates 8×[illegible] I had two boxes of chemicals divided into compartments, each bottle fitting into its own compartment—one box being a duplicate of the other—so that if one should "come to grief" down some precipitous mountain, I might have the other to fall back upon. Besides these I had my field box, and a "khilta" full of stock or spare chemicals. My cameras, two in number, were of the square bellows form, very light and portable, fitted with Grubb's aplanatic and Dallmeyer's triplet lenses; the doublets and triple singlets were not then out. One box contained my two mounted glass baths, which were absurdly heavy, camera top, and sundry little loose articles. Another contained four Winchester quart bottles—two for bath solutions, one for spirits of wine, and the other for distilled water. The lids of all these boxes were padded, so that when closed they fitted moderately tight on the stoppers of the bottles, which were all of the same height, thus preventing them from shaking loose, and obviating the necessity of tying them down every time after using. In all, my photographic requisites formed about twenty loads; the remainder consisted of personal baggage, tents, bedding, *batterie de cuisine*, hermetically-sealed stores, a good supply of Hennessy's brandy, in lieu of "Bass" and "Allsopp," sporting requisites, books, camp furniture, &c., &c. When starting on a ten or twelve months' journey like this it is advisable to take as many portable luxuries as possible (as I afterwards found), seeing that I was sometimes for two months in some solitary and remote district without ever seeing a European, talking nothing and listening to nothing the whole time but barbarous Hindostani, and a hundred local compounds of the same. When everything was packed and ready I found that I should require forty-two coolies!—quite a little army in themselves. In addition to these was my staff of servants, and six "dandy" bearers. If I tell my readers that the duty of the latter was to carry *me* when I should be tired of walking, and when the road might be practicable, they must not suppose that *I* was the *dandy*—a mistake they might be liable to fall into were I not to explain that the "dandy" was the name of the article, machine, or conveyance in which I was to be carried. Had they seen me on the journey they would have thought that my appearance was anything but that of a dandy.

Having started this huge array of baggage by bullock cart ten days previously for Kangra, my first scene of operations, I left Lahore on the 17th March, 1864. Kangra is a small town about 140 miles south-east of Lahore, situated on the border of a fine valley, which skirts the outer range of the Himalayas. The valley is celebrated for its tea plantations, for its great fertility and verdure, and for its intrinsic and surrounding beauty. Having taken up my quarters at the "Däk Bungalow," I waited impatiently for the arrival of my "traps," which made their appearance two days afterwards by another route. The bullock cart had got upset, but fortunately its precious cargo—some on coolies, and some on mules—all came safe to hand. I commenced operations on the fine old fort (now garrisoned by the English), which resembles very much an old English castle or fortress, being built on a huge rock with immense precipices on every side, except a narrow strip at the entrance. The heat was terrific, reflected from the bare rocks around; and there was scarcely the shelter of a tree for my tent, so that it was with the greatest difficulty that I could keep my chemicals in subjection and prevent fogging.

My career was nearly put a stop to at the very outset of my journey. I had been working one day near the bed of a stream, when I espied a tempting hole under a rock where the water seemed very deep, and well calculated for a plunge, so delicious to contemplate in that dreadful heat. As soon as my work was finished I stripped and plunged in, swam about for a few minutes, and came out. It was so delightful that I went in a second time, but this time I got too near the rock, and found myself carried away by a strong under current, which defied (I am not a very good swimmer) all my powers of resistance. The more I struggled the worse I got, when, finding it hopeless, I had just strength left to call out to one of my native servants on the bank who happened to be a good swimmer to come to my assistance. He plunged in and laid hold of my arm, just in time to prevent me being carried under the rock, and either dashed to pieces or drowned in the current. Take warning, photographers, and when prosecuting your toilsome art in some weary district, when the sun is hot and a smooth but rocky stream tempts your heated blood, pause before you plunge into the unknown and treacherous current.

While at Kangra I saw several natives afflicted with leprosy, and a loathsome sight it was: some had their hands and feet eaten away with the disease. I was told by a missionary there that these wretched creatures marry amongst themselves! Can any idea be more horrible?

One of the finest views I have ever seen was presented from the verandah of the missionary's house, which was situated on an emi-

dense. The whole of the rich valley of Kangra, which is about forty miles long by fifteen broad, was spread beneath, bounded on the opposite side by a superb mountain chain, which rose in some places to an elevation of 17,000 feet above the sea, the higher summits being covered with perpetual snow. Some distance up the slope of this enormous range I could detect the houses of the little hill sanitorium of Dhurmsala, famous now as the last resting-place of Lord Elgin. I shall have to say more of Dhurmsala presently.

Being told that at a place called Byjnath, at the south end of the the valley, I should find two or three very ancient Hindoo temples, I resolved to make an excursion in that direction. About two miles from Kangra I passed a beautiful pipul tree, a sacred tree of the Hindoos, underneath which I observed several curious brick tombs. These, I was told, were monuments of the suttees, erected in memory of those faithful wives who had here immolated themselves on the death of their husbands. This practice was very properly put a stop to some years ago by the Indian Government. The magnificent trunks and foliage of the pipul tree, with these relics of sutteeism, furnished me with an interesting picture.

Between this and Byjnath nothing presented itself for my camera. The only circumstance of the journey that I vividly remember was, that on the first day's march, which was over twenty miles, my coolies did not arrive till three o'clock the next morning, and I had to compose myself to sleep on a native charpoy, dinnerless and bedless. The next day I encamped at Byjnath, and lost no time in looking out for the temples of which I had heard. The first I came upon presented nothing worth the journey, and I was disappointed; but the second was a larger one, and possessed some features of interest. In the court surrounding the temple were two stone bullocks cut out of solid blocks, and evidently very ancient, as nothing but the general form remained—all the details and sharper features had yielded to the mutilating hand of Time. The portico of the temple was ornamented by sculptured figures representing the three incarnations of the Hindoo deity, Brahma, Sceva, and Vishnu. I perceived that I should not be able to get a general view of the whole on account of the closeness of the wall which surrounded it, so contented myself with a portion of it, and a view of the portico and one of the stone bullocks.

While engaged in these operations I observed that preparations were being made for the morning religious ceremony. I was not permitted to go inside, but could see a hideous wooden monster in a little dark chamber at the further end, and an old man, who, I suppose, was high priest, in the act of presenting this sublime deity with his morning repast. This consisted of some compound of "ghee" (clarified butter), sweetmeats, and chupatties, not a particularly tempting dish for beings of less dignity than gods. This having been set before his august majesty the little door of his chamber was closed, and immediately there was set up a hideous clamour of bells and drums and tinkling of pot lids, or something very much like them, which continued for about a quarter of an hour, till the god was supposed to have partaken of sufficient of his delicious food. The priest then reopened the door, and, after bowing very low to the god, brought out the untouched food, which was forthwith carried to his own house, where I doubt not it would meet with a different fate. When the ceremony was over I ventured to intimate to the priest that the god had apparently not liked his food, as he had not touched it. He replied that he had eaten a little of it, but, that being a god, he did not want a great deal. I then tried to show him the absurdity of all his devotions; that his god was a senseless block which could neither eat, drink, speak, or render him any assistance; that there was but one God in the wide universe, which was so unlike his own, and so unlike the race of men, that we could not see Him; that He wanted no food, but lived for ever in the heavens, and required all men to worship Him. He listened attentively, and said that He might be a very good sort of God in His way but was inferior to his own, so I left him only more confirmed in the grossness of his own belief.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

I took a group of three natives of Byjnath—two women and a man—who were very timid during the operation, and evidently thought that their heads were about to be blown off. I started next day for Holta, where the government has a tea plantation of about 2,000 acres. As I had to pass through the midst of the plantation I stopped to take a view of it, which made a better photograph than picture. I then continued my journey towards Dhurmsala, which place I reached about three o'clock the next day, after a very hot and fatiguing march, glad to pitch my tent on a level spot, some three or four thousand feet above the valley, and enjoy a cooler and more bracing temperature. It was a great relief to look forward to some days' respite from marching, for I expected to stop here about a week or ten days; but, as it afterwards turned out, my stay extended to nearly six weeks. It commenced raining the day after my arrival, and scarcely ceased for ten days. I remained in this deluge for two days in my tent till I was nearly flooded out, when, through the kindness of a gentleman in the station, I obtained possession of one of the officers' quarters for the rest of my stay.

The situation of Dhurmsala is very fine. Below lies the rich valley of Kangra, and immediately above rises the great snowy range which I have before alluded to. I was very anxious to get some views of the latter, but it was covered every day with clouds; at length one fine day it remained clear, and one day only, when I took ten negatives. I had the good fortune while here to make the acquaintance of a Major Thomas, a gentleman residing in the station, who not only treated me very hospitably, but proposed, as the weather continued unfavourable for my purpose, that we should take a trip together to a place called Kararee Dhul, a small lake situated at an elevation of 11,000 feet up in the snowy range. He assured me that I should find many excellent subjects for my camera on the streams we should ascend, and amid the pine forests and snows; but, if the weather proved unfavourable for photography, we should get some good shooting, and he had no doubt that altogether I should be abundantly gratified with the trip. Being tired of forced idleness I at once acceded to his kind proposal, and set about preparing for the journey. He would not allow me to send any of my own provisions, but sent out an ample stock for both of us. The road was rather a difficult one, but led us through some magnificent scenery, up well-wooded and cliff-bound valleys, with beautiful mountain streams dashing through them, leaping over the rocks in many fine cascades, or lying in deep and peaceful pools under the shelter of moss-grown, ivy-covered rocks. The weather was such as to prevent my taking many of these lovely pictures. I contrived, however, in spite of the weather, to carry back a few fair negatives. In three days we reached the last steep ascent which led up to the small lake of Kararee. My disappointment was very great when I found that the coolies refused to make the ascent on account of the large quantity of snow still remaining on the steep sides of the mountain. Coaxing and threatening were tried in vain; they resolutely refused to stir a single step, saying that I might shoot them if I liked; it would only be dying an hour sooner, as they were certain to perish in the snow. When I found there was no chance of getting my camera to the top I determined at any rate to go myself, having come chiefly for this purpose. I could not induce my friend to accompany me; he had seen it two or three times before when it was easier of access, and did not care to risk his neck now that there was considerable danger.

Taking with me one of my servants and a native shikaree or sportsman I set out for the lake, some 3,000 feet above. The road,

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or rather our direction (for road there was none), led through a forest of stately *pinus webbiana*, among which the snow lay in slippery masses, sometimes brought up by the trees to a perpendicular wall, which often brought us to a stand. It was dreadfully steep—too steep, in fact, for the snow to lodge had it not been for the trees. With immense difficulty we continued slowly to ascend till it became a little flatter, and I perceived, much to my satisfaction, that we were nearing the top. In ten minutes more I stood on the last ridge, or rather crust of snow which formed the boundary of the hollow in which the lake reposed. But where was the lake? Instead of a fine sheet of water reflecting in its placid depths the mountain oaks and cedars by which it was surrounded, I saw nothing but a smooth expanse of snow in a sort of hollow basin, crossed by tracks of bears and other wild animals which had found it a solid pathway in their unmolested wanderings. It was a wild and dreary scene, and I wished that my camera had been at hand to have perpetuated a record of it. After discharging my gun to let my friend know that I had reached the top, I searched about for some traces of the lake. Presently I found a hole in the snow which revealed the water below, and this showed that a thickness of eight feet of snow rested on the lake, which I suppose must have been frozen, though it was not so here where it was exposed, as I had no difficulty in filling my brandy flask. To show how varied are the seasons, and the quantity of snow which falls in these regions, I may mention that my friend afterwards told me that he had been here the previous year a week *earlier* in the season, and that there was then not a particle of snow on the lake; that its banks formed beautiful grassy slopes which, with the surrounding evergreen, oaks, and cedars, made quite a lovely summer scene.

Hearing numbers of the pheasant tribe calling around I started in search of them, but did not get a shot, owing principally to the nature of the ground. It was now time to descend. Just after crossing the ridge of snow where the descent commenced, it being very steep and slippery, my servant lost his footing, and, by the pace he started off, I thought he was going to the bottom before stopping. But after sliding about seventy yards he was brought up by a bank of snow, and succeeded in effecting his escape. Another hour saw me safe at the bottom, much to the relief of my friend, who had not heard my signal. The next day I took several views around our cold and desolate encampment, and then, after a day's shooting, we beat a retreat, and three days afterwards found ourselves safe back in Dhurmsala, where we recounted our adventures to Mrs. Thomas over a good dinner, which she had prepared for our arrival.

Before leaving Dhurmsala I did not fail to bring my camera to bear on a quiet spot at the chancel end of its little church, enclosed by a slight wooden railing, which held all that was mortal of that devoted servant of his country, the late Lord Elgin, Viceroy and Governor-General of India. It was here that the active labours of his life were brought to a close, and in this far-off and comparatively unknown spot his body reposes, with the mighty mountains and eternal snows of the Himalayas keeping watch over his peaceful sleep. "Here," said he, "I fell, and here let me be buried."

It was while I was working at Dhurmsala that I perceived my pictures almost invariably begin to fog as soon as I began to strengthen them with pyrogallic acid. I could not account for this strange fact except by supposing that it was due to some impurity in the water, but which I scarcely thought probable, as it was mostly taken from streams coming down from the snow. I reduced the strength of the pyrogallic solution, and increased the amount of citric acid, but all to no purpose; and I was greatly distressed to find nearly all my pictures more or less injured by this mysterious veil over the shadows. I was satisfied that the fault did not rest with the collodion nor with the bath, so did not meddle with either. I now got a still and mixed my developer with distilled water, and used the same for washing by way of test, but the fog was as great as before.

During this experiment the tent was pitched in full sunshine, and a thought now suddenly struck me. Returning to my quarters I lost no time in placing the tent in deep shadow and covering it with an extra cloth. On trying a plate, lo! the image developed clean and brilliant. I saw at once the cause of all my trouble. The tent was made of three thicknesses of strong sheeting (American drill), two of which were dyed yellow, the outer one remaining white. It had lately had several soakings in the rain, the effect of which had been to wash out a great part of the native yellow dye, which, of course, left it pervious to actinic light. This discovery was a great relief to me, and after getting another lining of deep orange added all went right, and I on my way rejoicing.

My next halting place was Dalhousie, another rising hill sanitorium, three days' march from Dhurmsala. In performing this part of my journey I had great difficulty with coolies. I had to change them at every stage, which necessitated my sending on a servant a day or two in advance to have them in readiness. At each village is a "chowdree," or "lumbadar," whose office it is to provide coolies for travellers. At one of these villages I found that fifty coolies had been collected and were awaiting my arrival. The poor unfortunate wretches had been crammed together in a sort of loft, and the ladder removed to prevent their escape, which they would otherwise have made good, as they by no means like being "puckeroed" to carry loads. After seeing them all started next morning about two hours in advance, what was my dismay on getting two or three miles on the road to find two of my boxes coolly left by the road side, their carriers fled Heaven knows where! It was rather difficult to know what to do under the circumstance; it resulted in my having to wait by them for a couple of hours while a servant went to the nearest village to get other coolies. I had not gone a quarter of a mile further when I came upon another load, and yet another, left by the road side as before. This was getting serious, and I vowed vengeance against the rascals who had placed me in this difficulty. I was told that these men had no doubt hidden themselves in a village which I saw at a little distance from the road. Taking a stout stick in my hand I set out in search of them, in a mood not the most amiable. After searching several houses unsuccessfully my attention was attracted to another, where two women stood at the door watching my proceedings. I fancied they looked guilty, and at once charged them with concealing my coolies. "Nay sahib; koee admee nahe hy mera ghur pur; coolie nahe hy." (No sir; there is no man in my house; there is no coolie.) Not satisfied with this answer I walked in, and soon discovered my friends hiding beneath a *charpoy* or bed, and dragging them forth made them feel the "quality" of my stick; amid the cries and lamentations of the aforesaid females.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

There was nothing particularly interesting between Dhurmsala and Dalhousie to detain me on the march. The road lay through the possessions of the Rajah of Chumba, and crossed some of the outer and lower ranges, which possess few features of attraction to a photographer. Dalhousie is situated about 8,000 feet above the plains, on the summit of a range commanding an extensive prospect on every side. On one side the plains are visible to Lahore; on the other, range follows range to the boundary of snow which skirts the horizon. The views from it are too distant and extensive to be caught by the camera, and the views of it are not characterised by much that is picturesque or romantic.

I left in a few days for Chumba, a small independent state belonging to the Rajah of that name. I found here three Europeans—the English Resident at the Rajah's court, the Government Conservator of Forests, and a missionary, all Scotchmen. They received me very kindly, and during my stay we all dined together two or three times a week, and spent some of those pleasant evenings which are characteristic of Englishmen (in which I of course include Scotchmen) when a few of them meet together, no matter in what corner of the globe it may be.

The appearance of Chumba is very picturesque. It is situated in the heart of the mountains, whose grassy slopes wore quite a pastoral aspect, and reminded me of the English lake district *minus* the lakes. The houses creep up the sides of the mountain, at the foot of which is a beautiful level green or *maidan*, about 500 yards long by 200 wide. This was formerly the *chaughan*, where the ancient game of "hockey on horseback" was played. The game is still played in some parts of Northern India and Ladakh. Below this, at a distance of some 1,500 feet, runs the Ravee, a considerable river descending rapidly from the snows above. Chumba is a stronghold of Hindooism; though not a very large place, there could not be less than fifty Hindoo temples in it.

The day after my arrival a messenger came to my quarters to inform me that the Rajah was about to honour me with a visit. Shortly afterwards His Highness appeared, riding on an elephant, attended by a glittering but motley train of followers. I descended to meet him, and after the usual salutations he told me that, hearing I was a photographer, he had come to tell me that he, too, was a follower of the art, and that he was very anxious I should call and see his works and his cameras. I promised to do so the next day, and accordingly returned his visit. I cannot say much for the quality of his works; indeed he himself did not seem half so much interested in the photographs themselves as in the cameras and lenses. Did I not think they were very beautiful? Were mine as good? And had he not got a nice room for them, and a great many bottles of *masāla* (chemicals)? I of course said that his cameras and lenses were exquisite, that they looked much nicer than mine, that his room was perfection, and that his bottles were manifold. I was next called to pass my opinion on the merits of two new shining telescopes just received from Calcutta, as he had lately been going as deeply into astronomy as photography. These were deposited in a mahogany case, from which I fancy they were seldom removed, as he apparently did not want them to look *through* but to look *at*. The next thing was to compare watches and chains, and he was delighted to find that his had a gold face and mine only an enamel one. It was very amusing to see the simplicity and childishness which he manifested in everything, and how glitter and outward show were held in his estimation superior to real qualities and intrinsic worth. I was sur-

* Continued from page 403.

prised to find photography amongst his fancies; it shows to what remote and hidden corners the camera has gone and collodion found its way.

I was one day invited by the Resident to take part in a leopard hunt; was informed that a leopard had been marked down and watched at a place about two miles above Chumba; and that after breakfast the Rajah, Mr. ———, the Resident, and a great number of natives were going out to make his acquaintance. The camera for that day had to give place to the rifle. Arriving at the spot, I found the Rajah and a host of followers already watching the progress of some hundreds of natives, who, armed with sticks, rusty old swords, and equally deadly muskets, were proceeding to surround the spot where the animal was concealed. Those of us with rifles took up our respective positions round the place and waited the result. The beaters set up a frightful yell and clamour, which of itself was enough to frighten any animal out of his senses. Soon a shot from one of the men informed us that he had been seen; this was at some distance above us, and we were waiting for the leopard to be driven down into the corner which we had appointed for him, and where we were almost certain to get him. The beaters now formed a continuous line, and kept gradually closing in on the unfortunate brute. For some time he was not visible, when suddenly we saw him leap from the rock and attempt to pass the beaters; he was driven back into the corner, where we were in a position to pepper him as soon as he should again make his appearance. He kept dodging in and out amongst the bushes, only showing himself for an instant, and permitting only hasty and random shots to be fired. This continued for some time, when, just as we were in hopes of bagging him, a tremendous thunder storm which had been gathering up suddenly burst upon us. We did not leave our positions, but stood the soaking bravely, till, the rain showing no signs of abatement, the men began to "hook it;" and, seeing there was now no chance of finding the brute among the wet bushes, we were reluctantly compelled to leave our posts and return home disappointed at losing the prey we had made so sure of.

But I shall be told that all this is not very photographic. I must beg pardon of my readers for this digression in order to make another. I do not think the relation of such incidents as this is altogether out of place even in a photographic narrative. One can't always be talking about developers and baths (though it is astonishing to find how much *can* be talked about them), or about the science of focussing, and the profound mysteries of collodion and pinholes. I shall, perhaps, have something to say about these and other matters photographic presently; but in the meantime, in giving a narrative of my journey, I think I am quite at liberty to tell my readers occasionally what I did, and what befel me at times when my head was not enveloped in a black cloth, and when my movements were not confined to a few feet of yellow space, inhaling the fumes of cyanide and ether. One is a social being as well as a photographer; and though I love our art as much as the most enthusiastic of its followers, I am not quite one of those who can neither eat, drink, sleep, or write but it must all have reference to one or other of those mysterious operations which are comprised between the cleaning of a glass plate and standing with folded arms, as a friend of mine once found an indifferent Scotch photographer in this country, admiring his "bonnie pictur." I may probably some day indulge my readers with an article or two on *pure* photography, and how we stand affected in India with regard to cameras and collodions, hardness and half-tone, developers and intensifiers, aplanatics *versus* singlets, doublets, and triplets, photographic societies and prizes, and all the other great mysteries connected with our art-science. But, as this is not my *special* object in this narrative, I trust they will excuse this gossip about Rajahs and leopard hunts, at least on this part of my journey, for when I get to Kashmir I shall probably have so much fine writing to do as to have no room left for trivialities of this kind.

After taking views of all I saw interesting in Chumba, varnishing my negatives, and sending them by coolies through the hills to Simla, I left on the 8th of June for a direct march to Kashmir, intending to stop only at such places as presented something very striking or picturesque. The route was one little travelled or known by Europeans, and all I had for my guidance was a little route map, *minus* rivers and mountains, lately compiled by Mr. Montgomery, of the Great Trigonometrical Survey. Near the end of my first day's march I had to cross a river, or, more properly, a mountain torrent, by a *jhula* or rope bridge. Two upright poles are erected, one on each side of the river, and five or six ropes made of twisted grass stretched between them; upon these ropes slides a sort of swing, also of grass, in which you fix yourself, and are then pulled across by a man on the opposite bank. The pulling across is a slow process, and the sensation of finding yourself suspended midway over a roaring torrent by means of fragile grass ropes, which sometimes break during the operation, is not a particularly pleasant one; neither does it conduce to a traveller's happiness to have to wait four or five hours on the bank while his baggage is hauled over.

The sort of quarters I had to sleep in at the different halting-places or villages deserve mention. These apartments are not particularly private, being a sort of market hall, with wooden pillars supporting the roof, open on all sides, admitting plenty of air and rather too much draft. Fowls and eggs are sometimes procurable at these places, but butter (excepting a compound termed "*ghee*"), bread, potatoes, and vegetables generally are luxuries unknown. Occasionally at some of the larger villages I purchased a sheep, and lived on mutton for a fortnight, which, though mostly very poor and scraggy, was better than everlasting *moorgie* (fowl), or going without either. Chupatties made of flour are the substitute for bread, which, though relishable now and then, you are very apt to get tired of when bound down to them continually.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

In the middle of the second day's march I had another river to cross, but by a very different sort of bridge. Seeing neither bridge nor boat, I began to wonder how I was to get across, when my attention was attracted by four men racing down the hill towards me with strange-looking things like buffaloes on their backs. When they came up I found they were in reality inflated buffalo skins, by means of which I was to cross the river. I sent some of the coolies across first, to see how the thing was to work, and to ascertain that it was safe. In the meantime I took a very good photograph of them in the act of crossing, as a subject of this sort was "an opportunity rarely to be met with." Then, kneeling on the inflated "mussock," astride the man's back, I was paddled by means of his hands and legs safely across.

For three days I marched by the side of this river, gradually ascending the whole time, and passing through some very lovely scenery. I paused now and then to take a picture, when I came upon anything which I could not resist; but my intentions were often frustrated by the difficulty of collecting and keeping together the coolies carrying my field requisites. Some perhaps would be ahead, while I had to wait an hour or two for others who were behind. By this time probably the sun would have so changed position as to render a well-lighted and successful picture impossible; or if this should not be the case, this delay, together with that necessary for taking the picture, would cause me to be benighted before reaching the encamping ground, and with such roads in such a country this was not desirable. The scenery in some places was grand and impressive. Huge mountains, frequently clothed with forests of pine, towered aloft on every hand, my little path winding about them; sometimes ascending far up, only to dip again deep into the valleys; occasionally crossing a ravine in which a mass of snow still lay imbedded from the fall of last winter. And yet, with all its ponderous magnificence and grandeur, strange to say this scenery was not well adapted for pictures—at least for photography.

I may here pause for a moment to remark that the character of the Himalayan scenery in general is not picturesque. I have not yet seen Switzerland, except in some of M. Bisson's and Mr. England's photographs; but, judging from these, and from the numerous descrip-

* Continued from page 524.

tions I have read of it, I should say that it is far more pleasing and picturesque than any part I have yet seen of the Himalayas. The mountains here are, no doubt, greater, higher, and altogether more vast and impressive; but they are not so naked in their outline, not so detached, do not contain so much variety, have no such beautiful fertile valleys amongst them, no lakes, few waterfalls, and scarcely any of those fine-pointed peaks which rise from broader summits and lift their pyramids of snow to the skies. This striking and rugged character of the Alps is just what the artist loves, and which gives such a pleasing charm and variety to all well-chosen and well-executed views of that popular district. Here the mountains are all alike, all having the same general features and outlines, presenting in the aggregate, from their immense extent and size, a scene grand and impressive, doubtless, but wanting in variety. For pictures in oil of a large size this scenery might yield many fine subjects as general views, but photography cannot deal with it on an adequate scale. It consists chiefly of tremendous, rounded, camel-back hills, covered with forests on the northern faces, their south sides bare, their surfaces broken only by innumerable little ravines, down which the water finds its way to the main water-shed below, which threads its dull and tedious way among the hills, over sandy beds instead of rocks and precipices, dashing through no romantic gorge, nor leaping from rock to rock in many cascades or one impressive fall. Perhaps in some of the higher and inaccessible regions these elements of the picturesque exist, but they are rarely found in the ordinary tracks and accessible parts of the Himalayan Alps.

In the summer of 1866 I intend visiting the district where the Ganges and Jumna have their source—a district said to contain some of the sublimest scenery in the world, and where I may possibly find something surpassing anything to be found in Switzerland. I have seen some of its peaks from a great distance, standing out boldly in their eternal panoply of snow and ice, on which the sun for ever strikes in vain, shorn of his power to melt in their freezing altitudes of 26,000 feet. It will afford me infinite pleasure to find in this or any other part of the Himalayas scenery as much superior to anything in Europe as the mountains are loftier and greater. This would in some measure compensate for the disappointment I have frequently felt when traversing other portions where I have found no adequate reward for the immense toil I have had to undergo. But my readers must not suppose that I am condemning the Himalayas wholesale, and without reservation. It would be strange, indeed, if in my travels of many hundreds of miles amongst them I had not met with *some* lovely spots, and got *some* pretty pictures; and I can assure my readers that I *have* taken a fair number of negatives which represent a variety of scenery by no means to be despised, if it be not quite so picturesque and beautiful as some to be found among the Alps of Italy and Switzerland, while I hope to take a great many more before I have ceased my wanderings through the valleys and passes, the snows and glaciers of this boundless region.

But to return to my journey. On nearing a place called Budrawar, four days' march from Chumba, the "Tehseeldar" and two other "big swells" of the place came out about a mile to meet me, imagining, no doubt, from the number of coolies I required, that I must be at least the next important personage to the Governor General. Orientals always judge of the quality of a man by the number of his attendants and servants, no matter how motley and undignified the train may be. They conducted me to the best encamping ground in the place, furnished me with what I required in the way of eatables, and took their leave.

The next day I went into the town to take a view of it, and before I had well got to work nearly every man, woman, and child in the place had come out to see what the mysterious stranger was about. Mine was, no doubt, the first camera that had ever been seen in Budrawar, and we can hardly wonder at these rude people looking at its dubious appearance with a feeling of suspicion probably not unmixed with dread.

I was pleased in the evening to see two English officers, who were returning from Kashmir, walk up to my tent. I gained from them some useful particulars about the road, which they spoke of as a very difficult and tedious one, and evidently congratulated themselves on being safely over it, which was not particularly encouraging to me, who had yet to try it. But I had travelled too far now to be discouraged by news of bad roads, and my muscles were by this time in such excellent trim that I felt equal not only to doing what others had done, but a little more.

After this halt of a day I again pushed on, being anxious to see the far-famed valley to which I was bound. For some hours I kept gradually ascending, stopping now and then to look back at the fine valley I was leaving, which seemed to open out and grow more beautiful at every stage. When I reached the summit of the range I had a magnificent view in all directions. On the opposite side of the Budrawar valley the slopes which led up to the snow were entirely covered with trees, forming one immense forest, stretching for at least thirty miles. In other directions my eye wandered over an immense tract of mountainous country, across successive ranges receding into the dim and hazy distance. Here and there I could see far down into obscure and apparently inaccessible glens—charming places, no doubt, but totally devoid of inhabitants, save the wild beasts of the forests, which must here enjoy a glorious freedom.

As I sat down to rest on a grassy mound contemplating this scene a feeling of melancholy seemed to steal over me, as it has done on several occasions when travelling among these tremendous hills. Here was I, a solitary lonely wanderer, going Heaven knew where, surrounded by the gloomy solitude of interminable mountains which seemed, in fact, to stretch to infinity on every hand. To attempt to grasp or comprehend their extent was impossible, and the aching mind could only retire into itself, feeling but an atom in a world so mighty, yet consoling itself with the thought that the Power which formed these ponderous masses was greater than they, and that in the marvellous and benevolent operations of that Power, itself, however humble and insignificant, was not lost sight of. But even this view of which I am speaking was not to be compared to one I shall have to speak of presently.

I had frequently thought what a fine field is here presented to our brethren (if they will permit us to call them such) of the brush. It is of course totally impossible to give any notion of scenes and distances like these by the camera; the distances would run into each other and be lost in one undistinguishable hazy line, where the eye could trace that receding succession which conveys the idea of immense extent and distance. The photographer can only deal successfully with "bits" and comparatively short distances; but the artist, who has colour as well as outline to convey the idea of distance, might here find something worth coming for. If our artists at home, who are crowding on the heels of each other and painting continually the same old scenes which have been painted a hundred times before, would only summon up courage to visit the Himalayas, they would find new subjects enough for a lifetime, or a hundred lifetimes; and what is of some importance, would find a ready sale in this country for their works. They would also furnish to people at home some idea of what the Himalayas are really like, which we of the camera can hardly do.

The effects which I have sometimes witnessed in the evening, just before sunset, have been such as will remain impressed on my memory for ever—effects which must be seen to be felt, since no description can conjure up to the reader the magic and almost dreamlike visions which the writer has witnessed. In fact, it is in the dim and solemn twilight only that the true grandeur of the Himalayas can be felt. It is not beneath the flood of a vertical sun that their solemn outlines and giant height can be seen to advantage; it is when the monarch of day is retiring behind one of their frowning, shadowy masses, with a halo of crimson light around him, gilding their summits with his level rays, and leaving the valleys in gloom, that the poetry and sublimity of this sublimest part of earth are learnt and felt. The haze of day has then given place to that bewitching purple indistinctness which seems at once to fill with silence and sublimity every open valley and every deep recess, rendering obscurity more obscure, and impressing a majestic awe upon the hills. Then every outline stands out bold and clear even to the farthest range of vision, though the forests are sunk in gloom, and every object of detail has vanished in the blue shadows of the lessening light. If the immensity and impressiveness of such scenes could be transferred to canvas, what would such a picture not be worth! How often have I lamented that the camera was powerless to cope with these almost ideal scenes, and that with all its truthfulness it can give no true idea of the solemnity and grandeur which twilight in a vast mountainous region reveals partly to the sense and partly to the imagination!

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

My road now lay for two days up the Chenab Valley, the Chenab being one of the five rivers of the Punjab. But those who have only seen the Chenab after entering the plains, or crossed its sluggish waters by a bridge of boats, can form but little idea of its course through the hills. I marched by its side for about thirty miles, sometimes close to the water's edge, at other times ascending the rocks to a considerable height only to descend again as abruptly by the vilest of all contrivances bearing the name of road. Sometimes the "road" ended, or appeared to end, in a shelving piece of rock, down which or up which it seemed impossible to go; but after studying it for an instant the eye would detect the worn stepping holes, where about an inch of foothold could be obtained. The river rushed and foamed beneath, bearing on its bosom great logs of deodor, which had been cut and floated down from the forests above. Probably not one in thirty of these logs reach their destination, and yet I believe wood-cutting is a very profitable business, so valuable is the wood in the plains.

These two days of marching up the Chenab Valley were the hottest I had ever experienced. It was the middle of June, the sun was almost vertical, and the heat reflected from the bare rocks on each side was like the blast of a furnace. I might have taken three or four fine pictures on the river, but such a thing was not to be thought of. The heat was too terrible, and there was no standing room for my tent on the precarious pathway which ran along the rocks. It was a relief after two days of this sort of marching to find the road branch off into the open plain of Kishtawar, a fine undulating plateau five miles long by about two wide.

My appearance in passing through Kishtawar seemed to create quite an excitement amongst the people; many of them left their houses and crowded after me along the streets to the encamping ground. They partook very much of the Chinese cast of countenance, but there seemed to be a great variety and mixture of tribes amongst them. If my mission had been, like that of your "Special Correspondent in the East," Mr. Hart, the depicting of Eastern costumes and races instead of scenery, I should here have found ample scope for my camera. But I pushed on next morning, after waiting for sunrise to take a view of Kishtawar, and one of the plain across which I had to go. I soon found myself again at the Chenab, but this time only to cross it by a rather nervous bridge. This bridge was made of twisted twigs, and swung from the rocks on each side like a suspension bridge, dipping very low in the centre. As this was an interesting object in itself, and with the river and surrounding

* Continued from page 560.

rocks made a fair picture, I took two views of it, but was almost broiled in doing so. I then crossed it without fear or accident, and without the assistance of the man in charge, who is there to conduct timorous travellers across.

My khitmutghar in the meantime had prepared breakfast, and never was a dainty and richly-spread table more exquisitely enjoyed than my frugal meal in a leafy shade to the music of a dashing torrent. One element only was wanting to complete the enjoyment of a scene like this, and that was the presence of a cheerful companion, with whom to exchange ideas and thoughts awakened by surrounding objects. The scenes of nature lose half their interest if they must be contemplated in silence by a companionless traveller. He will probably miss much of their beauty and see more of their dreariness and solitude; and the feeling which is produced by a succession of wild and desolate scenery, showing few, if any, traces of humanity, coupled with the thought that you are far from the haunts of civilisation, surrounded only by solitude, and perhaps danger, has a very depressing effect apon the spirits, and you long for the sound of a friendly voice and the communion of a hopeful spirit.

Pursuing my journey, about a mile further on I had another river to cross by a bridge similar to the one just described, which with the river and its wooded banks would also have furnished me with a good picture, had not the rain, which had been threatening all day, now come down in earnest, and put a stop to my operations. The road now lay up a fine valley well wooded, showing now and then openings into other valleys running far up into the mountains, and in whose unexplored recesses many charming pictures doubtless existed. Travelling like this day after day, crossing range after range, and threading your way from valley to valley, out of each of which other valleys and ravines branch off into all sorts of ramifications, you get confused with the interminable labyrinth, and begin to wonder—at least I did—how long it would take an artist to explore all these interesting glens and valleys, and depict the lovely spots to be found amongst them; it would be a work apparently about as endless as eternity itself.

At my next halting place I was detained a day on account of the rain; and if a wet day at a country inn in England, where you have at least the local newspaper and the jolly host by way of companions, is considered the height of dullness, imagine what a wet day in a tent under circumstances like these must be! The next morning happily dawned serene and clear, and the lark was not earlier from his dewy bed than I from my equally damp couch to resume my journey. I was now only two days' march from the confines of Kashmir, and therefore all the more anxious to "heave a-head."

I found to-day that my khitmutghar had been very lucky in his selection of a place for breakfasting. I saw the coolies quickly deposit their loads and make off rapidly in a certain direction. On inquiring the cause I found that close by there were about a score of mulberry trees all heavily laden with ripe fruit. I was not behind the coolies in taking possession of one, and never did I enjoy a greater treat. Fruit of any kind would have been a luxury in such a place, but the mulberries, quite ripe and fresh from the tree, were really delicious, and I left them with reluctance, hoping to meet with many more on the journey, which, however, I did not till I reached Kashmir.

A village of two houses called Singpore was my next sleeping place. This was situated about eight miles below the Meribul Pass, which now rose majestically before me, and which I had to cross in my next march to get into Kashmir. Having seen everything in order, I started at daybreak to make the ascent; but after proceeding about a mile I came upon such a lovely spot that I at once called a halt for the purpose of taking some pictures. A lively little stream came tumbling down from the snow, overhung by trees of varied foliage, the cascades gleaming through them, and the snowy range rising proudly above. I took three different pictures, a large and small one of each, making six negatives, and by the time I had finished, found that it was then too late to think of crossing the pass that day, especially as it now had become enveloped in thick clouds.

Halting here for the night I made another early start next morning, and continued to ascend gradually for some miles till we reached the foot of the Pass, whence the ascent became much steeper. The snow was lying deeply imbedded in the ravines which ran down the sides of the mountains, and up one of these we began our toilsome climbing. My readers would smile if I said that for every step forward we slipped two backward, and yet at the time such almost appeared to be our progress. I verily thought the top never would be reached. Every time I looked up (and that was not seldom) it seemed to recede before us and mock our slow uprising. I was in advance of the main body of the coolies, who in their turn seemed toiling with their loads far below me, and I wondered how the poor wretches would continue to bear their burdens up such a "hill of difficulty" as this. I had no guide to direct my footsteps over the trackless snow, and knew not whether I was right or wrong; some of the coolies may have known the proper track, but they were behind. Presently I found myself lodged in a place where it seemed impossible to proceed and equally as impossible to go back. I was in a dilemma, but, as it was necessary to move some way, I, after considering for several minutes, could only resolve to go forward, trust in Providence, and hold on like grim death. I scaled the *mauvais pas* in safety, when I found, from the direction in which the coolies were going, that I had unnecessarily exposed myself to danger, there being an easier path which I had not observed. There was now nothing but snow, and it began to grow very cold. A few more pauses brought us to the top, the height of which was a little under twelve thousand feet.

The top was formed into a straight ridge or wall of snow about eight feet in width, on which I sat down to rest and survey the scene which opened around me. But how shall I describe the prospect thus presented to my view? Were my pen that of "a ready writer," or wielded by the hand of a Ruskin or Macaulay, my readers might hope for a picture of thrilling interest, such as would make their eyes water to see. But your humble correspondent is neither a Ruskin nor Macaulay, and therefore no such treat is in store for them. The day was certainly not the clearest, being overcast, at least about the heights where I stood; but this, perhaps, in some measure heightened the gloomy grandeur of the scene. The prospect was not only the most extensive but the most varied I have ever witnessed.

I here caught my first glimpse of the "Vale of Kashmir," which stretched away to the north like a level plain, with here and there a bright patch shining through the haze, like silver, the reflections from sheets of water. Bounding the valley on the west were seen the snowy slopes of the great Pir-Panjal Range, forming almost from the spot where I stood an unbroken line of snow-clad peaks till hidden from view by the haze of distance. To the right other pyramids of snow rose on the view in glorious and boundless succession, stretching, I presume, to the territory of Ladakh. Looking south (the way I had come) a succession of valleys and ridges followed each other for many a league, range beyond range, till they were lost in the higher summits and gigantic snows of Pangi, which in their turn mingle with the gloomy blackness of hovering clouds.

What a scene was the whole to look upon! And what a puny thing I felt standing on that crest of snow!—a mere atom, and scarcely that in so stupendous a world! To gaze upon a scene like this till a feeling of awe and insignificance steals over you, and then reflect that in the midst of this vast assemblage of sublime creations *you* are not uncared-for nor forgotten, cannot fail to deepen the veneration of every right-feeling man for that Almighty, but Beneficent Power, who upreared the mountains, and in whose hand is the breath of every living thing.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

After contemplating this sublime panorama for nearly an hour, or as long as I could stand the cold, I commenced the descent. This was accomplished far more easily than the ascent on the other side. Sometimes, where I could do so with safety, I resigned myself to the snow, and *slid* down quite delightfully for forty or fifty yards at a time. In half-an-hour I was safely at the bottom, measuring my length on the green turf of the valley, waiting for the arrival of my traps, which I was anxious to know had not come to grief. I waited for two hours without any arrivals, when one of my servants came up looking very grave and suspicious. I immediately judged that some accident had happened, so asked what had become of the coolies, and what was the matter. "Sahib," said he, pulling a long face, "one box has fallen down." "For heaven's sake! what box?" "The large box of glass, Sahib, and it is all broken." This was sufficient to throw a wet blanket on all the satisfaction I was enjoying in having at length seen and trod the precincts of Kashmir, and, as I fondly thought, without any accident. In a few minutes one of the fellows appeared with a load of broken glass tied up in his blanket, upon examining which I found that out of seven dozen of patent plates 12 × 10 I might probably cut twelve or eighteen pieces for my small camera 8 × 4½. This was the box which I mentioned at the beginning of this narrative was the only one I had that was too heavy to be carried by one man. Two men had carried it fastened to a bamboo between them, but it appeared that in making the descent they had discarded the bamboo, and one man had taken the box on his shoulder, while the other, with a rope attached to it, pulled behind. This was of course a most absurd arrangement, for when the first man slipped, which with such a weight he was almost sure to do, the second was powerless, and so the box rolled down a declivity about a thousand feet. The men were carried with it for a considerable distance, causing one a broken arm, and the other the fracture of one or two ribs. It was fortunate, indeed, that the box

* Continued from page 584.

contained only glass instead of negatives; as it was, I had only about three dozen plates left, and Simla, which was a month's journey, was the nearest place from which I could obtain a fresh supply.

It is an old saying that misfortunes never come single, which was exemplified in this instance. On opening my box of negatives to see if *they* were all right, I discovered to my horror that some five or six of the very best had cracked (that is, the varnished films), like a piece of network, all over. This was the first time I had met with this radical annoyance, but since then have had it two or three times; and though I now know the cause of it, I did not find it out till it had spoiled about twenty negatives. I at first attributed it to the varnish, but am now convinced that it arose from damp depositing on the surface, and then, while perhaps in a closed box, being carried in the sun or subjected to a higher temperature. This will almost invariably crack negatives; but if they are packed up closely, with dry blotting-paper between, or left freely exposed to the air in a moderately dry place, they appear to be safe.

At one of the meetings of the Bengal Photographic Society there was a learned discussion on this subject, and it seemed to be the opinion of the majority that the cracking was due to imperfect washing after fixing; but, with all due deference to this worthy body, my experience is distinctly opposed to their conclusion, and I have proved that damp is the cause of this most serious annoyance.

But to return. Another march fairly launched me into the valley, at a village called Waugaud, at its southern extremity. Nothing particularly striking as yet met my view, with the exception that the whole place appeared to be under water. In some aspects it seemed like one large lake; but innumerable little divisions might be observed about it, showing that the water existed for some purpose of cultivation, which turned out to be rice-growing. Nothing detaining me here I pushed on to Vernag, where there is an immense spring, which forms the chief source of the Jhelum. This spring is a remarkable object. It is situated at the foot of the hill, and its waters issue forth in a stream ten feet wide and five feet deep—a perfect river at once. The spring was formed into an octagonal tank by Jehangir, when Kashmir formed part of his territory, and is considered a sacred object by the Mahommedans. The tank literally swarms with fish, which are also sacred. A few grains of rice thrown in brings them up by hundreds, some of them being immense fellows, which I would have held sacred enough for a dinner had I seen them on my table. Such a body of water as this issuing from a spring at the foot of a hill would almost lead to the conclusion that it was the bursting out again of a stream which had disappeared somewhere in the hills above. This place being more interesting than picturesque, I made the best picture I could of it, and, finding only one more in Vernag, moved on next day a long march to Achabul, an exceedingly pretty village, with its houses embowered among clumps of chunar trees.

Between Vernag and Achabul the road in some places literally lay through bowers of roses, for which Moore tells us, in the passage I have quoted, Kashmir is celebrated. Every bush was covered, and every tree was entwined with these perfumed creepers, forming, in truth, a very pretty sight. Achabul furnished me with four or five tolerable pictures. The chunar, or, as they are frequently termed, "plain" trees, were very beautiful in their foliage; indeed, they form a striking feature in the scenery of Kashmir. Almost every village has its clump of chunars towering high above the groves of fruit trees, and eclipsing all others in the rich, dense masses of their foliage. There is at Achabul another spring similar to that at Vernag, but smaller.

From this place I made an excursion to the celebrated ruins of Martund, five miles distant. These consist of the remains of an ancient Hindoo temple, to which antiquaries assign a date as far back as the Christian era. It is built of enormous blocks of stone, which must have cost much labour and ingenuity to place in position; and, though some of its walls have gone down, and two detached wings have been left in a tottering condition by earthquakes or by some attempts of man to undermine them, many of its great monolithic columns and imposing massive gateways still remain, rendering it a conspicuous object on its broad level plateau at the foot of low, sweeping hills. The day was exceedingly hot, no shady place could be found for my tent, and I shall not soon forget the roasting I had while labouring indefatigably for six hours in depicting every interesting feature about the ruins. But I secured fifteen good negatives, and, though very much fatigued, I walked back to Achabul in the evening with the consciousness of a man who feels that he has done a hard and good day's work.

On the following day I proceeded to Islamabad, the next place in importance to the capital. It is pleasantly situated at the foot of a little hill, the top of which commands a pleasing panorama of the southern part of the valley. The Jheelum, which is here a considerable river, winds in graceful curves through fertile meadows to the south. Avenues and rows of tall massive poplars greet the eye in many directions, clumps of the heavy-foliaged chunar overshadow knots of dirty but picturesque cottages, feathery willows bend over the water-courses, and, as a noble background to the whole, ranges of snow and cloud-capped mountains shut in the view on every side. I attempted a small panoramic picture of it on four plates, which, though good as a photograph, was unsatisfactory on account of the mountains being nearly lost. It is a sad shortcoming of photography when portraying a scene like this that these distant, but still to the eye noble, ranges of mountains are either lost altogether or come out so faintly and so diminutive as to be almost an inappreciable feature in the picture. An artist painting such a scene would bring out the distances more palpably and distinctly, and give greater magnitude and force to the mountains, while at the same time his sketch would not appear unnatural or exaggerated, or exhibit any want of aërial perspective.

I was recently much struck with this when looking over some water-colour sketches of scenes in Kashmir. One of them was taken from the exact spot from which I had taken a photograph, and included the same objects. But what a difference in the apparent reality of the scene! The foreground and middle distances were charmingly rendered in the photograph, but here its power ceased; the beautiful distances were lost, and the superb mountain chain which stretched across two-thirds of the picture, and which to the eye and in the water colour formed a striking and important feature in the view, had dwindled down to a low faint line on the horizon hardly noticeable. Perhaps I may be told that when I took this photograph the atmosphere could not have been clear, or that my manipulation was at fault; but as I waited for a clear day, and took it immediately after rain, and as the photograph is soft and delicate and much admired, these objections will not hold good. Far be it from me to depreciate our beautiful art, or join the ranks of those whose interest, jealousy, or ignorance of its capabilities induced them to make unfair comparisons, and raise a stupid cry about its being a mechanical process, requiring little or no artistic skill and taste. I have as little sympathy with these as I have with those who would place its results on a level with the finest productions of colour, and who try as hard as they can to alienate the sympathies and good-will of artists by talking a lot of preposterous nonsense which, to impartial and sensible people, would be very amusing if it were not so outrageously absurd. But while I yield to none in admiration of the finest productions of photography, I cannot help remarking (and those who have had large experience with the camera in mountainous countries will bear me out in the assertion) that it fails more or less in the rendering of distances and mountains—the former appearing much too hazy and indistinct, the latter unnaturally dwindled down and distant. This remark, of course, does not apply to mountains which are close to the camera.

I spent only two days at Islamabad, as I was anxious to get to Srinugger and luxuriate after my hard marching in a row down the river. For this purpose I engaged two boats, one for myself and another for my baggage and servants. These boats are not very elegant in appearance, but are snug and comfortable; they have a waterproof awning overhead, and "purdas" made of matting to let down at the sides. Each boat has generally six boatmen, if one may use the term, where half or probably two-thirds are women or girls. The distance from Isalmabad to Srinugger by river is forty miles. Placing my bed in the middle of the boat, I reclined in very lazy or restful fashion while my fair (?) propellers urged me at a rapid pace down the smoothly-gliding stream. The banks rose about eight feet above the water, and were flat and uninteresting; the day was gloomy and wet, so that there was nothing to disturb my grateful rest. After proceeding about eight miles I pulled up by the side of a fine grove of chunar trees, near which was a village pleasantly situated on the banks of the river, and which, when the rain had passed off, gave me two pretty pictures. I then continued my journey till nightfall, when ordering the boats to be moored in a little "creek," dropt the "purdas" or curtains and slept soundly till daybreak. The banks still remained flat and bare till we approached within a few miles of the capital, when the poplars again began to manifest themselves.

At a place called Avantipore I left the boat to take another view of another ruin similar to Martund, but smaller. These temples, of which there are several in Kashmir, must have been of great extent, judging from the large number of immense stone blocks lying about them in all directions. After taking one more picture of a pretty reach of the river, I found myself approaching Srinugger.

Nothing can well exceed the beauty of the approach from this direction. On the right bank of the river, about a mile and a-half above the city, rises a conical hill a thousand feet above the level of the valley, on the top of which stands an ancient temple called the "Tukht-i-Soliman" (Temple of Solomon). A little further on handsome rows of poplars skirt the river on either side, while avenues of the same run off in different directions. Between and among these avenues of poplars are orchards filled with fruit, and level grassy plains studded here and there with chunars. On the right bank of the river the Maharajah has erected small bungalows or houses for the accommodation of English visitors, and these, though far from beautiful, standing amidst the thick foliage, add to the effect. Coming from the barren plains of India, where meadows and green pastures are unknown, where trees are scarce, and where all is one monotonous level of arid soil or jungle, the contrast with the freshness, fertility, verdure, and sylvan beauty of Kashmir is very great, and seems to remind one very forcibly of the hills and valleys, green fields, parks, and pastures of England.

The river, which is here about 200 yards wide, flows in a gentle curve between its rows of tall solemn poplars, and as you glide down the smooth current, reclining at ease or reading *Lalla Rookh*, you begin to feel that, highly-coloured and over-drawn as must be Moore's descriptions, there is yet to be found some foundation for the scenes he paints, and that the beauty which fame has ascribed to Kashmir is not altogether a myth.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

The first three days after my arrival at Srinugger were spent in "wanderings in search of the picturesque;" and, if my readers will accompany me in these peregrinations, they will see most of the beauties of this "terrestrial paradise." Finding the visitors' "bungalows" all full I pitched my tent on the left hand of the river, under the shade of some mulberry trees. It was the 3rd of July, and as fine a morning as ever dawned on earth, when I awoke after a sound night's sleep, in the highest possible spirits to set forth on my mission of pleasure. But I had first to receive a visit from the "Baboo," a functionary whose duty it is to see all visitors to the valley, get their names, and learn as much about them as possible. He brought me a present of fruit and a sheep, and, what was still more welcome, a number of letters and newspapers which had been awaiting my arrival. This visit and breakfast over, I stepped into my boat and gave orders to be rowed to the "dhul" or lake, distant about three miles. Passing down the river in the cool shade of the lofty poplars, we soon come to the first of the seven bridges of Srinugger. These bridges are very curious in construction and picturesque in appearance. They are built on large wooden piles of deodar logs crossed and pinned together, and, though looking anything but substantial, seem to have stood for many generations. Some of them have a row of shops flanking the roadway on each side, resembling Old London Bridge, if we may believe the prints we have seen of it.

Just before passing beneath the first bridge I observed one of my boatmen cast a line baited with a tuft of cotton, and before emerging on the other side he hauled a fish into the boat weighing at least four pounds. This was all done "on the sly," as the Maharajah has forbidden any fishing in this part of the river, under the belief, instilled into him by the Hindoo priests, that the soul of his father, Golab Sing, passed at his death into a fish, and he is naturally nervous lest the fish should be caught and his father eaten. Between the first and second bridges stretches the Rajah's palace, consisting of a long line of low brick and mud buildings rising from the water's edge. Its appearance is anything but palatial, and strikes one with no ideas of magnificence.

As we come in sight of the second and third bridges, and before fairly entering the city, the boat suddenly turns up a dark avenue to the right. Passing under a bridge we emerge at once into a scene of extreme beauty; we are on what is called the "dhul canal," but which is in reality a small river or outlet of the lake. Looking up the reach before us the eye is immediately enchanted by the splendour of the overhanging foliage and its reflections in the placid water. Chunars of immense size stretch forward their giant trunks and arms across the stream, as if trying to kiss their fellows on the opposite bank; rows of poplars rise behind, and graceful willows mingle their feathery sprays with masses of denser foliage. Such a scene, with its light pleasure boats and large flat-bottomed rice boats moored on the margin, could not fail to delight the heart of any artist; and when I add that every leaf was still, and that not a breath or whisper of a breeze disturbed the image mirrowed in the depths of the glassy stream, my readers will understand with what exultation I, as a photographer, fasted my eyes on this scene of unruffled beauty.

After deciding on two or three spots for future operations, and noting down the best aspect of light for each picture, I continued my tour of inspection. The stream presently turned at right angles, when another reach, if possible more beautiful than the first but different in character, opened before us. This was a longer vista than the other, with the addition of a broad, grassy margin, on which the ever-abounding chunars were growing in knots of twos and threes. At the end of it rose the Takht Hill, and beyond that ranges of loftier mountains. Proceeding leisurely along, another turn of the stream opened up another vista differing again but almost as lovely as the last. I perceived that several visitors had taken advantage of this lovely spot and pitched their tents on the margin of the stream, securely protected alike from sun and rain beneath the impenetrable masses of foliage which clustered around them. I had now to pass

> "Through the mountainous portal that opes
> Sublime from that valley of bliss to the world,"

which in prose means the "Dhul Gate," or entrance to the lake. It requires, to say the least of it, a long stretch of imagination to recognise Moore's "mountainous portal," as the only thing that can at all come under that designation now is a large pair of wooden folding gates, erected for the purpose of prevening a too sudden rush of water from the lake into the river when the former is rising rapidly.

The Tukht Hill, close by, might possibly form one side of this poetical portal, but you look in vain for the other, as the next hill, that on which the fort is built, is three miles distant. After passing through this flood-gate, a long narrow channel, hemmed in by tall grassy reeds, leads to the lake proper, the first portion of which is covered by thick beds of lotus, singara (water nuts), and floating gardens. Threading our narrow way through these tangled labyrinths of vegetation, we presently emerge on the broad expanse of the clear lake, the first sight of which is pleasing and impressive. The "Isle of Chunars" is the first object before us—a little speck in the distance, with only one of the trees from which it derives its name left growing upon it.

Taking our stand upon the island, we will make a leisurely survey of the lake, which appears to be about two miles in diameter. On the eastern margin is situated a pretty village, beyond which, across a green tract of meadow, is seen the "Hurree Parbut," a fortified hill. A little to the right is the "Nasib Bagh," or Garden of the Morning Breeze, the largest grove of chunar trees in Kashmir. To the right of this, at some distance from the lake, the river is bounded by a lofty range of mountains, which approach nearer as the eye wanders round until their grassy slopes seem to come down to the water's edge. It is here, at the foot of these grassy slopes and amid another thick bower of trees, that the once famous "Shalimar" garden is situated. About a mile to the right of Shalimar is the "Nishat Bagh," or Garden of Pleasure, and then a lovely prospect of hills leads the eye back to the "Takht-i-Soliman," crowned by its little temple and solitary poplar tree.

Let the reader endeavour to imagine this lovely panorama spread around him—every object in which is faithfully mirrorred in the peaceful lake, whose surface on the first day that I visited it was as smooth as glass itself—and he will then be able to form some idea of the kind of scenery which delights every visitor to this celebrated valley. After gazing some time on this goodly prospect, I rowed across to the Nasib Bagh, whose cool shade and grassy sward induced me, before leaving Kashmir, to pitch my camp and stay there for nearly a fortnight. I was told that in the day of its glory this grove or garden contained 1,200 chunar trees; at present it contains only about half that number. The view across the lake from this spot is very beautiful, and furnished me while staying here with several instantaneous pictures of cloud effects and water.

I next crossed over to Shalimar. The glory has now departed from this once favourite resort of the "magnificent son of Akbar." The garden is not now kept up as it ought to be, though the terraces, forming several cascades, the fountains, and the marble-pillared nautch house still remain. From this I proceeded to the Nishat Bagh, which is similar in character to Shalimar, having six or seven terraces and a stream of water flowing through the middle. The gardens of Shalimar and Nishat are filled with fruit, the chief of which are apples, pears, peaches, apricots, cherries, and mulberries. The two latter only were in season at this time, but of these there was abundance, and very delicious they were.

But now the low dipping of the sun behind the grove on the opposite shore of the lake warned me that it was time to depart, and a still small voice from somewhere about the digestive organs was beginning to make itself heard, so there was no alternative but to tear oneself away from the witchery of lake and mountain, grove and garden, which I did with less regret knowing that it would be my pleasure not only to visit them again, but to linger some time in their peaceful haunts, and to carry away with me more enduring impressions of their loveliness than those retained on the tablet of memory.

The second day was spent in exploring the city. I have already mentioned its seven wooden bridges, with their picturesque rows of shops, connecting the two halves of the city situated on each bank of the river. The houses are built right into the water—some, in fact, stand on piles and actually overhang the stream as though they were preparing to cross it on stilts. At frequent intervals long flights of steps lead down to the water, and these are generally thronged with people in the act of washing themselves or their clothes, or carrying to and fro their pitchers of water.

There are strange wooden erections moored in various places, which at first sight greatly puzzle the traveller in speculating what they can

* Continued from page 617.

be; but a closer inspection and a sound of splashing within leads to the conviction that they must be bathing-machines. From the amount of washing and bathing continually going forward, and the numbers of men, women, and children ever dabbling and diving in the stream, one would naturally infer that Srinugger was one of the cleanest of cities; but a stroll through some of its streets soon convinces you that the very reverse is the fact. The city is filthy and "odoriferous" to the last degree, and the inhabitants are not much better. The dirty, greasy wrapper in which they drape themselves must greatly nullify the effects of a dip in the river.

So much for their habits. Regarding their beauty, my readers may ask, are the Kashmirians as beautiful as fame reports them to be? I have stated that their dress is not particularly attractive, and on the whole am inclined to think that the beauty of their features has been somewhat overdrawn. The inhabitants are about equally divided into two great classes—Hindoos and Mohammedans. As regards the latter, my impression was that they do not differ much from, and are little, if any, better looking than, the same race in many other parts of India. But an exception must be made in favour of the Punditanes, the wives and daughters of the Hindoos. These are fairer than the Mohammedan women, and many of them are certainly very pretty. It is only when you come upon them unawares that you can see them properly, as they veil their faces on the approach of an European, and generally take themselves off. But sometimes in going down the river in the evening in a closed boat, I have seen as pretty round faces, rosy cheeks, fair skins, black eyes, and flowing locks as can be found in better civilised countries, and which with changed garments and habits would pass muster in London or Paris.

The Kashmirians are famous for their love of song and music. It is no uncommon thing, when reclining in your boat, and gliding down the river "at its own sweet will," to see a pair of black eyes peering at you through a latticed window in a lofty storey above, from which also issue the tones of a silvery voice and the soft melody of a guitar. Nearly all the nautch girls play and sing; and, though to English ears their music is strange and monotonous, there is something sweet and pensive about it. I had one evening the pleasure (if such it may be called) of witnessing a nautch at Shalimar. The dancers attired themselves in a strange and very absurd costume, consisting of a gaudy many-coloured robe with a ridiculously short body and long skirt. Round their ankles were twined six or seven rows of bells; their wrists were covered with bracelets, and their fingers with rings. The guitars and tom-toms set up a tuneless discord, and the dancers, generally two at once, began a shuffling movement with their feet, their arms, outstretched, waving gracefully to the motion of the body, and their ankle-bells jingling time to the music. Squatting around scores of men and boys looked on with profound admiration, and frequently applauded by shouting and clapping. All this time the hubble-bubble, or "hookah," was going its eternal round, and (I blush to say it) the fair dancers not unfrequently paused in the *ballet* to take a "pull" at this most indispensable accompaniment. In this way dancers and spectators will continue without tiring through a whole night, till daylight peering through the chunars and streaming along the marble corridors bids them disperse.

But let us return to the city. The houses are chiefly built of wood, with a view, no doubt, to withstand the earthquakes to which Kashmir is very subject. To this cause (viz., earthquakes) is probably due the toppling, unsafe appearance which many of the houses present. They lean and slant in all directions as though only waiting for a push to topple over, and this adds to their picturesque effect. The city, especially that portion of it on the right bank of the river, is intersected by narrow canals, the purpose of which is to afford a convenient mode of transit for the cucumbers, singaras, water-melons, and other produce from the floating gardens on the lake. These narrow water ways are crowded with little boats distributing their vegetable burdens through the city. It is astonishing the quantity of cucumbers that are daily consumed in Srinugger, and amusing the way they are eaten. You meet boys and girls going about the streets with one in each hand, gnawing away at them as boys in the country in England do with raw turnips. Some of the views on these narrow canals are very picturesque. They are overhung with four, five, and six-storied wooden houses, which are generally built on props and leaning, some one way and some another, spanned in several places with a single-arched stone bridge dark and hoary, the whole here and there relieved by vines and creepers clinging to the lattices or climbing over the roofs and bridges. There are one or two old mosques in the city, but of scarcely sufficient interest to recompense a journey through the filthiest of streets and the "loudest" of smells.

I paid a visit to one or two of the principal shawl merchants, and inspected their stocks; but the result of my visit was a conviction that it is a mistake to buy Kashmir shawls in Kashmir. All the best shawls made in the country are bought up by the representatives of two French houses and sent to Paris, and what are left for visitors to purchase are such as have been rejected by these gentlemen. Moreover, the prices asked even for rejected ones are higher than the best can be purchased for in London or Paris. It might excite a feeling of pity in the bosoms of some of the fair wearers of these beautiful shawls if they knew the poverty and bondage in which the poor wretches who make them are kept by the Rajah. They are compelled to toil in low close dens from early morn till sunset in order to obtain the veriest pittance, scarcely sufficient to keep soul and body together. But the same holds with all classes of the industrious population—two-thirds of the whole produce of the country is seized directly by the Rajah; and if there should be a trifle left more than is required by each cultivator for his own and family's sustenance, he is not allowed to sell a grain till his oppressor has disposed of all his unlawful share. When such a state of tyranny and oppression is witnessed by every English visitor to the "happy valley," they may well regret that such a noble but misgoverned country should not have remained in the hands of the English when it was once in their possession. But I must not forget the nature of the Journal for which I am writing, nor dwell too long on topics of this nature.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

By the time I had finished the detour of the city, inspected its bridges, houses, streets, canals, mosques, and shawl warehouses, the sun was again tinging the snowy sides of the Pir Punjal with his yellow evening beams, and once more I fell back into my boat and enjoyed the row up the river to my tent and dinner.

The next day was devoted to an ascent of the Takht Hill and a stroll among the poplar avenues, of which, as I before stated, there are several about Srinugger. One of them is known as *the* "poplar avenue," and is a mile long and quite straight. This is a fine walk, and is almost perfect—hardly a tree is wanting, and the effect on looking down it is very striking. It is carpeted with grassy turf, and a level grassy plain stretches on each side of it; at right angles to this are three or four smaller avenues extending to the river, a walk down which when the grapes are ripe is by no means an unenjoyable exercise, if one be a good climber. Running up, and entwining themselves among the poplars to a height of ninety or hundred feet, are numbers of vines, whose tempting clusters hanging at this elevation only mock the wistful, watery eyes cast up to them. Like all fruit in Kashmir, the natives do not allow these grapes to ripen properly before plucking them, and fine as they are, and delicious as they would otherwise be, they lose much of their flavour through not being ripe.

A stroll down the long avenue before mentioned brought me to the foot of the Takht Hill, which I ascended. The view from the top is particularly interesting, and commands the best general view of the valley to be had from any one point. Looking north immediately at the foot of it on the right is the lake which I have already described, with its patches of green floating gardens, its little islands, and its pleasure gardens nestling embowered at the foot of their lofty, grass-covered mountains.

About two miles distant, with meadows, streams, and poplars intervening, lies the city, of which it may be truly said that "distance lends enchantment to the view." To the south the Jhelum makes an extraordinary series of serpentine windings in its course through the valley till it sweeps the base of the hill on which I stand on its way to the city; to the east near mountains close the view. Seen from this spot there can be no mistake about the fertility and verdure of Kashmir; look where you will everything is green and beautiful up to the snows which girdle it round—a very garden amongst the hills, an emerald set in crystal.

* Continued from page 4.

Having thus given my readers a general description of this part Kashmir, as it appeared to me, I must conduct them rapidly over e two months spent in photographing the scenes I have attempted describe. I was favoured with remarkably fine weather, which I d not been before since starting on my journey; during these two nths there were only six or seven days on which I could not work. The summer of Kashmir very much resembles that of England, ien the latter is what it ought to be—bright and warm. It is yond the influence of the monsoons, and so there is no regular ny season, only occasional showers. August, certainly, was rather tter than I liked, but with so much cool and shady foliage the heat not much felt. All my chemicals worked satisfactorily, which is re than the best of us can say always, and my general average s about six negatives per day of all sizes. And what a pleasure was to work on those grassy swards, and in the shadow of those ightful trees! No dust to generate pinholes; seldom any wind to ile either the temper or the trees; pictures composing almost of mselves wherever the camera might be placed; a boat to convey anywhere and everywhere—photography here became one of the st delightful of occupations. The only difficulty I had generally contend with was the obstinacy of the natives when I wanted to introduce them into my pictures. By no amount of talking and ing could I get them to stand or sit in an easy, natural attitude. eir idea of giving life to a picture was to stand bolt upright, with ir arms down as stiff as pokers, their chin turned up as if they re standing to have their throats cut; the consequence was that I d often to leave them out when I should otherwise have introduced em.

The English Commissioner resident at Srinugger, a gentleman om I knew previously, kindly gave an order to have a mber of the best-looking nautch girls collected, of whom I was take a group. They were very shy at making their appearance daylight, as, like the owl, they are birds of night. They came cked out in all their rings and jewellery, and all their silk holiday ire; but, on taking a cursory glance at them when they were all embled, with the exception of two or three, one could not help ning to the conclusion that if these were the prettiest, the rest st be miserably ugly. Much to my annoyance, a number of tlemen had assembled "to see the fun," and their presence by means added to the composure of my fair sitters. They squatted mselves down on the carpet which had been provided for them, absolutely refused to move an inch for any purpose of posing; after trying in vain to get them into something like order, I was liged to take them as they were, the picture, of course, being far m a good one. A photograph hardly does justice to native beauty; fair olive complexion comes out much darker than it appears to eye, on account of its being a partially non-actinic colour.

It would be a monotonous task and wearisome to my readers to ail each day's work while I was engaged in transferring to my tes the beauties in and about Srinugger. I shall, therefore, rely state that I took every picture that I had selected on those t three days of reconnoitering, with many others; and that while re might easily have been taken, but slightly different in racter to those I had, I left but few representative pictures taken.

On the 15th September I turned my back on Srinugger, after ten eks most delightfully, most enjoyably spent in that fair region of van beauty. I now directed my steps to Manus Bul, a pretty le lake about eight miles north of Srinugger. This was also proached by the Jhelum, into which its outlet flows. Having yed here a few days—where, besides scope for my camera, I nd some good teal and chickoor shooting—I was anxious to explore Scind valley, a tributary of the main valley of Kashmir running up into the mountains towards Ladak—a little river sparkling ough it from the snows above. And well was my perseverance varded, for up this valley I saw some of the finest mountain nery it has ever been my fortune to look upon. As I should have return the same way, I decided to push on as fast as possible to head of the valley, or as far as I could get, keeping a sharp k-out for pictures, which I should thus be the better able to take my return. The distance was over fifty miles, which I accomshed in three days, On the first two marches I saw nothing very iking, and began to fear that my toilsome journey would prove a d "spec.," but still had hopes, as I saw the valley narrowing, the untains before me closing in, and the snow peeping out on some their loftier peaks, that I should come to something better prently; and I was not deceived. I had not proceeded more than a le on my third day's march when the road seemed to be approachg a precipitous rocky mountain, up which it was impossible to go, d yet there seemed no other escape, no passage through the rocky barrier which closed me round. With intense expectations as to what mysteries another mile or two would introduce me, I wandered on till I came to a village of only two houses. This was situated immediately at the foot of the rocky precipices, which now towered almost perpendicularly above; and yet, though the path continued, no outlet was visible. After breakfasting here, and filling a bag with some hundreds of fine ripe walnuts, with which the trees around were laden, I again pushed on,

The road now lay through a thick copse wood, which completely intercepted the view of every thing except the summits of the cliffs above. An opening in the wood presently revealed the true character of the scene; an immense and magnificent gorge opened on my right, forming the portal to as sublime a view as eye ever gazed upon. On the right and on the left towered mountains great and high, lifting their sharp pinnacles into the clouds; their bases were clothed with fine hanging woods of birch and pine, and, being autumn, the birches had yielded their summer green for the more gorgeous tints of yellow and scarlet. The contrast of these bright colours against the dark green pines produced a fine effect, and I could only wish once again that the eventful day had arrived when the productions of the camera shall be characterised by that last and crowning perfection—colour.

Tumbling and foaming in innumerable cascades at the foot of these mighty Alps came pouring down the little crystal stream by whose side I had wandered for more than thirty miles, the quivering birches bending over it as if rejoicing in its frolicsome glee. Up this narrow defile my road now lay, and many were the pauses I made, and the exclamations of surprise I uttered, as its grandeur unfolded before me. For about six miles it was one constant succession of pictures—one scene of absorbing beauty. Rocks, woods, water, mountains, precipices, and snow mingled in happiest combination—beauty and strength, softness and grandeur, peace and terror vied with each other in displaying their charms to the utmost. Where, thought I, shall I begin, and where shall I end my operations here?

Pictures I marked down without number, each succeeding one seeming to be an improvement on the last. Presently the valley again opened out, and branching off to the right and to the left I observed other valleys running up to the snows, half filled in some places with melting glaciers. But night, suddenly approaching, warned me not to linger further in these beautiful but treacherous solitudes, especially as I had some three miles yet to go. All my servants and coolies had gone on and left me behind, and I was alone on a dangerous and uncertain track. With "cautious steps and slow" I crept on through the darkness, freezing as I went, growing every moment more doubtful whether I should ever find my camp.

A few minutes more and it grew absolutely dark; the sky was overcast, not a star was visible, and I could no longer see even a glimmering of my way. To proceed was to subject myself to the greatest danger, to stand still was to freeze. Just as I was considering what was best to do under the circumstances I espied a light at some distance before me; it was evidently moving, and the lapse of a few anxious minutes showed that it was approaching me. Imagine the relief I felt when I found that my thoughtful "bearer" had sent a lantern to meet me, with the welcome tidings that the road was now level, and that a good fire of logs and a hot dinner were awaiting my arrival. I felt grateful for a happy deliverance from an awkward situation, and resolved, if possible, to avoid it by not exposing myself to such risk again.

(To be continued.)

NARRATIVE OF A PHOTOGRAPHIC TRIP TO KASHMIR (CASHMERE) AND ADJACENT DISTRICTS.*

By S. Bourne.

When I awoke next morning the thermometer stood at 22° below freezing point, and my unfortunate coolies, who had to "sleep the sleep of the weary" on the cold, cold ground, stood shivering round the embers of last night's fire, wondering no doubt what could induce the "sahib" to wander into regions like these. I had not yet reached the head of the valley, so, again ordering my tents to be struck, marched on for a distance of eight miles, when the mountains closed in, and the path led over a pass of 12,000 feet into Ladak. Here I decided to halt and retrace my steps, but was anxious first to ascend the pass and ascertain what sort of a view was to be had from the top. The ascent was not difficult, and I was rewarded by two fair negatives—one of the peaks above the pass, and a general view looking over the valley through which I had come, embracing a wild scene of sweeping snow-clad peaks and summits. Two more pictures below, near my tent, took up another day; but the intense and bitter cold made photography here anything but pleasant, and I was not sorry to turn my face again in a warmer direction, and my servants and coolies evidently participated in the same feeling.

A little incident occurred here which I may mention as illustrating the character of the inhabitants, who, to many other bad qualities, add that of being notorious thieves. A large flock of sheep drove past, some three or four thousand in number, and the thought struck me that a couple of them given to my coolies would be very acceptable to the half-starved wretches, and revive their drooping courage. I sent a servant to purchase three—one being for myself; I had inquired the regulated price from the Tehseeldar before leaving Manus Bul, and found that 3s. was the proper price to pay for an ordinary sheep, and these were certainly not extraordinary, except in leanness. The man shortly returned, saying that the owner wanted 10s. each! I sent him back to say that I knew the proper price, which was 3s., but that I was willing to give him 5s. He refused to let me have them, thinking, no doubt, that I was greatly in want and had nothing else to eat. Whereupon I went down with half-a-dozen men and seized three out of the flock. He declined to take the 15s., and came round me with about a dozen fellows, using all sorts of abusive language, and looking anything but peaceable. This put me on my mettle, and a man thinks little of danger when his "blood is up;" so, seizing a huge stick that lay near, I made him feel its "quality" in rather a smart manner. His courage and that of his fellows was shown by all of them instantly taking to their heels and scampering down the valley. He returned in about an hour, in a very altered tone, to ask my pardon and beg for his money.

I had now to descend and pitch my camp about ten miles below, in that part of the valley which had so enchanted me on going up. Then I commenced operations; here I found myself beset by the presence of an enemy on which I had not calculated. It was a dull, cloudy, and *still* day when I passed up, but now all this was changed. The weather had cleared, the wind had risen, and every morning after nine o'clock it rushed with great violence through this large defile and kept the trees in perpetual motion. This was a very sore trial to me. I made the best I could of the early mornings; but, while this only gave me a very limited time for working, it unfortunately happened that most of the views I had selected could only be taken in the afternoon.

After waiting for three weeks, the wind still continuing, I was reluctantly compelled to leave many of these glorious pictures untaken, as the snow was beginning to fall, and the cold was almost unbearable. I, however, carried away a few choice subjects, which are amongst the finest I took on the journey. Had I only been favoured with a few still days I should have got a most valuable series of superb pictures, such as rarely falls to the lot of any photographer to produce. I one day very nearly "came to grief" while taking a picture in this place. The only spot on which I could fix my tent was the narrow path which ran along the slope of the mountain; but on this there was not sufficient width to extend it properly, and I had to crouch in the middle for fear of toppling over and finding myself in the river below after an unpleasant journey of some three hundred feet. I was engaged in developing a plate when my servant informed me that twelve laden ponies were waiting to pass. I kept them waiting for some time, and had yet another picture to take, but the men getting impatient I allowed them to pass by going a little up the slope above my tent. I saw five or six pass over safely and went inside to prepare another plate. Eleven had crossed, and the twelfth was in the act of doing so when he lost his footing and came right down upon the tent and me! Down went the table

* Concluded from page 38.

and smash went the bottles, collodion, developers, fixer, and measures! As soon as I could extricate myself I rushed out and saw the pony get up and walk off uninjured; but how was I to replace my precious bottles and glasses? By turning the broken ones to account, and bringing two or three brandy bottles into use, I contrived to carry on my work.

I suffered very much while here from pain in my hands, caused by the frost and the action of the chemicals, especially the cyanide; indeed, few except those who have experienced it can imagine the acute pain which cyanide of potassium produces on the hands when very much chapped by frost. After nearly a month spent in this charming, but at this time (October) freezing, region, I returned to Manus Bul, where I had left the boats and the greater part of my baggage.

My stay in Kashmir was now drawing to a close; winter was approaching, my stock of chemicals and glasses was nearly exhausted, and I was anxious to get home again. I therefore determined to proceed down the river, and make my exit with it at Baramula. In doing this I had to cross the largest lake in Kashmir, called the Wulur Lake. This is about fourteen miles long by eleven miles wide, and is a noble sheet of water, surrounded on two sides by lofty mountains. Its surface now presented a remarkable feature, being literally covered with wild fowl. It would have delighted the heart of any sportsman to have seen the countless swarms of geese, ducks, teal, and every other description of aquatic game spread over its vast surface. It was towards evening when I reached the margin of the lake, where I intended anchoring for the night, but I could not resist the temptation of a tour with my gun. Removing the cover from my smallest boat, and taking only a couple of men to paddle it, I sat down in the bottom and pushed cautiously along; but the wary birds were on the look out, and steadily receded as I advanced, keeping about three hundred yards from me. Seeing that pursuit was useless, my boatmen suggested that I should probably meet with better success by leaving the open lake and keeping close by the shore. And they were right. Growing in the shallow water by the margin were beds of singaree, among which the ducks were so busy feeding that they did not observe my stealthy approach till I got within range. In this way I knocked down six, when darkness came on and put a stop to my sport. I followed it up the next morning as I passed through the lake on my way to Baramula. By the time I reached the opposite side I had killed twenty-three birds, chiefly duck and teal. The geese I could not get within distance of.

About two miles below, where the river emerges from the lake, I came to a place called Sopur, celebrated as a famous fishing place; and certainly there would not have been much difficulty here in hooking any quantity of fine fellows for the table, but not being very fond of piscatory pursuits, and anxious to get on, I left them unmolested. After taking one view of the bridge, which was similar to those of Srinugger, and one down the river, I next day reached Baramula, where the Jhelum makes its exit from the valley to pursue a dashing, headlong course through the mountains. I have before referred to the smooth, almost sluggish, flow of the current in its tortuous course from Islamabad. It maintains the same sluggish pace, almost without a ripple, till the very moment it quits the valley and enters the hills, when it dashes off with headlong speed, roaring and flashing into spray as it tumbles over its rocky bed. The Kashmirians have rather a poetical explanation of this, and say that it is foaming and fretting with rage at being compelled to leave their beautiful valley.

Baramula, prettily situated at the foot of an amphitheatre of mountains, with its picturesque old bridge and beautiful reach of river, furnished me with four pictures—the last I took in the valley.

It only now remained for me to discharge my boatmen, who had been with me four months, and who, before leaving, requested me to give them a "chit," or written testimony, of good service, and to bid good-bye to this greenest and loveliest of valleys, which had charmed me with its soft and sylvan beauty, and enriched my cabinet with so many pictures.

For two marches after leaving Baramula the road led through some fine mountain scenery well covered with forests; but whether it did not "compose" properly, or whether I was now indifferent to the beauties of any scenery after the Scind Valley, or whether my stock of *matériel* was too low, or whether a certain letter which I had received from Lucknow, where I was to spend Christmas with friends, had anything to do with it, certain it is that I only took two pictures on the whole of the nine marches between Kashmir and Murree. But after the first two marches the scenery became comparatively tame and uninteresting; the road crossed a succession of mountain ranges, sometimes following the course of a stream, then turning at right angles up other valleys and over another series of hills.

After six days of rather tiresome marching, the road being anything but the best, it was a great relief to leave the dominions of the Maharajah and enter those of the British Government. The difference was visible at once in a beautiful bungalow erected for the accommodation of travellers, and an excellent road winding with a gradual ascent up to Murree.

Murree is a large and flourishing hill sanitarium for stations in the Punjab, and being rather picturesque I stayed a few days and took some views. One of these, which I call *A Glimpse Through the Forest*, is a very pretty bit. There is a narrow path in the foreground leading to two solitary houses standing on a spur, with a distant background of mountains, the immediate foreground being composed of lofty trees running up into and filling the picture.

My work would now have been completed, but two gentlemen whom I met in Kashmir were very anxious that I should call at Rawul Pindee and Sealkoto on my way down, and take a group of the officers of their respective regiments, the 79th and 93rd Highlanders. I had to pass one of the places, and the other was not much out of my way, though it took up a considerable time on account of the badness of the roads. This done, I packed up bottles and cameras, resolved not to open them again till I reached Lucknow, and till I had enjoyed my Christmas and had some respite from my toil and travel.

It wanted only nine days to the 25th December, and I had received letters to say that I must be in Lucknow by that day, that the fatted calf was to be killed, and any amount of champagne broached in honour of my safe return from a long and successful journey. But I had yet nearly 900 miles to travel ere these delights could be realised, 600 of which had to be done in a dâk gharry. Pity me, gentle reader, as you fancy me cooped up in this narrow, sombre-looking vehicle, travelling day and night as if for my life (but really for the fatted calf), for seven successive days without stopping, except occasionally at a dâk bungalow for a dinner off "sudden death" (grilled fowl). If ever a man thinks well of James Watt it is in India, when he steps into a railway train after journeying some hundreds of miles, amid heat and dust, across a very monotonous plain. Certainly my feelings of gratitude to that benefactor of his race were particularly strong as I found myself once more whirling with glorious speed from Delhi to Cawnpore. On reaching the latter I had again to have recourse to my old friend, the dâk gharry, to take me into Lucknow, a distance of 48 miles. The Lucknow Agricultural Exhibition was to be open that day, and every carriage was taken up, but ultimately I succeeded in getting one by paying £2 10s. for it. The horses at the different stages were all tired and knocked up with the late hard work, and could only creep along at the rate of four miles an hour; but I had the day before me, and about 6 p.m. on the 24th December drove into Lucknow, to receive a hearty welcome from my friends after an absence of nearly ten months of hard and solitary travel.

When the reader remembers that I had seen no prints from the negatives I had taken during my long journey, some 500 in number, the greater part of which I had sent home before leaving Kashmir to be printed and published, he will easily understand how anxious I was to see them, and that one of the first things I did after my arrival was to inspect the albums in which they were contained. I was afraid that working on so long without seeing any prints I might have been deceived in the amount of density I had given my negatives, but was happy to find that such was not the case, except in a very few instances, and that on the whole I had some reason to be pleased with the results of my trip; and it is encouraging to find that this series has since met with general approbation, while the Bengal Photographic Society has honoured me with its gold medal for the best series of ten, and its silver medal for the best single picture, in its Exhibition of 1865.

Should any of my readers feel a desire to see some of these views, I may state that they will probably have an opportunity of doing so next year at the Paris Exhibition, if I succeed in obtaining any space there; and as I also hope to visit England next year, I may perhaps have an opportunity of laying some of them before a meeting of one of the photographic societies.

Before this narrative reaches the hands of my readers I shall be far away in the interior of the Himalayas on another six months' journey, which will take me through some of the wildest and, I trust, most picturesque parts of this great and interminable chain of mountains. Hoping your good wishes will attend me on this more hazardous journey, I wish you, kind and indulgent reader, for the present, adieu.

Simla, 27th June, 1866.

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.

By S. Bourne.

The readers of The British Journal of Photography get so much pure scientific pabulum stuffed into them every week that it has often occurred to me it would be a relief to some amongst us occasionally to descend from the lofty region of pure science, to which our learned Editors would for ever exalt us, and revel, by way of relaxation, in a little lighter gossip about the practical results of all this teaching—about what has been and is being done by our brethren in the art in various parts of the world—where they go with their cameras—what incidents, amusing or instructive, they meet with in their pictorial wanderings—what difficulties they have encountered—what process they worked—what was its value when put to the real and repeated test of trial in the field on a lengthened tour, the size of their pictures, and a host of other interesting matters of a similar character. Such papers have appeared—but how rarely! If they were more frequently incorporated among our scientific lessons they would add another attraction to the Journal, and be hailed with pleasure by many a reader, while a fund of practical information would thus be collected which would enable us to compare notes and mark progress. But I am aware that this entirely rests with photographers themselves, and is no fault of the Editors, and certainly not of the Proprietor, who is most persevering in his efforts to render the Journal popular and interesting. Come, then, ye talented photographers (every photographer is talented), from the five "quarters" of the globe, and let us hear what you are doing and where you have been wandering. Tell us into what known and unknown places the camera has penetrated!

By way of a start, and that India should claim her place in the march of photographic enterprise, I propose to give some account of a photographic tour through the higher Himalayas; but, before doing so, one or two words of explanation are necessary. In the first place, I make no pretensions to *scientific* travels—my object was purely pictorial; and though much that was interesting to the botanist and geologist came under my observation, I shall do no more than sometimes refer to the fact, without going into any description pertaining to the domains of these sciences, with which I am very imperfectly acquainted. And then I feel that some apology will be due to the reader for so much talk about myself, such frequent allusion to personal wants and trifles, to the exclusion, perhaps, of matters of more general or photographic interest. But one cannot always be writing pure photography, and the traveller cannot always be looking at sights. As the author of *Eöthen* remarks, he has his moments of "humble enthusiasm" about such commonplace matters as "fire and food, shade and drink, and if he gave to these feelings anything like the prominence which really belonged to them at the time," they would occupy a considerable share of attention in the narrative. Therefore, my narrative will be found to be made up of much egotism and allusion to self; while from all "geographical, geological, and botanical research, from all sound learning and religious knowledge, from all historical and scientific illustrations, from all useful statistics, from all political disquisitions, and from all good moral reflections," it will be found to be eminently free.

Although more than two years have elapsed since I made the journey in question, my jottings may not be without interest, from the fact that no photographer ever made the journey before, and it is very improbable that any photographer will ever travel the same route again.

My starting point was Simla, from which place I last addressed the readers of The British Journal of Photography, in some *Notes of a Photographic Trip to Kashmir and Adjacent Districts*. I now proposed to explore the rich valley of the Beas River through Kulu, penetrate into the wild and desolate regions of Spiti as far as the borders of Thibet, thence, *viâ* Chini and the Buspa Valley, to the source of the Ganges. The only guide I had to accompany me on my journey was a small pocket route map published by Captain Montgomery, of the Great Trigonometrical Survey; but this I found most useful and accurate.

Hearing of my proposed journey, a gentleman with whom I was slightly acquainted asked if he might accompany me, and on my informing him that I should only be too glad of his company, he decided on doing so. I don't think I shall be committing any breach of confidence in divulging my friend's name, and, as it may add an additional interest to my narrative from the fact that he may not be altogether unknown to some of my Scotch readers, I will state that my genial travelling companion, who contributed so much to the pleasure of the journey so far as he accompanied me, and whose botanical and geological knowledge added so much to its interest, was Dr. G. R. Playfair, of Agra, brother of the celebrated Dr. Lyon Playfair, of Edinburgh, M.P.

Having laid in a good stock of provisions and hermetically-sealed stores, and arranged them with cameras, chemicals, glass, tents, bedding, portmanteaus, and cooking utensils on the backs of sixty strong coolies (hardy mountaineers from Ladâk, who agreed to accompany us the whole journey), we left Simla on the 3rd of July. The south-west monsoon had already set in, but we were prepared for any amount of rain, as we knew too surely we should get it. Four easy stages along the capital Thibet road brought us to the village of Narkunda, where the picturesque travellers' bungalow formed my first picture.

Narkunda is well known to many visitors of Simla, and is celebrated for the magnificent view it affords of the snowy ranges of Spiti, Chini, and Gangootri, and also for a splendid pine forest through which the new road is carried. Viewed from the verandah of the bungalow, the range of snowy peaks forms an unbroken line for about 90° of the horizon, and in fine, clear weather is a grand sight. But, alas! the sight was not for us. During our stay of two days a dense mist hid all its glories from our anxious gaze, or, if it cleared off for an instant, it only revealed a bank of clouds piled up as a second and higher range of peaks on the top of, and concealing, the real one. But we had one or two momentary peeps through occasional breaks, when, though distant, the snows looked so close as to be within a few hours' distance.

I may here remark that it is only in a break in the rains that we can get a clear and distinct view of the far-stretching ranges of the Himalayas. At other times a light blue haze, fatal to the rendering of long distances by photography, fills up the deep valleys which separate one range from another, until the more distant ones blend in an undistinguishable line with the sky. But, after days and weeks of rain, in one of those charming "breaks" which we sometimes get, this haze is swept away, and summit after summit, to the farthest stretch of vision, stands out in bold and crisp outline, with every landslip and mark on their scoriated sides distinctly visible. It is on such days that I like to photograph.

Have any of my readers ever remarked how much better a dry process will render distance that is more or less shrouded by haze than the wet? I first noticed this in Kashmir. I and another photographer were taking a view at the same time, consisting of a lake bounded on the opposite side by a range of hills which were rather hazy. He was using the tannin and honey process, and I the ordinary wet process. In my picture the hills ran into one another without any distinction, and were simply indicated by their outline without any variation of surface. On my friend developing his picture in the evening the hills came out comparatively crisp and sharp—every tree and ravine distinctly visible; and while in my plate they looked many miles away, in his they looked more like what they really were in reality, not more than two or three. How or why is this? Can any one offer an explanation? But to return from this digression.

At Narkunda we had to leave the high level road which we had travelled for forty miles from Simla, and descend by a rugged path to the Sutlej, about 3,000 feet below. The heat in this valley was intense, and I shall not soon forget the broiling I got in taking a picture of the deodar bridge by which we crossed the river. After breakfasting on its bank we had a steady ascent to make of seven miles before reaching our camp. The day, fortunately, was cloudy; but notwithstanding the kindly screen which thus shielded us from the sun's direct rays, we were quite overcome with the terrible heat. Imagine our delight, therefore, when, after climbing some three miles, we espied a hole under a bush on a little stream that trickled down the ravine up which we were proceeding. We at once plunged in, and the sensations we experienced were such as only those who have travelled in hot countries can realise.

Thus refreshed we resumed our journey, and as we toiled up that weary ascent many a glance did we cast at the little dip in the summit through which our path led, wishing we were there, and feeling a strong misgiving that we should be too much done up to reach it that day. Three weeks later we should have made light of such an ascent, but our muscles and sinews were not yet in climbing order, and we were doomed to many a struggle through heat and rain before we could look upon these mighty mountains and feel that we were equal to them, and did not fear their rough and rugged sides. There was nothing in the scenery to give any interest to the march; scarcely a tree was to be seen, and all the view we had was a look back across the Sutlej to the opposite mountain which we had just descended. At last we managed to crawl into camp, where we fell asleep, and were only awoke by the kitmutgar (cook) informing us that dinner was ready.

(To be continued in our next.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.

By S. Bourne.

The next day we had another long march without coming across anything particularly striking in the way of scenery, crossed one or two smaller ranges, and pitched our tents at a small village called Kôt. The houses composing this and other villages in Kulu were rather picturesque—some of them of two or three stories, built very much after the style of the Swiss *chalets*; in fact, Kulu very much resembles some of the Swiss valleys. A large chestnut tree growing in close proximity to one of the largest houses in the village made a good subject for a picture, and before leaving next morning I secured a negative of it, although it was raining at the time.

On this day's march we had to cross the Jalori Pass, about 11,000 feet elevation. It is covered on both sides with a magnificent pine forest *(Pinus Webbiana* and *Pinus longifolia)*, and, had we been blessed with a fine day, I should have "bagged" several pictures of its noble trees and glades. But, instead of sunshine streaming through its openings and lighting up its recesses, we found only rain streaming through it, the illumination coming from flashes of lightning. Rain—heavy rain—continued to pour down, and the trees, in sympathy, showered their cold tears upon us as we slowly ascended, saturated to the skin. Our poor coolies laboured beneath the augmented weight of their soddened burthens; the shrouding mist shut out every glimpse of the country below, and all looked cheerless and dreary.

We reached the top at last, and the doctor sat down under a projecting rock to try the consolation of a pipe; but, as there was some prospect of the rain abating, I, not being a smoker, pushed on, in the hope of yet being able to get a picture or two in descending. But the mist that kept rolling about the mountains only permitted an occasional glimpse of the beautiful scenery through which we were passing, and all my hopes were vain. Our halting-place was under the roof of a little wooden temple, situated in a knot of lofty pines, near a village called Russala.

Next day our march followed the course of a stream that descended from the Jalori Pass, the path running some distance above it along the slopes of the mountains which formed one side of the narrow valley. About a mile below our encampment we had a fine view. Looking back towards the pass, the hill sides were wooded to their summits, and the little stream, swollen by yesterday's heavy rain, tumbled over its boulders in a foamy mass, forming a sinuous line of silver through the dense foliage. The day was cloudy and dull; but I halted to get a picture of this fine sylvan scene, and of another almost as fine-looking the other way. I had some difficulty in doing this, as my cloths and polishing leathers were all still very damp from yesterday's soaking. However I overcame this difficulty, and secured two as good negatives (12 × 10) as was possible on a cloudy day. But however good a negative may be when taken under such circumstances, it is never satisfactory; it is too much of one uniform tone, lacks the charm of shadow and those touches of sunlight which give effect, and which, when judiciously arranged, frequently make a picture of an indifferent subject.

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Shortly afterwards the sun broke out, and two miles farther on I suddenly came upon a capital subject for my camera. This was a picturesque village of ten or a dozen houses standing well out on a spur, with a fine foreground of massy foliage and mountains in the background. There was no wind, and I had no difficulty in securing an excellent negative of this interesting subject. I found the doctor in the village (the name of which was Chatre) impatient for breakfast, which my operations had kept waiting.

Our road kept descending for some miles down the valley. The next usual encamping ground was at a considerable village called Plach; but as this was situated some 7,500 feet above us, from which elevation we should have again to descend, we did not see the object of toiling up such an ascent at the end of a day's march, so pitched our tents on a grassy spot below. The sides of the mountains in this part of Kulu being steep, and there being no level land at the bottom of the valleys—in fact, no valleys at all, properly speaking—the cultivation is carried on by means of narrow terraces up the mountain sides; and when these are green with the springing corn, or yellow and red in autumn when the corn is ripe, the effect, with the villages dotted among them, is very pretty.

Our next march kept company with a stream along the valley, where, being closely shut in by mountains, the heat was intense and almost unbearable. I only took one picture, at a place called Munglaor, where I was fortunate in getting shade for the tent, without which I don't think it would have been possible to obtain a picture in such excessive heat. Those gentlemen who recommend photographers to use a bath neutral, or nearly so, would find their pet maxim all wrong here. With such a bath they would get a very neutral result indeed, and would soon find themselves in a case of hopeless "fog." I use four drops of strong nitric acid to every pint of solution, and find no diminution of sensitiveness thereby, while I can always calculate on a clean negative, even at a temperature of 130°, as I have sometimes had it in my tent.

Our next march brought us to the Beas, a considerable river which rises in the Rotung Pass, at the head of the beautiful valley to which it gives its name. It is sometimes called also the Kulu Valley, because it is the principal one in the Kulu district. The road lay for some miles along the left bank of the Beas, the sides of the mountains being here very steep, with few trees, but covered with grassy turf, affording ample pasturage for sheep and goats. Presently we had to cross the river, which was here about eighty yards wide, by means of "mussocks," or inflated buffalo skins. These were not new to me; I had crossed rivers upon them before on my journey to Kashmir. But the doctor rather looked upon them with fear and misgiving, though he was too old a traveller and too much accustomed to the Himalayas to make any scruples about the matter, and forthwith committed himself to their buoyant inflation. I won't say he did not shut his eyes as the steersman pushed off, and he found himself being carried down the stream by the force of the current as rapidly as he was conveyed by the little paddles and feet of the steersman to the opposite bank. However, he stood on terra firma on the other side, while I had yet to cross. Running up the bank about 150 yards the men soon paddled back for me, after which all our coolies and baggage had to be brought across by the same means. This occupied about three hours, one of the loads nearly coming to grief by being carried down close to some rapids below, but was happily rescued by another mussockman who had discharged his load, and who, seeing the danger, rushed to the rescue in time to save the man and his charge.

While this was going on I grouped a number of the mussockmen with their skins on the river bank, and took a photograph of them, which to those unacquainted with this mode of crossing rivers looks a most mysterious picture.

All being safe over, we breakfasted under some trees, and pursued our journey to Bajoura, a small village with an old dismantled fort. Here we found one solitary European, an Irishman, engaged in the cultivation of tea and other products, who kindly invited us to his bungalow, where we stayed two days, in order to lay in a stock of flour and rice for our coolies, which necessary articles became scarce and very dear further up the valley.

From this place a road leads over the Bajoura Pass into the Kangra Valley, but our road continued by the Beas to Saltanpore, the capital of Kulu. Just before entering the town we crossed a stream spanned by an old deodar bridge, which, with the overhanging willows and mountains above, supplied a rather picturesque subject for the camera.

The Kulu Rajah has his palace here, which is a large, but very plain, unostentatious building. The elevation of Saltanpore is about 5,500 feet above the sea; but, being encircled by high mountains, it is one of the hottest places I have met with in the Himalayas. It is

built on a triangular piece of land between the two rivers; the houses are huddled together in a very crowded fashion, with only two or three narrow streets intersecting it. Report speaks very unfavourably of the character and morals of the inhabitants; it has been said that there is not a virtuous woman in Kulu—a fact which may, perhaps, in a great measure be accounted for by the pernicious system of polyandry which prevails in this district. They are not at all a bad-looking race of people, and their dress is picturesque; a coarse flannel scarf or wrapper is wound round the waist and brought over the shoulders, fastened in front by a long brass pin or skewer. The women plait their hair, which is invariably black, and let it hang down their backs as a pigtail; and, though naturally long, it is often lengthened by plaits of braid which hang down to their heels. The dress of the men is very similar to that of the women, and it is sometimes difficult to distinguish between them. Both sexes wear a sort of flannel skull-cap as a covering for their heads.

The valley from Saltanpore to the source of the Beas at the foot of the Rotung Pass is justly celebrated for its beauty and grandeur, and is worth a journey of many miles to see. The scenery improves every mile of the road, and, as a writer in the *Calcutta Review* lately remarked, there are few valleys of which this can be said. The path keeps the right bank of the river, leading up by a gradual and almost imperceptible ascent. The valley is here a few miles in width, richly cultivated in some places, in others affording rich pasture land; and the traveller—as he skips along its yielding turf to the music of the rushing, foaming river, and gazes on the noble mountains which rise on either hand, clothed with enormous forests, with here and there an opening of grassy glade—feels that he is passing through one of the fairest scenes of earth. The river, swollen by the rains, and receiving the numerous streams which pour down from the mountains, rushes past in a torrent of foam, the boulders and banks with which it comes in contact in its sinuous course only chafing it into wilder fury. In some places it spreads out over a broad bed of gravel, enclosing numerous little islands densely covered with hazel and alder.

(To be continued in our next.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

About ten miles above Saltanpore we came across another solitary European residence, inhabited by two gentlemen who formerly belonged to the army, but were now engaged in growing and exporting wool. One of them was celebrated as a sportsman, and he here found ample opportunity for indulging in his favourite pursuit. This gentleman I had met before when an officer in the 93rd Highlanders; he now invited us to his bungalow, indulged us (or rather me, for the doctor did not drink it) with the luxury of some bottled beer, and gave us some useful information about the road. Shortly after leaving his bungalow we crossed the river, by a wooden bridge, to "Nugger Castle." Had we been going to Ladûk we should still have kept on the right bank of the river to the Rotung Pass, but, as we were bound for Spiti, our road lay to the right over the Humta Pass, which crowned the mountains on the east of the valley. "Nugger Castle" (so called, I believe, by a lady traveller, Mrs. Hervey) was formerly a Rajah's palace; it is built at a considerable elevation above the valley, and commands a splendid view of the beautiful scenery by which it is surrounded. Behind and above rise vast pine forests, till vegetation ceases and the snow line is reached. Looking across the valley another range of forest-clad mountains tower in gigantic masses till they also pierce the region of snow. Looking up the valley to the north large patches of rice cultivation are first beheld, beyond which a succession of wooded slopes, ascending on either hand from the plain of the valley, lead onward to the glaciers and snow-crowned summits of the Rotung Pass, which forms the northern boundary of the Beas Valley.

On this evening dense masses of sombre clouds rested on the surrounding mountains, concealing most of their summits, but which, by giving scope to the imagination, impressed a deeper solemnity on the scene. As evening approached there was something unspeakably grand in the solemn stillness and gigantic forms by which we were surrounded. Now and then, through the frowning masses of cloud which played around their summits, we could catch a glimpse of some enormous range, cold and sharp, which, in the darkening twilight, stood out in sombre majesty, piercing, as it seemed, the very heavens in its sublime altitude. None but those who have seen the Himalayas in their higher elevations can form an adequate idea of the solemn grandeur of their enormous masses when the deep gloom of coming darkness is spread over them, and only their far-off outlines can be seen relieved against the last flush of light that yet lingers in the darkening sky. Some of the summits visible from our position were fifteen or sixteen thousand feet high, but, great as this elevation may appear, surpassing the highest summits of the Swiss Alps, it dwindles into comparative insignificance by the side of those still loftier ranges which I shall have to speak of presently.

At Nugger we were hospitably entertained by Captain Knox and his lady, who were spending a few months in this delightful spot for the benefit of their health. When preparing to start next morning I found a mutiny amongst my coolies. Hitherto they had had a good road and comparatively easy work, but now that we were approaching the snows, and finding that we were going to cross one of these high passes, they did not like the prospect, and some eight or ten of them feigned illness or made some excuse or other and expressed a wish to return. I plainly told them that their excuses were idle and vain, that they had distinctly agreed to accompany me for the whole journey on the ground of getting a higher rate of pay, and that as they had hitherto had good roads and easy marches they were not going to leave me in the lurch now that the first piece of difficulty was approaching. But they were very resolute and stubborn, and declared they would not go, while two or three of them showed a disposition to bolt. On seeing this I took a handy stick, and laid it smartly about the shoulders of several of them till they lay whining on the ground. I gave them little time for this luxury, but made them buckle to their loads in double quick time. This bit of seasonable sovereignty had a good effect, as I never afterwards had the least trouble with these men; they stuck to me through heat and cold, climbing the highest and most difficult passes, and carrying their loads bravely over glaciers and places so difficult and dangerous that I, empty handed, only passed with fear and trembling.

Another march of ten miles brought us to a village called Jugutsook which we passed, and pitched our tents at another smaller village a little beyond, called Prini, where we halted for three days, in order that I might, if possible, get a few views of this part of the valley before leaving it to cross into Spiti. But I was doomed to be disappointed. From our encampment an exquisite view was obtained of the valley below, terminated by the Rotung Pass (1300 feet), with its glittering peaks and glaciers. But every day it was wrapt in clouds and mist; the only time it was visible was just before sunrise. By the time it was sufficiently light to take a photograph it had become enveloped, and its glories hidden; and not till the sun had again set would another glimpse of the snow-clad summits be obtained. During those three days many an anxious glance did I cast in its direction, and if ever a momentary break occurred I had my camera out, but before a plate could be prepared all was again invisible. There were other views to be had, including a pretty waterfall near our tents, but the weather was wet, dull, and altogether unfavourable to photography; and, as it was necessary to move on, I was reluctantly compelled to leave without having taken a single view since leaving Saltanpore of this by far the most beautiful part of the Kulu valley, I hope, if spared, to make another journey to this district at a more favourable season, either before or just after the rains (April to September), when, generally speaking, we get lovely weather in the hills.

(To be continued.)

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A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

We now left this exquisite valley behind, commencing a steep ascent of the mountains which bound it on the east. We passed one or two small villages located where it was still possible to find a bit of cultivatable land, till presently all trace of a human habitation was left behind. In one or two places we crossed the track of enormous avalanches which had rolled from the heights above, carrying destruction before them, laying low thousands of noble trees, which obstructed our path, and gave an air of ruin and desolation to many a rood. On the banks of a little stream just emerged from the snow we pitched our tents, and gazed wistfully at the snow-clad heights of the Humta Pass, which we had to ascend on the morrow.

The morning dawned cold and frosty, and, after a rather more substantial *chata harzared* than usual, the doctor started for the pass, leaving me behind to take a picture of a pretty waterfall close by, so soon as the light should be sufficiently advanced. It was arranged that at some convenient place on the ascent he should halt for breakfast, where I hoped to rejoin him.

* Continued from page 603.

Having secured my picture I pushed on, as there was a long and, probably, a hard day's work before us. But I had scarcely gone a mile when I came upon another picture, which looked so tempting that I could not pass it by; so out with camera and tent again without losing a moment. When, however, I emerged with the plate my lovely view had disappeared—everything was shrouded in mist, and I was obliged to wait till it should clear again. I had thus to tarry two hours, and it was past twelve before I was again on the march. The mist had gathered thickly around, and it soon began to rain. Once it cleared off for an instant, and I saw before me a dreary valley eight or nine miles long, filled with boulders, ascending towards vast masses of snow visible in the distance, beneath a canopy of rolling clouds; and up this uninviting valley I had to pursue my trackless journey.

Beginning to feel rather hungry, I left the coolies behind and pushed on, in order to overtake my companion and the breakfast. The road was very rough; whenever there was a trace of a track I followed it, but soon found myself on steep snow slopes, where no track was visible, or on a tottering ridge of loose stones carried down by last winter's snows, from which it had apparently only just melted. After toiling some miles through rain and cold mist, I felt very much fatigued and hungry, and wondered why I had not come across the advance party. I shouted up the pass and down the pass, but the mountains only returned a dismal echo to my call. Again I toiled on, the road becoming steeper and worse at every step; but still no doctor—no breakfast!

It was four o'clock, and I was now so much exhausted that I could scarcely keep on my legs, and many a time sat down on the melting snow, straining my eyes in every direction to catch a glimpse of my companion. I shouted again and again, but no voice answered, save, as before, the hollow echo which came from the dreary solitude.

I now began to think that I had wandered in the wrong direction, and might almost give myself up as lost—not a very pleasant thought in such a place all alone. It was near five o'clock, and I was revolving in my mind the exigencies of my dismal situation, and wondering what I should do, when, to my infinite relief, there came a break in the clouds which enveloped us, and half-a-mile ahead I discovered four of my coolies slowly toiling up what appeared nearly the top of the pass. I called out to them with what strength I had left, but they heard me not, and still kept on their way. Again and again I shouted, but with no effect; and as they still toiled on, and I saw that in a few minutes they would be out of sight over the ridge of the ascent, I felt like the remnant of a shipwrecked crew who have been tossing on the waves for many days in a small boat, and see the ship which they fondly hoped would come to their rescue departing without having perceived their signal of distress.

At length they stopped for a moment to rest their loads on the wooden staff which they each carried for the purpose. Seeing this I renewed my shouts, when I perceived they heard me, as they turned their heads. I motioned them to wait till I could get up, and noticing them put down their loads to do so the prospect of relief gave me fresh energy, and I at length managed to crawl up to them. I asked where the "doctor sahib" was, and my servants with the breakfast. They said they had gone on before. Opening one of the *khilas* or baskets, I providentially discovered the remains of a Bologna sausage and two biscuits wedged in among plates and dishes. These, with a small quantity of brandy which I had still left in my flask, set me up again; and as we were now close to the top of the pass, and expecting to find our encampment not far on the other side, I plucked up courage and moved on.

The clouds still lowered about the pass concealing the grand and wild scenery which I knew must be on every hand. On arriving at the top, when a sudden gust of wind would for a moment cause a rift in the rolling mist, I obtained one or two glimpses of the surrounding peaks all embedded in snow, and which, seen dimly through the misty medium, looked very sublime in their cloudy home.

I at once resolved that I would halt below, and return to get some views of these splendid objects if the weather would permit. The descent was steep but short into the valley below, which was not so rough and desolate as that by which we had ascended. We had yet four miles to walk after descending before coming to the place where the doctor had thought it necessary to call a halt for the night.

It was dark when we got in, and I am afraid I accosted my friend in anything but a friendly manner for having deprived me of food and subjected me to so much suffering. He explained that on account of the rain the cook could not prepare breakfast, and they had kept on hoping it would clear up till they found themselves at the top of the pass, and he thought then it would be better to go on to an encamping ground below. He had not been taking pictures, and, walking more leisurely, and having plenty of men with him, he did not feel so much exhausted—had no sense of being lost, and so had not fancied I should be in a worse position. I felt very much disposed to grumble, as most people would do under the circumstances; but he took no offence, and we were soon as good friends as ever. I forgot my troubles in discussing the merits of a good dinner, and in that feeling of calm satisfaction which comes in looking back on troubles that are *past*.

I take some credit to myself for doing what I did on the next two days, as after such an experience of the place few photographers, I fancy, would have cared to go back five or six miles and reascend the pass to take pictures, with the probability of not succeeding, after all, on account of the clouds. Ah! you gentlemen! and you, careless public! who think that landscape photography is a pleasant and easy task—a sort of holiday pastime—look at me toiling up that steep ascent in the grey dawn of a cold morning in fear and trembling that my labour would be all in vain! See me sitting for ten mortal hours, shivering in cold and mist, on the top of that bleak pass, waiting for a "break," which would *not* come! See me descending, disappointed, at night to my tent, to return next day and go through the same again, and say if *this* is pleasant pastime!

Pastime indeed! What says that veteran landscape photographer, Wilson, of Aberdeen, on this subject in a letter which I had the pleasure to receive from him a short time ago? Referring to some of the pictures I took on this journey, he says:—"I think I can almost appreciate your amount of toil and trouble expended upon these views, but very few of the general public can do so, and I am often *riled* when I hear people speak of landscape photography as mere holiday work. I believe that the only reason why I have managed to get on here is that I have worked like a horse, and done things and suffered things that few people would submit to."

I only got one picture for my first day's climb, though I waited many hours for another. I left camera and chemicals under a rock ready for next day. Before sunrise I stood on that pass again, and was now rewarded for my perseverance. The sky was one deep blue, without a speck of cloud visible anywhere; and as the glorious peaks around pierced it sharp and crisp in the solemn stillness of the morning, becoming more and more dazzling in their brightness as the sun rose and threw his beams across them, I felt that the mere privilege of looking on such a sublime spectacle was ample reward for all that I had undergone.

But I had something more to do than gaze on the grand scene, and lost no time in getting tent and camera under way. By eight o'clock I had securely boxed three 12 × 10 negatives, when the clouds, which for the last hour had been fast forming and gathering round every summit, now closed round me and hid everything from view.

Though I had now four negatives, they did not represent all I wanted; there were two or three more views quite as good, if not better, than those I had, so I resolved to wait for the chance of a break. But, alas! no break came; rain and cloud drew an impenetrable curtain over all, and I was wrapt as in a shroud. But I waited on through all the weary hours of that day. The coolies, shivering under their blankets, cast towards me many a wistful glance, wondering what possessed me to stay so long in such a place as this. It was not till five o'clock that another chance came; there was then a break, but only for *seven minutes*; but this was quite sufficient to permit me to secure one more negative, when the clouds reformed, and I packed up and descended to my tent, half starved, but not altogether dissatisfied with my day's work.

I may here mention that I have since lost one of the best of the negatives I took on this occasion, with several other valuable ones taken on this journey, by that intolerable annoyance—reticulation of the film. I am well aware that this, the most serious danger to which our negatives are liable, arises from damp, but I am equally certain that the varnish has much to do with it.

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

I am now using a varnish recommended to me by Mr. Wilson, consisting simply of unbleached lac dissolved in alcohol of ·820°, with a little sandarac, in the proportion of one drachm to an ounce of lac, added to toughen it. This gives a varnish so hard that it is like enamel; it will stand exposure *for hours* to the *hottest* sun of India without showing a trace of stickiness, and I firmly believe it will not crack. During the present monsoon I have purposely left negatives on a shelf in a damp room, but though they have now been so standing for two months each negative is still sound and whole.

But to return from this necessary digression. My friend, the Doctor, tired of waiting for my operations on the Pass, had gone on one march in advance, promising to wait at some more convenient place till I should rejoin him. Seven miles below the Pass we came to the bed of the Chandra river (the Chenab of the Plains) by the left bank of which the path now lay. The valley was closely hemmed in by rocky precipices and barren hills, and the heat again became

* Continued from page 614.

oppressive. During a long march of fourteen miles I stopped only to take two pictures—one of the end of a glacier which poured through a dip in the ridge and came down almost to the margin of the river; the other was a view down the valley, embracing some large granite boulders, which had been torn from the rocks above, and some precipices on the other side of the river. The road was a terribly rough one—a continuous climb over stones and rounded boulders over which the waters had rushed and rolled in some previous age. On every side the mountains were barren and rocky, without a tree, and scarcely vegetation of any kind to be seen—a wonderful change from the fertile valley and hills of Kulu. Snow rested on most of the summits, and innumerable glaciers filled up the hollows and ravines which separated one from another. We were now getting beyond the influence of the monsoons, although clouds still hovered on the crests and ridges of the mountains, and I experienced one smart shower on this march, the last I had for many a day. I was well tired when, as darkness approached, I came up with the Doctor, pitched amongst acres of stones on a spot of utter desolation near the great Shigri glacier.

Next day we had this glacier to cross, and a very rough, tough piece of work we found it. Those of my readers who have traversed the glaciers of Switzerland would scarcely recognise as glaciers those so often met with in the Himalayas. You fancy that you are simply crossing a mass of stones and boulders shattered and fallen from the surrounding mountains, until you suddenly come to a gigantic fissure or small lake revealing walls of solid ice many feet in thickness. This glacier was four miles across, and, I suppose, ten or twelve long, and yet was completely covered with loose stones, some of them of great size. The fact of these masses of stones and boulders being found on the top of the ice miles away from the foot of the mountains, and in such positions, some of them being most delicately poised, is convincing proof of the theory of glacier movement. As the Doctor pointed out at the time, these stones could never have fallen so far from the mountains, and especially could never have lodged themselves in such peculiar positions, and must therefore have been carried down by the movement of the glacier itself.

In order to give an illustration of this I took a picture when about half-way across, having for a foreground one of the miniature lakes set within its icy walls, some of the curiously-lodged stones of which I have spoken, and a background of snowy mountains. The scenery all around was very wild and barren, and the muddy waters of the Chandra river rolled down a valley as destitute of vegetation as the pavements of a London street. I could not help stopping two or three times to get views of these wild and barren places, the fine snowy peaks towering around and the river enabling me to add some elements of beauty to these pictures of desolation.

At our next halting-place we encountered the first real difficulty of our journey. Our tents were pitched on the dry part of the bed of a torrent, a stream of considerable width, and a large body of water which rushed down from the snows immediately above. We were surprised to find here an English sportsman, an officer of the 60th Rifles, returning from a shooting expedition in the high mountains, and who informed us that he had penetrated, by stealth, far into Thibet. He was encamped on the opposite bank, and, as we could not then cross the torrent (which could only be done in the early morning before the sun had melted the snows), we exchanged names written on a piece of paper, which, being tied to a stone, was thrown across. He was a big, powerful fellow fully six feet in height, and in throwing his stone across it unfortunately hit one of my servants on the forehead and knocked him down, and very nearly knocked the life out of him, but he recovered.

Early next morning this gentleman first crossed over to our side on a small pony, which he then made over to us to take back to the village from which he had brought it. As the torrent was increasing in force and volume every minute no time was to be lost before crossing; but the Doctor distrusted the pony, and thought he should be safer on his own legs with a native holding each hand. He stripped, but the first touch of the icy water (it had only just emerged from a glacier) made him cringe. I urged him to take the pony, but he still refused, and plunged boldly into the torrent. By the assistance of the natives he got across with much difficulty, but he will not forget fording that stream as long as he lives. He sat down on the bank, his limbs so benumbed that, notwithstanding the application of rough towels and all the rubbing of the natives, it was some time before he felt the use of them again. I resigned myself to the pony, and crossed dryshod without difficulty. This torrent is generally crossed by a snow bridge a short distance above, but this had lately melted away.

The road, for a few miles further, still kept company with the Chandra river, when presently turning to the right we bid adieu to its muddy waters and crossed the Kunzam Pass, 14,931 feet elevation. There was now no snow on this pass, and at the top we found some grassy table-land and several large flocks of sheep brought here to graze in the summer months. I obtained one picture here of a fine range of snows on the opposite side of the valley we had just quitted.

A steady descent of some eight or nine miles brought us to the village of Losar, comprising a few dirty huts with still dirtier inhabitants of the Tartar tribe, and situated in a desolate valley, which could scarcely grow sufficient grain to supply the village. The walls of the huts were made of mud and whitewashed; the roofs were flat, and owed their power of keeping out rain (if they did keep it out) to a thick layer of bramble or brushwood. The women had long, coarse black hair, divided into innumerable little plaits, which hung down their backs, and they were profusely ornamented with bracelets of shells and necklets of amber and turquoise. They were very strong; some of them acted as our coolies, took up the heaviest loads, and jogged off with them without thinking apparently that they were heavy at all.

We halted a day here that I might varnish my negatives (not an easy operation in a tent), and make room in the plate-boxes for others. I took a picture of the village and the valley in which it was situated, also one of a mountain hard by, exhibiting some curious contorted strata. I regret that I did not get a group of the people, but they fight shy of Europeans, and it is difficult to get them to sit, and still more difficult to make a pleasing picture without something better for a background than I found here.

Shortly after leaving Losar we crossed the Spiti river by means of a bridge made of twisted twigs or thin sticks; then a short march, presenting nothing picturesque, brought us to our next encampment at a small village called Kiota. The river here flowed over a broad gravelly bed in many little separate channels, and its banks, the height of which was some ninety or hundred feet, presented a strange appearance. The action of the rains had washed away the soft alluvial deposit, which apparently had once formed the bed of a lake, into innumerable pointed pillars, standing sometimes singly, sometimes in groups, some of them having large stones balanced on their narrow points, looking as though they would topple over at any moment. An illustration of these singular formations will be found in Sir C. Lyell's work on geology.

While I stopped to take one or two pictures of these curious phenomena, and the Doctor was hammering away looking for fossils, our ponies, which we had hired from the village, quietly walked across the river and up the steep bank on the other side, and when they were wanted we saw them grazing comfortably on the other side, perfectly safe and out of reach. We had, therefore, to take to our feet again as usual, and trudge along the shaly side of a steep mountain, on the narrowest of tracks, and in heat which, reflected from the burning rocks, was like the heat of a furnace. It was a great relief to emerge at length on an open grassy plateau and find breakfast awaiting us, after which a slight descent brought us to the village of Kibber, which, in the style of its houses and inhabitants, resembles Losar.

Before reaching this village we passed through a singular gorge, at the bottom of which a torrent rushed in partial darkness, and which was so deep that, on looking up, the sky could only just be seen through the narrow chink. We were told afterwards that a still more remarkable gorge on the same stream was to be seen a few miles higher up.

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

My companion had been looking forward to this place (Kibber) with great interest since the commencement of the journey, as, from the records of the Geological Survey, it appeared that fine specimens of fossils were to be found here at between 13,000 and 15,000 feet elevation. We therefore called a halt for two days to search for the same, and after breakfast started for some hills above, to which the natives directed us as the place where we should find the said fossils. Arrived at the spot we fell to work hunting among the loose stones that had crumbled down from the rocks above. After three or four hours spent in the search, during which we hammered away as hard as any stonebreaker on an English road, we found nothing but a few small, insignificant fossil shells, and so returned rather disappointed to our tents. The natives, however, told us that we had not gone to the right place, that the fossils were to be found higher up and some

* Continued from Vol XVI., page 629.

distance farther on. Whereupon the Doctor, who apparently had had enough of fossil hunting, at least for that day, told them that if they would bring him some good specimens they should be duly rewarded. In a few hours they returned with two baskets' full of such fine large specimens that we soon pitched our poor findings away. Not being learned in fossil lore, I can give no account of them, but there were some very perfect specimens of shells and other remains amongst them.

After taking a photograph of Kibber we proceeded on our journey, and soon came to another small village called Ri, where was a Bhuddist monastery built on the top of a conical hill. It was composed of a number of houses clustered together and whitewashed. Had time permitted it would have been interesting to go through this monastery, where we were told no end of fat priests and holy maidens (!) resided. But I was contented with carrying away a collodion impression of its external appearance.

We now found ourselves once more by the Spiti river, and for two marches kept company with it through a fine but rather desolate valley, where a tree was an article scarcely to be seen, and arid rocks and bare mountains formed a rather monotonous landscape. At length we arrived at a curious and picturesque village called Dunkar, the outpost of British territory in this direction. We took up our quarters in the remains of an old fort, as the village was built on the narrow crest of a subordinate spur, with steep sides all round it, and with not sufficient level space even to pitch a tent.

The natives of Dunkar were the dirtiest we had yet seen. They admitted that they never washed after they were four years old, because if they did they believed that all their money and property would go from them. The houses were built into the sides of the hill, which had been scooped out by nature into holes and caverns; and the way these had been taken advantage of and built into, until the hand of man and the hand of nature seemed to unite, was ingenious and picturesque. I had taken two views of the village from opposite sides, and one or two from it looking up the Spiti Valley, and proceeded to take a closer view of one particular part of the village more picturesque than the rest.

I placed my tent under a rock on a square yard or two of level—the only available spot in the whole place. The stench all around was so great, though I was close to the doors of the houses, that it was with difficulty I could get through the operation of preparing a plate; and when I came to develope it, lo! and behold! it fogged all over instantly, from the ammonia and other noxious fumes with which the air was reeking. Immediately suspecting the cause—in fact I almost anticipated such a result—I did not try again, but was only too glad to escape from such filth and stench.

I was now destined to lose my genial travelling companion, who had accompanied me for six weeks—who had robbed these wild mountains and these desolate valleys of their solitude, and made me forget the fatigue of many a long march by chatty, pleasant evenings in my snug little tent. I wished to cross a very high snow-crowned range, the Manirung, which was visible from our present encampment. As report represented it as difficult and even dangerous, my friend did not care to run any risks, and as there was another and easier route from this place over the Taree Pass and down the Wangu Valley to Chini, where we again proposed to meet, he decided on taking the latter route, especially as he was anxious to see the Wangu Valley, which I had visited three years before, and which abounds in grand and beautiful scenery. With the expectation, therefore, of meeting again in ten or twelve days we parted, and each took his several way.

Mine led, first of all, down to the Spiti river, which I crossed on a most villanous bridge, made as usual of twisted twigs, and in such bad order that, near the centre, four feet of it was broken away. I had to scramble over as best I could, experiencing all the time the not very agreeable sensation that I, bridge, and all were being carried down the stream at a furious pace. This sensation arises from the motion of the torrent below, and from the feeling of insecurity engendered by such a slight and frail structure. After getting safely over I could afford to survey it calmly, and took a picture of it with the greatest composure.

Two miles farther on I came to the village of Mani, from which the pass I had to cross takes its name, and the last village on this side of it. The advent of a European in this place was evidently a rare occurrence, and not altogether a welcome one, especially when accompanied by so many attendants as I was, who not only had to be provided for while they remained at the village, but, if intending to cross the Manirung, must take with them provisions for several days. I had considerable difficulty in some of these small villages of Spiti, and other places where the country was barren, to obtain food for all my coolies. The small patch of cultivated land attached to each village barely produced sufficient grain of all sorts to meet the requirements of the villagers, and I have sometimes had the whole village on their knees before me, begging that I would not take their flour or rice from them. It was a difficult case, but there was no alternative; my men must have food, and all I could do was to pay them well for everything they supplied.

When the natives of Mani became aware that it was my intention to cross the Pass they besieged me in numbers, and endeavoured to dissuade me from the attempt. Every argument which they thought would be likely to tell they brought to bear. They said that it was three years since any "sahib" had crossed it (which was not true); that but very few had ever crossed it at all; that it was not only a very steep and difficult ascent and descent, but that in many places it was also very dangerous, especially in bad weather, as it was likely to be now; that the stones and rocks above got loosened by the frost and rain and were perpetually falling down, frequently killing their own people whenever they had occasion to cross over; and that, in addition to all these difficulties, the small-pox was at that moment raging in the villages through which I must pass on the other side.

This looked a fearful array of possible contingencies, and was almost enough to make any traveller, much more a photographer with all his delicate freight and valuable pictures, hesitate before he set himself to encounter them. Debating the matter in my mind, it appeared to me that there were two powerful interested motives which induced these people thus to try to prevent me carrying out my object. In the first place, they would have to supply several days' provisions for my men; and, in the second place, some of them would have to accompany me to the next village on the other side where the small-pox was prevalent. And so great a horror had these people of small-pox that they had destroyed the bridges leading from the infected districts to their own territory, in order to cut off all communication. I thought that these two reasons were sufficient to account for their reluctance to my proceeding further, and had most probably led them to exaggerate the difficulties to be encountered.

Calling some of the head men of the village I told them that all their arguments were vain; that I had come here for the express purpose of crossing this pass, and could not go back; that they must forthwith bring sufficient provisions for all my men for five days; that I wanted several sheep for my own eating and to give the coolies, if necessary; and that a number of them must accompany me over the Pass to act as guides, and to assist in carrying the extra provisions; and, finally, that all must be ready to start at five o'clock next morning. When they saw that I was thus determined to go at any risk they made no further objections, but straightway departed to execute my orders.

When daylight dawned next morning I was astonished to see half the village collected round my tent, with bags of flour, a whole drove of sheep and goats, a yak for me to ride on, two or three ponies for my servants, and a number of men equipped for the journey. When tents were struck, everything in order, and we had set out on our perilous expedition, there could not have been fewer than eighty people, all told, slowly wending their way up the mountain, accompanied by the sheep and goats, most of which were laden with small bags of flour.

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

[MOUNTED my yak—the sturdy, strong, long shaggy-haired buffalo of Thibet—and right nobly and steadily did he carry me up the steep ascent, still fresh when the ponies were done up. About four p.m. we arrived at the glacier at the foot of the Pass and encamped for the night. We were now at an elevation of 17,000 feet, and found it very cold, especially as there was no wood to be had to make fires with, only some green juniper roots, which just sufficed for cooking purposes. The coolies knowing that some of the sheep were intended for them could not rest satisfied till they had tasted their quality, and begged that I would give consent. I told them they had better wait till next day, after crossing the snow, when they might require them more; but no! they wanted them now. I made four over to them; this was at four o'clock, and by eight not a vestige of the unfortunate animals remained except their skins.

When at daybreak next morning I emerged from my tent and looked up at the Pass my heart sank within me. Masses of vapour and dense black clouds rolled about the summit, and now and then a subdued but ominous growl of thunder was heard echoing among the rocks and peaks above. I did not like the appearance of matters at all, and called a council of the villagers to determine what should be done. They were not long in giving their opinion that I could not cross that day, as it would be simply courting failure and perhaps destruction. Dreary as the prospect was of remaining in such a place for another twenty-four hours at least, there was no alternative except going back, and this, of course, was not to be thought of. Slowly the hours of that day rolled by, and though I went in search of game did not find any, although ibex were to be found in the more inaccessible parts of the rocks. In the evening I took a picture looking back over the Spiti valley with a 22-inch focus lens on account of the distance; and, although it was sunset and very dark, succeeded in getting a fair negative, with some fine clouds, which, altogether, made rather a striking picture. I designated it *Evening in the Mountains*.

It was with a heart palpitating between hope and fear that I drew aside the door of my tent when the first flush of light announced the dawn of the following day. What a joyful contrast to the sight which met my view when I looked out on the previous morning! Not a speck of cloud was visible in the whole sky, the stars still twinkled through the clear frosty air, and the sharp outlines of the Pass and the peaks were clearly visible against the brightening east beyond. Not a moment was to be lost, as I was most anxious to get some views, and from the top, of this Pass if possible.

Before six we were on the move, and at half-past eight I stood on the crest of the Manirung Pass, at an elevation of 18,600 feet above the sea! But how shall I describe such a situation, or convey to the reader any idea of the wondrous extent of view which spread around me? From my very feet rose the Manirung Peak, 3,000 feet still higher, forming the northern boundary of the Pass. Across the glacier on the opposite side was a somewhat lower range, presenting a singular contorted structure in those parts not covered with snow. Looking towards the east and south, a mighty succession of snowy ranges stretched beyond the limit of vision into the vast unexplored regions of Thibet, and beyond the sources of the Ganges and Jumna to the sacred shrines of Kedarnath and Budrinath. Looking to the west, the barren, snow-capped mountains of Spiti were visible in all their rugged grandeur, and the Spiti river gleamed like a thread of silver through the now hazy valley down which I had come. I seemed to stand on a level with the highest of these innumerable peaks, and as the eye wandered from range to range and from summit to summit, all robed in the silent whiteness of eternal winter, it seemed as though I stood on a solitary island in the middle of some vast polar ocean, whose rolling waves and billows, crested with foam, had been suddenly seized in their mad career by some omnipotent power and commanded to perpetual rest. All was still and serene; the sun poured his still hot beams through the clear ether, and made the unsullied snow dazzling and painful in its brightness.

When the first feelings of surprise and admiration were satisfied I was anxious to set to work to record some impressions of these grand scenes, but, alas! all my paraphernalia was behind. My poor coolies could not climb so fast as I had done, and I saw them far below apparently almost motionless beneath their burthens. I sent some of those who had arrived with lighter loads to hasten and help them on, for there were not wanting signs already to show that what I did must be done quickly or all would be lost. It is a rare thing to get a clear day at such an elevation as this, and I considered myself wonderfully favoured. But the view to the east was gradually becoming obscured by clouds which I was afraid every moment would shut out all; but, fortunately, though they came rolling up to my very feet at the crest of the Pass they came no further, but seemed as it were to turn back, as though they would wait and give me an opportunity to secure some record of these sublime scenes so rarely visible.

Every minute seemed an hour as I waited the slow arrival of my boxes, and it was not till eleven o'clock that I could commence operations. I had just time to secure three negatives before the clouds which had marshalled themselves into vapoury ranks behind me, rolling and seething, anxious to come on, but apparently could not till my operations were finished, at length rushed over the scene, and I saw its sublimity no more.

The running about in the soft snow to get these pictures at such an elevation was a work of no small difficulty, on account of the rarefaction of the air. With the chemicals I had no trouble, the exposure (the subjects being largely composed of snow) was very short, not more than seven or eight seconds with a Grubb's C lens, fifteen inches focus, and smallest stop. I am not aware that any other photographs have ever been taken at so great an elevation as this; and had these been less perfect than they are I should still have valued them, and they would have been interesting on this account.

The yak had carried me part of the way up the Pass, but I was at last obliged to dismiss him, as the path was no longer practicable even for his sure foot. Another difficulty now presented itself. On coming to the place were the coolies had put down their loads and were congregated, I found most of them stretched on the snow groaning piteously, and complaining of pain in their temples. I felt the same to some extent myself, but not nearly so much as they apparently. I told them to get up and begin the descent, when they would feel better; but they lay and groaned on still, said they did not want to get up, but would lie there and die. And this, I believe, some of them would have done, had I not become resolute, pulled them up by main force, and seen every man off before I left the spot.

If the ascent had been steep it was nothing to the descent. A few hundred yards from the top of the Pass we came to the brow of what appeared almost a precipice, and looked down a mile of nearly perpendicular depth into the valley below. As I was informed that down this we had to go, I stood and looked at it, and wondered how, in the name of all that was fragile in human constitution, we were ever to wriggle ourselves in safety down such a frightful steep. But the attempt must be made, and, yielding myself to the tender mercies of the native guides, buckled up courage and started. By dint of clinging to rocks, sliding down snow slopes, and sidling across ice beds, the bottom was reached at last, and, as my coolies one by one descended, and at length all stood safe on the glacier (covered with stones) which filled up the valley, I felt a mingled sense of relief, gratification, and thankfulness that I had in safety crossed this celebrated Pass.

The spot on which we were now encamped formed a scene scarcely less wild than those through which we had just passed. We stood on an immense glacier, which blocked up the head of the valley, fed by many streams of ice, which poured down the hollows of the surrounding mountains. It was a desolate spot; not a vestige of vegetation of any kind to be seen, not a stick to be had for cooking food, not a blade of herbage for the goats and sheep.

We rested for the night, and, though wishing to leave such a desolate spot with all possible speed, I was anxious to secure two views of parts of the barren grandeur around. One was a view of the mountain down the side of which we had descended, and which presented another instance of the contorted strata before mentioned. The other was a view of an immense bed of ice and snow which poured over the shoulder of a precipice like a vast congealed cataract. During the night I was frequently disturbed by tremendous noises caused by masses of snow falling down this frozen precipice. On account of the clouds which obscured the heights I had to wait till after twelve before I could take these two pictures; and it was past two before I turned my back on the Manirung Pass, and bid adieu to the scenes of wild and desolate grandeur by which it was surrounded.

The path now led for three or four miles through a rocky gorge, at the bottom of which rushed a muddy stream from the glaciers above. Walking was exceedingly difficult, the sides which sloped sheer down to the torrent being so steep as scarcely to afford foothold. Now and then the stream disappeared under a mass of snow which blocked up the glen, and which, being frozen, afforded a more comfortable material to walk upon. Presently the mountain receded a little, or, at least, sloped down more gently on the left bank, vege-

* Continued from page 10.

tation again appeared, and a few silver birches greeted the sight. What a relief it is to come once more upon the agreeable spectacle of vegetation and foliage after being for days pent up amid scenes of ice and snow, barrenness and desolation!

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

But my difficulties were not all over yet, and I soon found that this agreeable change and widening of the valley was but temporary. A mile or two farther on it again contracted to a gorge, and I once more found myself shut in by rocky walls with only a passage for the torrent. At length a little wider space afforded room for encampment, and, it being dusk, I was glad to halt. Several striking pictures might have been made down the course of this narrow glen, but in the places where the best points presented themselves there was not standing room for my tent or even *camera*, so that a "dry-plate man" would not have had much advantage here.

When I looked out next morning we were so completely surrounded and shut in by mountain walls that there seemed absolutely no passage out anywhere except that by which we had come. 'Tis true the stream still rolled on through the narrow opening before us, but now it was hemmed in by 2,000 feet of precipice on either side—sheer perpendicular walls, along the face of which a fly could scarcely find a passage, unless helped. After looking carefully all round, and failing to discover any sign of deliverance from this rocky prison except a wearisome and humiliating retreat, I called my village guide, and, with a feeling of intense curiosity and a consciousness that I was giving him a poser, asked him to show me our path. He pointed in the direction of the precipitous opening through which the torrent dashed, and, raising his finger, showed me some traces of a track which through my glass were here and there visible far up the left side of the rocky cliff. "There," he says, "is where we have to go."

I shuddered as I surveyed the nature of this perilous track, and plainly saw that, dangerous as the Manirung Pass had been, it was safety itself compared with this. I inquired if there was no other route, and being assured there was not, hesitated whether to attempt this most hazardous piece of road. However, on being told that with care we should get over safely, I started, not without fear for the loss of some of my *materiel*, if I did not come to grief myself. I took care to send the villagers first and the coolies next, in order that they might prove how safe it was.

We continued to climb till we got to a dizzy height above the torrent which chafed and roared through its narrow channel below. Here and there the footing was secure enough, but in others it was enough to shake the steadiest nerves and quail the stoutest heart. One false step, one little slip, and I should have found myself in the stream and in eternity the next moment. I dare not look down in such places, but, my face to the rock, held on to the hand of my attendant who, being without shoes, could secure a firmer footing. How my coolies with their heavy loads, some of them unwieldy things like tent-poles, ever contrived to get safely over this five miles of walking on a ledge, instant death staring them in the face at every step, remains a profound mystery to me at this day. But get over it they certainly did; for when muster was called at night they were "all there" absurdly safe and sound, thus depriving my narrative of the interest it would have possessed could I have reported one or more of them dashed to pieces!

We now found ourselves in a pleasant valley dotted with several villages, and filled with apricot and other fruit trees. The apricots were ripe, and, as they were to be had in plenty, we feasted upon them freely. At the first village my main guides and coolies returned, and said they should reach their homes the same day.

The small pox had now almost disappeared, though it had played sad havoc amongst these poor people. In the largest village, a place called Sungnam, it had carried off more than 300 victims. The filth in which these people live is quite sufficient to account for the visitation of these pestilent diseases to what should otherwise be most healthy localities.

From Sungnam my route lay direct to Chīnī, three marches, but from this place I was anxious to visit a remarkable spot described forty years ago by a Capt. Gerard, the first Englishman I believe who visited these parts, viz., the junction of the Spiti and Sutlej rivers near the borders of Thibet. Accordingly I left the bulk of my baggage at Sungnam, and proceeded to the place some sixteen miles distant. It was a hot, fatiguing journey, and scarcely repaid me for my trouble, though the scene at the junction was certainly remarkable. The two rivers had each worn for themselves a deep, narrow channel through the mountains—the Sutlej coming from Thibet, the other from Spiti. Through these narrow gorges, which could not be less than 300 feet deep, the waters rushed in muddy fury till they commingled and flowed on more peacefully in a wider channel.

It was difficult to make a satisfactory picture of this scene, striking though it was, as it could only be taken from above. By means of Ross's wide-angle doublet I succeeded in getting two views of it, though they fail in giving an adequate idea of the depth of these singular passages. Creeping to the edge of one of the precipices right over the junction, and looking down, the scene was awful, and could not be viewed without lying down, and even then struck terror into one, and made one glad to recoil from such a frightful abyss.

From an old man at a village here, who remembered Capt. Gerard, I gathered some interesting information about the little-known country of Thibet, on the confines of which I now was. I might have proceeded a few miles farther to a place called Shipki; but beyond this my progress would have been stayed, as the Thibetans admit no European into their territory. This was not, however, my direction, and I returned to Sungnam, thence on to Chīnī, taking a few views on the road, whenever I found anything worthy.

This place (Chīnī) I had visited on a former journey, of which I published an account in this Journal, entitled *Ten Weeks with the Camera in the Himalayas*. I here found some messengers from Simla, who had arrived with fresh stores, chemicals, and glass, and, what was still more interesting, bundles of letters and papers, including The British Journal of Photography. Only those who have been travelling for months beyond the limits of civilisation and the post-office, who have been *completely* shut out for so long from all news of and intercourse with friends, and ignorant of what has been going on in the great world to which they have been so long strangers, can form a just idea of the intense interest with which such a budget as that I now received is overhauled and perused. The least occurrence is invested with dignity, and every trifling scrap of news is devoured with avidity.

I took up my quarters in the dilapidated bungalow which was built for Lord Dalhousie, who spent three months here, and set to work to varnish and catalogue my negatives with the view of sending them on to Simla. I did not find my friend the Doctor, but received a note from him in pencil, saying that in crossing the Toree Pass he had had a fall and hurt his ankle, and, being unable to walk, was obliged to seek means to return to Simla. I was very sorry for this, as I was thus deprived of a very agreeable companion when almost any sort of a companion would have been acceptable.

When all my negatives (sixty-two in number, besides small ones) were duly varnished, numbered, and any little imperfections, such as pinholes, &c., remedied, I flattered myself, on looking them over, that they were not so bad considering the circumstances under which they were taken.

To practice photography in England—say on the grassy banks of a stream, the margin of a quiet lake, in the shady avenues of some noble park, or the secluded recesses of some lovely glen with every comfort and convenience at hand—is one thing; to practice it on a journey amid the wilds of the Himalayas, in the extreme of heat or cold (for it is generally one or the other), when undergoing the fatigue of a long march on foot without roads and subject to every inconvenience, is quite another thing. But it is not for me to dwell on the merits of my own work, and I do not wish to magnify the difficulties I had to contend with, so will say no more on this subject.

* Continued from page 40.

In the further prosecution of my journey the chief attraction before me was the source of the Ganges, and the grand scenery which I hoped to find about it; the sequel will show I was not disappointed. But I had a hundred miles to traverse before reaching the Ganges, and my route thither deserves some notice.

The great snow peaks of Chini, the Rylass and Raldung, are well known and justly celebrated. They rise to nearly 23,000 feet, and, standing in front of the bungalow, you have an uninterrupted view of them for about 12,000 feet, they being right in front and comparatively close. The Sutlej runs between, some 2,000 feet below, from whose narrow and rocky channel they rise in all their peerless magnificence. After taking a few more views of these and the great Rogi Cliffs hard by, I descended to the Sutlej, crossed by means of a rope bridge, and proceeded to Barung, a village visible from Chini, hanging on a cliff on the other side.

The rope bridge by which I crossed, or rather the one which was formerly in its place, had been broken or carried away a month or two previously, and the natives had not erected another, saying they had no means of getting across to carry the first rope. I sent men down to tie a piece of twine to a stone and throw it across, but none of them could throw so far. At last hearing that there were two "mussocks" belonging to some woodcutters some miles lower down the river, I sent for these, when they came, and soon bridged over the difficulty. In two days the fragile bridge was once more complete, and we crossed in safety. I could never get a picture of one of these bridges on account of the wind always blowing them about, the ropes are so very light.

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. Bourne.

At Barung the people were keeping high festival, being engaged in a ring dance when I arrived. They brought me some cucumbers and peaches (great luxuries in such a place), so I fared well. I now began to ascend again, and crossed a considerable range into the Buspa Valley, and halted at a large village called Sungla. It was a very long march, and some of my coolies did not show up till the following day.

The Buspa Valley is celebrated for its beauty and its shooting grounds; my interest lay only in the former, and the part about Sungla was certainly very fine. Groves of walnut trees clustered thick on each bank of the Buspa, which meandered peacefully through the valley; above these, far up the hill sides, flourished the pine and the sturdy deodar—the whole shut in by lofty mountains, which on the north side often terminated in sharp-pointed peaks, while those on the south were generally covered with verdure and forest. There was a delightful freshness and beauty about the whole after the barren and wild scenes through which I had lately passed. I spent three very pleasant days taking views about the valley, and left Sungla with reluctance.

In my further progress up the valley I saw nothing that equalled this part of it for that quiet and refreshing beauty on which the eye loves to linger. In fact, the further I proceeded the less beautiful, though grander, it became, and soon changed its fertile character for the rugged and barren wildness so common in all the higher Himalayan valleys.

I found only two small villages after leaving Sungla, and they seemed almost starved out in vainly trying to cultivate a little grain amongst the *debris* which had fallen down from the mountains. But the turnings and windings of the valley, desolate though it was, overlooked by noble mountains wearing their snowy caps, were not wanting in that sterner beauty which is associated with grandeur; and some of my best pictures were obtained in following the course of the river to the glacier at the head of the valley—a distance of about fifty miles.

As I approached the glacier the scenery gradually became more and more magnificent in its alpine character, and one view I shall not soon forget. The valley took a sudden turn to the right, when all the splendid peaks and summits which cluster about the Neela Pass at the head of the valley suddenly appeared before me in all the sunlit splendour of a cloudless morning. It was a great sight, but, owing to the sun being too much in front of me for a subject of this kind, and the want of a suitable foreground, the picture I took does not do justice to it.

In taking views of snow, unless you get broad masses of it well lit up by the sun, it does not "come out" in the photograph with that purity which conveys the impression of snow.

The last few miles before reaching the glacier was one scene of wonder and enchantment; fresh peaks rose up ever on the view, and, as I attained a higher elevation, opened out in all their separate and aggregate glory—transverse valleys branching off in several directions, each had its complement of glaciers and battlemented peaks, while here and there an opening in the mountains near would reveal a glorious vista of more distant snows, till the eye was simply bewildered and confused by the extent and splendour of this vast alpine region. It was not, however, till I reached the top of the Neela Pass that I saw it in all its perfection; but I shall come to this presently.

The valley here was flat, about two miles broad, and formed one rough, stony bed over which the Buspa flowed, sometimes in one broad channel, at others in many smaller divided channels. I had to ford it in one place not more than four or five miles below its issue from the glacier, and I found it anything but an agreeable occupation.

* Continued from page 76.

The stupendous glacier in which the Buspa has its source fills up completely the head of the valley—an enormous block of ice hundreds of feet in thickness and several miles long (as far as I could judge, probably ten or fifteen), but I did not explore it. The stream issues on foot (a full-blown river at once) out of an immense ice cave, called by the natives the "Cow's Mouth," which is the name also given to the similar cave from which the Ganges issues. I was fortunate in having a fine, clear morning following the day of my arrival at this spot, and was thus enabled to obtain three excellent negatives of the cave, the glacier, and the peaks by which it was surrounded. Skirting the edge of the glacier for a short distance I began to ascend the Neela Pass, but had not proceeded more than a mile and a-half when I found myself surrounded by such wonderful scenes of ice and snow that I decided to halt for the night (unfavourable as such a place was for encampment), to get some views next day, clouds and mist now obscuring the view. It was bitterly cold, the snow and sleet beat in our faces, not a particle of shelter was to be had anywhere from the cutting wind which swept in fierce gusts down the Pass; and on the broad, open glacier, exposed to all these inclement influences, we were pitched for two days and nights at a freezing altitude of 14,000 feet.

I think photographic enthusiasm could not go much farther than this. But the worst has to be told. I now discovered that the "mate" or head man in charge of the coolies, whose duty it was to look after supplies at each stage, and who had received orders at Sungla to bring sufficient food for eight days, had only brought enough for four days, and that now only one day's consumption remained, while we were yet three marches from the next village, and I wished, moreover, to stop on the way. This was a horrible predicament and a serious one. I at once despatched this wretch back to Sungla with orders to procure more "atta" (flour) and bring it on without a moment's delay, but we did not see him again for *five weeks*. Half fed, scantily clad, and having to lie down for two nights on the freezing ice without even the shelter of a rock, was indeed a pitiable situation for the poor coolies. I gave them the last three sheep I had, and despatched two men forward to the next village; but before they returned with the "needful" the men had been two days without food, and were becoming desperate, as they well might under such circumstances. Had not relief come when it did I don't know what might have been the consequences; they would probably have "done" for me, as the author of their misery.

The weather unfortunately turned out bad, and the first day I was obliged to sit shivering in my tent unable to do anything; it required some resolution to wait another day under such circumstances, but I did. The next day was not much better, but I could wait no longer; so I exposed two plates, but not so successfully as I could have wished, on account of the clouds and rain. The third day we moved on and crossed the Pass, which, though not so high as the Manirung, was superior to it in the charming spectacle it presented in its *immediate* surroundings. I never beheld such a splendid array of peaks and glaciers; they cropped up on every side, and stood thick around me like icebergs in a polar sea. And as I stood on the crest of the Pass and surveyed this vast region held in the icy fetters of eternal winter, I could not but feel deeply impressed with the sublimity and majesty of nature when beheld in scenes like these. All was still and silent as the grave; no bird hovered overhead, no animal woke the echoes of its wild solitudes, and no living thing save ourselves soiled the virgin purity of its hitherto untrodden snows. How small and frail a thing seemed *man* when placed in juxtaposition with these mighty mountains! It might have taught the vain boaster and disbeliever in the Almighty Architect of the universe a salutary lesson could he have stood in my position at that moment and seen these majestic forms rising in silent eloquence around him, the mute but powerful witnesses of the blasphemy of his accursed creed. I felt that a sight like this was worth coming even from England to see, and once seen could never be forgotten.

I attempted one or two pictures from the top, but my bath was suffering from the excessive cold, and showed a tendency to fog and streak; so that the views I took were scarcely up to the mark, although they were not altogether failures. But no ordinary photographs could convey a true impression of a scene like this; it would require a pantascopic camera, a plate about 40 inches by 20, and a long-focus lens, then perhaps (if it were possible to manipulate such a plate in such a place) some juster idea might be conveyed of the forms and magnitudes of these grand alpine masses. The Pass itself presented no difficulty beyond some rough climbing. We descended and encamped in a grassy valley below, sheltered by close mountains—an agreeable change to the feelings after the experience of the last two or three nights. But on awaking next morning I was surprised to find the ground covered by several inches of snow, which was still falling—a dreary spectacle as the poor coolies came shivering through it to the door of my tent, saying they were almost starved, had no food, and that they should soon be dead. What was I to do under such distressing circumstances? Move on I could not, as the men, from want of food, were not now equal to their loads. I gave them a few tins of sealed provisions, and told them that the men whom I had sent forward would be sure to arrive that day. This quieted them for a time, but the anticipated supplies did not arrive till noon of next day, when long expectation had almost given them up, and matters were becoming serious. However anxiety was now at an end, and I breathed again.

After taking a couple of negatives—one looking back towards the Pass, and another of a fine snow-clad mountain on the left—we moved on towards the valley of the Ganges, which our present valley joined about twelve miles below its source. There was no road, and for some distance we had to scramble along the steep bank of a stream, till presently a more practical path presented itself along the grassy slopes of the hills through pleasant copses of birch and alder. I was going along enjoying once more the refreshing spectacle of grassy hills and foliage, when I suddenly came to the brow of a hill, which revealed before me one of the most beautiful landscapes I have seen in the whole course of my travels. The valley below me suddenly became thickly wooded, presenting a mass of dense foliage for seven or eight miles, broken only by the gleaming course of the winding stream. On either side the mountains terminated in rocky precipices to which ivy and other creepers were clinging, while, to crown all, as a fitting background to such a lovely scene, immediately beyond the Ganges rose the lofty Srikanta Peaks, their white masses of snow contrasting beautifully with the dark, rich foliage of the other parts of the picture. What a scene for a painting! But it was not to be despised for the camera; and, as the sun was then in a wrong position, I at once called a halt so as to have the best light, which would be in the early morning. While the tents were being pitched my attention was called by the coolies to two large brown bears which were quietly feeding on a plot of grass just across the stream, not more than 200 yards from me. It was a fine opportunity for a bit of sport had I cared about it, but I let them feed on, till the coolies going quite close to them and shouting they shuffled into the jungle.

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.†

By S. Bourne.

The next morning dawned cloudless, though somewhat hazy, but I secured two negatives of this charming view, in which, however, the peaks being distant do not tell with the same effect as in nature, and I could not, unfortunately, use a longer focus lens, which would have nearly doubled their size, as I should thereby have spoiled the composition by cutting out the rocks on the side of the valley in the foreground. As it is, this forms one of the leading pictures of the series, on account of the great beauty of the subject. Down this wooded valley our road now lay, but it was a far prettier object surveyed from above *en masse* than seen in detail; the road was rough and stony, and the branches sadly interfered with our progress. However, about nightfall we found ourselves at the village of Mokba on the Ganges, the holy Ganges, which was here, of course, in the smallness of its beginning, and gave but little promise of becoming the mighty river which rolls its broad flood so far through the plains of India, venerated and worshipped by millions of devotees in the sacred cities on its banks.

As this was the last village up the valley, we laid in a quantity of supplies and proceeded to visit the source, which, as I have stated, was above twelve miles further on, leaving some of the heavier baggage here till our return. The whole of this distance was full of grand scenery, though the views, till the source was reached, were somewhat circumscribed by the narrowness and depth of the valley. The road for about three miles lay up the right bank of the stream through forests of deodars, when it crossed to the other bank by a rude bridge thrown from rock to rock. After about two miles it again crossed to the right bank by a similar bridge thrown over a remarkable chasm. This was at a place called Bhairamghati, though there was no village or sign of a house—in fact, there was no room for any. The river here poured through a valley so narrow that it might almost be called a gorge, the sides formed by steep mountains, which towered to an enormous height, so high that their summits could not be seen from below. Where the bridge was thrown across the river had worn a narrow channel in the solid granite about 12 feet wide, and not less than 50 feet deep, through which it rushed with great fury, making one almost giddy to stand on the little unguarded bridge

* *Moniteur de la Photographie.*

† Continued from page 99.

and look down. It is seldom one comes across a scene so grand as this spot presented. On my return I took a picture of it, which presented some difficulty, as the sun did not penetrate to the bottom of the valley, which was, therefore, in deep shadow, while the distance and sides above were lit up by brilliant sunshine. I gave a long exposure, letting the lighted parts take care of themselves, and got a good negative. From the bridge we had to climb up the rocks on the left bank, which was managed by means of ladders and rude scaffolding, not over secure in some places. After this stiff piece of work we reached nearly the summit of the range, and continued our course till we came to the sacred shrine of Gangootru, beyond which there was no trace of a road at all.

A place so holy, so famous, and visited by so many pilgrims from all parts of India as Gangootru, I expected to find very different to what it was. On the bank of the stream, in close proximity to several large boulders, stands a rude little temple and one or two covered sheds or out-houses, and this is all there is to be seen. No priest was there to administer sacred rites, though I believe one does attend occasionally, and in looking at it one wonders what there could be to tempt hundreds of rich natives in distant parts of India, many of whom die on the journey, to visit such a desolate and inhospitable spot. But it is not the temple but the river wherein lies the object of their pilgrimage. They here dip their vessels in the stream, offer up their devotions to the god in the temple, and carry away the holy water as it comes unpolluted from the sacred source. I questioned some of the pilgrims whom I saw dipping their vessels why they did not go to the source itself—the fountain head—at once? They at once replied that this was not necessary—that the water was equally pure and efficacious here, and being within three or four miles of the source (to which there was no road) it was all the same.

But, if they were satisfied without going to the source, I was not; the water was not pure enough for me. I must take it from the very beginning of their sacred river, and washing my hands in innocency of leaving the very spring of its existence unexplored. Accordingly we proceeded to pick a path amongst the boulders and loose granite blocks by which the banks were strewn. We had gone about a mile when it became necessary to cross over, as the road was no longer practicable on this side. But it became a question how this was to be done; there was no bridge and it was too deep and rapid to ford. The old saying about "necessity," &c., received a demonstration of its truth. Having selected a suitable spot, I had two pine trees cut down, which, being dragged by all my available forces to the stream and shoved across a narrow place between two boulders, made a capital temporary bridge by which we crossed easily. From here to the glacier was the roughest piece of work we had yet met with; it was one continuous scramble amongst huge stones, rough jungle, and fallen rotting trees, and our progress was very slow. However we reached our destination at last, and I felt a degree of satisfied curiosity, and that I ought to consider myself a privileged mortal in being permitted to gaze on this the first visible issue of the mighty and holy Ganges from the vast ice beds which cradle its birth. The ice cave at the foot of the glacier is remarkably like that of the Buspa, which I have before described. The glacier terminates in perpendicular walls of ice, at the base of which is the arched cavern from whose semi-transparent recesses a large body of water issues in a turbulent flood. The pilgrims would not find it half so limpid here as it is lower down; they thus show their wisdom in taking it from Gangootru.

I, of course, took two or three negatives of this holy and not altogether unpicturesque object, and might now have returned, feeling that one of the great objects of my journey was accomplished. But I wished to pay my respects to some objects around me, and so scrambled five or six miles further up the glacier, till I obtained a splendid view of the glorious peaks by which it is surrounded. Three glaciers coming from three separate directions here joined and became one, forming a mass of ice many miles broad and long. Surrounding it were chains of lofty peaks wearing, to their very bases, all the white badge of unchanging winter. To have included this gorgeous panorama on one plate would have made a superb picture, but this was not possible, at least with my appliances. I generally stuck to my 15-inch single aplanatic lens, and by using a small stop this lens will cover a 13 × 8 plate with wonderful sharpness to the very edges, and as this is a size of plate I now always employ for all distant panoramic-like views, I thus get a wide horizontal angle without distant objects appearing too much dwarfed, as in the case of so-called wide-angle lenses, while, for such subjects, I have a much prettier shaped picture than the square 12 × 10.

If I might be allowed the digression, I would like to ask here if any photographer at home ever now works large plates of 12 × 10 and upwards? Judging from the journals, everyone seems to confine his attention to small plates—stereoscopic, or even smaller size—and "satchel" or "pocket" cameras seem to be all the rage. When one reads a description of any dry process, all the manipulations and exposures have reference to plates of small size; is this because these processes are not capable of yielding perfect negatives on large plates, with skies that require no doctoring? We all know that it is much easier to get faultless skies on small plates by any process than on large, and hence, I suppose, the reason why we seldom or never hear of large plates being worked by a dry process. But what is the use of these bits of pictures when they are obtained? Are they worth the trouble of preparing and developing, and travelling perhaps hundreds of miles to get? They are simply looked upon as *scraps*, however good they may be; they have no pretensions to *pictures*, and, making an exception in favour of stereoscopic views which have a special interest of their own, one attaches little importance to these diminutive transcripts of nature, which really convey no impression of the grandeur and *effect* of the scenes they represent. I confess that if they could be enlarged *satisfactorily* there might be some reason for employing such small plates; but can they be? I have never yet seen or heard of any enlargements that were equal to photographs taken direct from nature, and till such can be produced commend me to *large* pictures taken direct in the camera, for when such pictures are artistically chosen, properly lighted, and cleanly and skilfully manipulated, they possess a charm which never tires, and when looking at them they almost make one feel as though one stood in the very presence of the scenes themselves. I admit that it is not an easy matter to manipulate large plates successfully, nor that they involve considerable expense and trouble; but when people are blacking their fingers and spending their cash in photography why not aim at something that shall be worth looking at when it is finished, and give themselves and friends some pleasure in beholding? I take it that *one* good large picture that can be framed and hung in a room is worth a hundred little bits pasted in a scrap-book; and twenty such pictures taken on any given journey, of the best subjects only, would yield an amount of pleasure and satisfaction which whole boxes full of small negatives could never impart. The only gentleman I have heard of going in for large pictures, and that chiefly by a dry process, is Mr. Green, of Liverpool. All honour to him for his courage and example; I should like to see some of his pictures. What a pity Mr. England did not bring the same artistic eye and the same skilful hand to bear upon large plates as upon those little gems, but still little, which he has produced of Switzerland! How much more valuable would the results of his labours have been! I ask the reader's pardon for this long digression and return to my narrative.

(To be continued.)

A PHOTOGRAPHIC JOURNEY THROUGH THE HIGHER HIMALAYAS.*

By S. BOURNE.

BEFORE retracing my steps I secured three or four negatives of the splendid peaks around the glacier. One, a sugar-loaf-looking mountain called Mount Moira, 22,621 feet high, was a fine object and came out grandly in my pictures. In returning, I took several fine views down the valley which I had previously selected, bringing in some of the lofty summits which formed the termination of the ranges on each side of the valley. At Derali, a village opposite to Mokba, on the other side of the Ganges, I halted two days to varnish the negatives and take two or three fine views on the river.

The remainder of my story shall be briefly told, as, though yet a long way from the end of my journey, the narrative of it in detail would afford but little interest, as an accident shortly after this occurred which put a stop to my operations. For two marches I continued to follow the course of the Ganges, which winds through the hills in an ever-widening stream as it receives constant accessions from the lofty mountains on either hand. During these two marches I obtained only three pictures, though I might easily have taken more of a similar character. At length I left the Ganges valley and

* Concluded from page 126.

struck over the mountains towards Jumnootru, as I was anxious to visit also the source of the Jumna. On crossing the heights I obtained a fine view of Bunderpoonah, the great snowy mountain (20,758 feet high) from which the Jumna has its rise. To get a negative of this with a suitable foreground I had to clear a space in the forest by sawing down several birch trees, which I had to do with my own hand, the natives not understanding the use of an English saw.

Arrived at a village called Agora, I made inquiries for a small lake, called Dodre Tal, which I had been told might be visited from this place. The natives at first pretended to know nothing about it. I was prepared for this, as it is a sacred lake, and they don't like Europeans visiting it. At last, when I would not be denied, one old man came forward and said that he knew the lake, that it was twelve miles above, that there was no road to it, that if I went I should have to penetrate the whole way through dense jungle, and climb terrific steeps, that he would take me to it if I wished, but recommended me not to go on this account. I accepted all this as a piece of their usual exaggeration from their not wanting me to go, so said I would go; but long before getting there I bitterly repented that I had not taken the old man's advice. Whether there was no better road to it, and he led me this way on purpose to fulfil his word, I know not, but certain it is I had never such a disagreeable scramble in my life. I was obliged to send two men before me to break a path through the thick undergrowth of jungle and all sorts of noxious, damp weeds, haunted at every step by an unpleasant suspicion of *snakes*. And when, after infinite toil, we came to the lake, though pretty, we found it nothing extraordinary, as it ought to have been after going through so much to reach it.

Nothing could exceed the quietude and loneliness of the place; the lake was set deep in the mountains, and not a breath rippled its glassy surface, which thus reflected all the objects around in its deep bosom. I found the name of an English officer cut in the bark of a tree on its margin, bearing date 1831—a singular memento to find in such a secluded and little-known spot; it had no doubt formed the encampment in some shooting expedition, as game is here found in abundance. The numbers of the beautifully-plumaged moonal pheasants we disturbed in our passage through the forests were prodigious; but they were so wary of approach, and the jungle was so thick, that I only succeeded in bagging one. Having taken three views of the lake we retraced our steps to Agora, the return being much more easily accomplished.

The next day we ascended a pass of considerable elevation, and encamped near the top for the night; and it was in descending this pass to the valley of the Jumna next day that the accident occurred to which I have alluded. It had frozen keenly during the night, and the sun, shining out brightly in the morning, made the clay path down which we descended very slippery. The man carrying the box containing my bath, which was an ebonite one, slipped and fell, and in the concussion the bath broke, cracking all round, and soon parted into two pieces. Imagine my feelings when the box was opened saturated with silver solution, and the broken bath turned out; unfortunately I had not a spare one, and so of course my photography was at an end, and there was nothing left but to push on by the quickest route to Mussoorie, the nearest civilised station, which was seven days' journey distant. I sent a man forward in all haste with a telegram to Simla to have another bath despatched by special messenger to Mussoorie, and in four days after I arrived two baths came.

If the accident had not occurred till three days later I should have been to the source of the Jumna, and got all I particularly cared about; as it was, I consoled myself by thinking how much I *had* accomplished of my journey, and how fortunate I had been that it, or any similar disastrous event, had not occurred before, when I was much further in the interior and when it would, indeed, have been an irreparable loss. It taught me this lesson—never to travel without two baths in future.

At Mussoorie I met with several old friends who eyed my strange, weather-beaten countenance and costume with considerable amusement; but my appearance was scarcely more strange to them than mixing once more in civilised society seemed at first to me.

I now took a series of views of this station, which is the next largest hill sanatarium to Simla, after which I proceeded through the lovely "Dehra Doon" once more to the Ganges, as it issued from the mountains at Hurdwar. Here I was in the plains again, and, after the tremendous climbing I had gone through, ascending and descending eternally, like the angels on Jacob's ladder, it was a positive relief to feel myself once more on level ground, and the vast, monotonous, dull, uninteresting plains of India were, for once, welcome.

From this I proceeded to Roorku, where I stopped to take a picture of the fine acqueduct of the famous Ganges Canal. Hence by "däk gharry" to Meerut and Moradabad; then a wearisome night journey by "dooley" to Nynee Tal, another pretty hill station in Kumaow, with a lake shut in by an amphitheatre of mountains, on the slopes of which the houses are built. This was my last scene of action, and, having taken the views I wanted, I returned to Meerut and Delhi, thence by "däk gharry" to Simla, where I arrived in time for the good things of Christmas, having been absent six months.

In bidding adieu to my readers, I will only add, in conclusion, that if any of them who may have felt an interest in following me through my long trip would like to see the views I took, the result of many a hard day's work, and hundreds of miles of rough travelling, they can do so by applying to Messrs. Marion and Co., Soho-square, who are the agents for their publication in England.

Appendix D: Extracts of Comments from *Royal photographic album of scenes and personages connected with the progress of HRH the Prince of Wales through Bengal, the North West Provinces, the Punjab and Nepal.*[1]

[1] A copy of this album is conserved at the British Library (OIOC).

(First page)

Bourne and Shepherd's

Royal Photographic Album

Of Scenes and Personages
Connected with
The Progress
Of

H. R. H. The Prince of Wales

Through

Bengal, The North West Provinces,

The Punjab and Nepal.

With some Descriptive Letterpress.

Calcutta, Bombay, and Simla:

Bourne and Shepherd.

1876.

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(Extracts)

No. 7 – Group : H.R.H. The Prince of Wales, The Viceroy, Hon. Miss Baring, and others.

The Prince will be at once recognised in this capital photograph. His Royal Highness, the only person in the group not uncovered, has Lord Northbrook on his right and Miss Baring on his left. Prince Louis of Battenburg is sitting next to Lord Northbook, Lord Suffield hust behind, and Sir Henry Norman behind him. The Prince's suite are chiefly to the left of the picture, the Indian officials to the right.

No. 8 – Government House, Calcutta.

In the afternoon of the 23rd December, 1875, His Royal and Imperial Highness the Prince of Wales made his entry into the capital of his august mother's Indian Empire. For Calcutta really is the capital of India. It is so, as a matter of fact, because it is the seat of supreme Government – because the Viceroy, with his Council, resides there during quite half the year, while his presence is divided for the rest of the year over various portions of the Empire. (...)

No. 10 – Old Court House Street.

This view, of no great beauty in itself, is nevertheless appropriate in this collection as being representative of a whole quarter of Calcutta, the quarter of European commerce. All the streets in this position of the town, though filled almost exclusively by shops or places of business, are, like that presented in the photograph, spacious and airy. The most conspicuous building in the picture is a great hotel, one

of the two largest in Calcutta, in which the ground floor (for in Calcutta the ground floor is seldom used for bed-rooms, and not often for sitting-rooms) is employed as an immense shop, or rather bazaar, while only the upper stories are devoted to the accommodation of guests. It may strike readers unacquainted with the East as strange that the rent of rooms in Calcutta rises with the staircase; the third storey, as being more airy, is higher-priced than the second, and the second than that which in London is generally the drawing-room and best floor.

Of all the cities in the world, except, perhaps, St. Petersburg, Calcutta, from its far-reaching vistas, and the character of its buildings in blocks of uniform façade, lends itself most advantageously to illuminate; and that of December 24th, in honour of the Prince's visit, will hardly be forgotten by any who witnessed it.

No. 11 – The Maharaja of Benares.

Maharaja Isari of Benares obtained this title – having previously possessed only that of Raja – together with an augmentation of his salute, shortly after the Mutiny. These favours were bestowed partly because his fidelity during that critical period was, on careful investigation, thoroughly established, and partly in atonement of the unjust suspicious for which he had at one time been the mark. His Highness's position had, in fact, been unusually delicate. The memory of Balwant Singh and Cheit Singh is still popular in Benares. Bishop Heber quotes some lines of a native ballad which may seem to glorify the pomp and majesty of Warren Hastings, but the drift of the doggrel is in reality to exult over his humiliation when obliged to fly from Benares, and to express sympathy with Raja Cheit Singh in his temporary triumph. There may not be much local patriotism about Benares, but still the city had, in the days of the old Rajas, the dignity which attaches to the capital of an almost sovereign prince, and Whatsoever Benares may have of national pride attaches to that period. At present the Maharaja is something more than a wealthy nobleman with vast dominions, but not much more. Even his civil authority in his own territory is not altogether uncontrolled, and his criminal jurisdiction is very narrowly limited indeed.

Moreover, while the Maharaja could not confer on his state the dignity of independence, and so lost the prestige which might attach to a *de facto* ruler, he was not the legal representative of Raja Balwant Singh, and so, according to native principles of succession, did not hold his estates *de jure*. He is not doubt descended from Balwant Singh, but only by the female side, while there is said to be a lineal descendant by the male line, a certain Balam Bahadur*, in existence somewhere in India. Thus it comes about that Maharaja Isari, notwithstanding his princely munificence and his amiable character, has not been without ill-wishers. When the Mutiny broke out, some of these endeavoured to force him into its ranks, partly by promises but chiefly by threats, while others of them treacherously endeavoured to make him an object of suspicious to the British authorities. Under these difficult circumstances the Maharaja's conduct was surprisingly good. He overlooked slights with dignified calmness, and responded with readiness to very exacting requisitions. It is a consolation to know that the Maharaja's loyalty was at last fully recognised, and has been rewarded by a great enhancement of dignity.

No. 12 – The Maharaja of Vizianagram.

This popular and accomplished nobleman, though of more ancient lineage than many of the reigning princes of India, is not, strictly speaking, one of them – that is to say, he is only titular Maharaja. His great wealth comes to him in the form of rents, not revenue; and his wide estates are domains only, not dominions. By his personal merit, however, the Maharaja has attained greater consideration, as a noble of the British Empire, than belonged to any of his ancestors, though some of them made war on their own account, and exercised other perilous prerogatives of sovereignty. He has received, and will remit to his successors, the coveted title of Maharaja, with the right to a salute; he is a Knight Commander of the most exalted Order of the Star of India, and has been a member of the Viceroy's Legislative Council. And these honours have been thoroughly deserved. The Maharaja is an

* Kaye's *Sepoy War*, vol.ii., Appendix, p. 682.

enlightened and beneficent landlord in his own estates, and a generous friend to charitable undertakings far beyond their limits. His hereditary domains lies in the north of the Madras Presidency, near Orissa, but the Maharaja resides chiefly at Benares. He speaks English perfectly, and enters freely into English society.

No. 13 – The Ganges and bridge of boats.

(...) His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales reached Benares on the evening of the 4th January. During his stay of two days he was entertained in camp with great splendour by the Lieutenant-Governor of the North-West Provinces, Sir John Strachey. This was the Prince's first experience of the tent-life of India, and he is understood to have been enchanted by it.

No. 14 – Mosque of Aurangzeb, Benares.

It is superfluous to say that Hinduism, Brahmanism, is the prevalent of India, accepted by probably a hundred and fifty millions of its inhabitants, or that Benares is, so far as Hindus are concerned, the religious capital of India. In fact, Benares has sacred pretensions such as neither Rome nor Mecca ever put forth. A road about fifty miles in length describes (roughly speaking) a semicircle around the city, the diameter, or chord of the arc, being formed by the Ganges. "The entire area is called Benares, and the religious privileges of the city are extended to every portion of it. Whoever dies in any portion of this enclosure is, the natives think, sure of happiness after death; and so wide is the application of this privilege that it embraces, they say, even Europeans and Mohammedans, even Pariahs and other outcasts, even liars, murderers, and thieves. That no soul can perish in Benares is thus the charitable

superstition of the Hindus"*.Nevetheless, Benares is not of very ancient fame as a Hindu city. All its early religious celebrity is derived from Buddhism, which supplanted or over-shadowed Brahmanism obtained the greater part of India for nearly a thousand years. No doubt Brahmanism obtained in the district of Benares, as elsewhere in India, when Sakya Muni (Buddha) began his preaching there; but there seems an entire absence of evidence (whether of written record or the sometimes more trustworthy one of stone and brick) that Benares enjoyed any religious pre-eminence in pre-Buddhist days. It was Buddhism, and the splendid colleges or monasteries belonging to that faith, which gave the celebrity and sanctity to the district which Brahmanism inherited after the expulsion of the Buddhists. All, however, that remains of Buddhists Benares are the strange and interesting, but scanty and desolate, ruins at Sarnath and Bakariyakund, while it is hardly an exaggeration to say that the Hindu temples in Benares are to be numbered by thousands. Prinsep put the number at a thousand forty years ago, and the Rev. Mr. Sherring, the most recent authority on Benares, declares their number to be increasing. This reviving prosperity of idolatry is no doubt to be attributed in main part to the greater general prosperity of the country under British rule. Dr. Mullens (quoted by Mr. Sherring) remarks on this subject: "All over North India the native merchants and bankers who have prospered by English protection, by contracts with English armies, by the security given by English law to their extensive trade, have filled Benares and other cities with new and costly shrines; and many a rajah and many a banker, when visiting in state the holy city , has poured into the lap of the attendant priests unheard-of sums, which must have satisfied even their covetous and grasping souls." *Omne majus includit minus:* it is a part of the same explanation of the renewed vitality of Hinduism in Benares, so far as the prosperity of a faith is proved by the number and splendour of its new fanes, that Hindu temples are not liable, under British rule, to be knocked down and defiled just in proportion to their size, the vantage of their site, or sanctity. But under the reign of some Mohammedan sovereigns these circumstances sufficed to mark out a Hindu temple for destruction . Thus Ala-ud-din used to boast that he had destroyed a thousand idolatrous temples in Benares alone. It is true that Mr. Fergusson rather questions his asserted proneness of the Mussulmans to destroy the sacred edifices of other creeds purely for insult and

* Sherring's *Sacred City of the Hindus*, p. 176.

from intolerance. Nevertheless, the instances of Aurangzeb's mosques at Lahore and here at Benares are in existence to show that they sometimes did so. This mosque of which the beautiful minarets are the first thing the traveller sees of Benares from a distance, and the most charming thing he dwells on at close view, was built, not for the spiritual needs of Mussulmans, but purely to outrage Hindus. It never has been, and is not now, frequented by the Mohammedans of Benares, and is in fact only opened once a week, on Fridays, to a meagre handful of worshippers; but it was built in the very densest part of the Hindu quarter, and on the ruins of no one knows how many Hindu temples, subverted to give it place. It was fortunate intolerance, however, of Aurangzeb, for in a picturesque sense it is the most precious single structure of the place.

No. 15 – The Burning Ghat.

Benares is no doubt poor in individual objects of beauty. Perhaps Aurangzeb's Mosque, the Benares College (built by Major Kittoe about thirty years ago), and the palace of the Maharaja of Benares at Ramnagar, are the only buildings which, taken singly, call for much admiration. Yet few cities offer so grand a general view as that which Benares presents from the river. (...) Since bathing in the sacred river is a vital practice of religion, access to it is provided in a hundred places by means of *ghats*, or descents, sometimes merely inclined planes down which carts can proceed to unload their contents in boats, more frequently in the form of staircases of masonry steps. (...) It is a matter of pride as well as piety for the Hindu princes of distant parts of India to have their own private *ghats* upon the Ganges, where, on the occasions of their pilgrimage to the holy city, they may perform their devotions with a pomp and exclusiveness befitting their bank. Thus, the Scindias of Gwalior have their ancestral *ghat*, called after their name; so have the Nagpur and Jaipur rajas, and many others. (...) Most, perhaps all, of these *ghats* have temples built upon one or more of their terraces, where devout bathers can make their offerings to the presiding brahman. Here and there, too, privileged mendicants crouch on the steps, or men sit under mat

umbrellas to sell flowers, or little divinities of mud or brass. The particular *ghat*, or stair, shown in the photograph is not among the most splendid, but it is one of the holiest of all. It is called the 'Burning Ghat' from having been specially appropriated to cremation.

No. 16 – Vishnu Pad, and other temples, Benares.

Next to its ghats, the temples of Benares are its most striking features. These are almost incredibly numerous, probably nearer two thousand than one. The great majority of them are dedicated to Siva under one or other of his names, for Benares is emphatically the centre of Siva worship. There are comparatively few in honour of Vishnu, and hardly any appropriated to Brahma. The photograph exhibits one of the few which are under Vishnu's patronage, with some others, its neighbours, dedicated to others deities, including one built rather recently by the Raja of Ahmety, which some consider the most graceful temple in Benares. Altogether, the scene of the photograph is among the holiest of the Benares holies. To the left is the Manikarniku, the famous well of Hindu mythology. Of it Mr. Sherring says: "It is the first place sought after by the thousands of pilgrims flocking yearly to the holy city. Its fetid water is regarded as a healing balm which will infallibly wash away all the sins of the soul. There is no crime so heinous and abominable but, in popular estimation, it is here effaced. . . . . Of all places of pilgrimage in Hindustan, this well is held by many to be the most, or among the most, efficacious for bestowing salvation." It had need be efficacious, for resort to it is nauseous enough. "The water of the well is very shallow, not more than two or three feet in depth. It is insufferably foul, and the effluvium from its impregnates the air for some distance around. The worshipper, descending into the water, laves his head and body with the vile liquid, and at the same time utters certain phrases appointed for the ceremony." On this, the most sacred of all the ghats in Benares, a little higher up to the right, is the *Charan-paduka*, commonly called the Vishnu-pad, the "impression of Vishnu's feet." At one time of the year multitudes flock to warship the figures of two feet cut in white

marble, which are supposed to mark the spot where Vishnu alighted when about to perform ascetic rites.

No. 17 – The Memorial Well, Cawnpore.

The piteous tale of the "Cawnpore Massacre" is far too well known in England and in India to need recapitulation, and is too painful to be recurred to without necessity. This unpretending and appropriate building surrounds the spot where gaped the dreadful well. Within the screen, and over what was the well, stands a white marble statue, an emblematic female figure, by Baron Marochetti. Around stretch the Memorial Gardens, kept freshly green, even in the driest and hottest weather, with water ingeniously led from the Ganges Canal hard by; and in the distance may be seen the tower of the beautiful Memorial Church. The memory of the unfortunates who perished in that sad time is piously and fitly cherished.

No. 24 – The Prince of Wales and staff, Camp of Exercise, Delhi.

His Royal Highness is here represented, accompanied by His Excellency Lord Napier of Magdala, Commander-in-chief of the Armies of India, and attended by some of the two staffs, at the saluting-point before the inspection and march-past at the Camp of Exercise.

No. 33 – Group: H.R.H. and officers 10th Hussars.

This photograph sufficiently explains itself. Besides its royal Colonel, those familiar with this illustrious regiment will recognise the portraits of Major Lord R. Kerr, Captains Bulkeley, Combe, Hartopp, &c. In fact, all the likenesses in this very successful group are unmistakeable.

No. 34 – 10th Royal Hussars on parade.

This picture, representing the 10th Hussars drawn up in column of squadrons, is a *tour de force* of photography. It deserves to be examined through a good magnifying glass.

Nos. 35, 36, and 37 – Groups, 11th Bengal Lancers.

These picturesque groups illustrate one of the most characteristic features of English rules in India. More than this, they bring to mind one of England's military resources for services (when required) far beyond Indian limits. Some of the troopers here portrayed were present at the capture of the Taku forts in China; most of them served in Abyssinia. A distinguished Prussian officer who was present at the Delhi Camp of Exercise pronounced the native cavalry assembled there far superior in promise of efficiency to any Cossacks; and our English officers know that their actual performance may be counted on not to fall short of what their appearance promises. This particular regiment was famous as Probyn's Horse; it has now been honoured with the title of the Prince of Wales's Bengal Lancers, and had the

privilege of furnishing His Royal Highness's escort (under Major A. H. Prinsep) during his visit to Nepal.

No. 45 – Yarkandis with Hunting Hawks.

Hawking, it need not be said, is a favourite pastime, and falconry a recognised pursuit, over the most part of India, and certainly not less so on the other side of the Himalayas, from whence indeed its practice was first introduced into the peninsula. These hawks have been brought all the way from the Kushbegi's territory, possibly with a view to sale, more probably as presents likely to be acceptable to those whom it is judged politic to conciliate.

No. 46 – Beluchis.

These men are of the class of retainers, hangers-on, half aides-de-camp, half valets-de-chambre, of the better-to-do Beluchis, whether of the sword or the pen, depicted in No. 47. Beluchis, as race, are turbulent and quarrelsome without being warlike. Perhaps their costume (which, speaking roughly, consists of all the cloths and gowns and scarves they can acquire and hold upon their person), by unfitting them for feats of agility, keeps their savagery within bounds.

No. 47 – Beluchis Chiefs.

Whatever these gentlemen's respective motives in visiting Lahore, whether to see the Shahzadeh, of whose approach they had heard, to pay their duty to the Lieutenant-Governor of the Panjab, or to pursue various private objects with British officials, they have all at this moment one common pre-occupation – that of appearing to advantage in Messrs. Bourne & Shepherd's picture.

No. 48 – Gadis Natives of Chamba.

Chamba is a town of some six thousand inhabitants in the dominions of the Maharaja of Kashmir. It is situated on the Ravi just where that river debouches from the hills about thirty miles east of Jamû, the Dogra capital. The natives of Chamba, as may be seen from the photograph, are not without coquetry on the score of head-dress.

No. 49 – Dancing Gadis.

The performance of these artists is called dancing for want of a single word to describe it more accurately. The "dance," however, is nothing but an argumentative pantomime to the accompaniment of strange music. This eloquent oratory of a dumb people is very curious to witness. Their statements, by gesture, are most lucid, and their mute rhetoric mutually convincing.

No. 50 – Pathan Chiefs and Attendants.

In this group, four gentlemen are of the rank which entitles them to chairs in the presence of an English officer. One of them, indeed, has been himself an officer of our Irregular horse, and his three medals show that as such he has seen stern service. He is probably now *en retraite* as principal land-holder of his native village beyond the Salt Range, respected all the more by his neighbours for the regimental uniform he still on ceremonial occasions loves to resume. An orderly of his own race, possibly a son or nephew, stands behind his chair.

No. 51 – Dogras in campaigning costume.

The Dogras, or Hill Rajputs of the Jamû territory, are the principal class of the Maharaja of Kashmir's subjects and the strength of his army. In many respects their position in Kashmir and Jamû resembles that of the Gorkhalis in Nepal. But, dominant as the Dogras are in their own hills, the Sikhs think slightingly of their fighting qualities. The picture states the Dogras whom it exhibits to be in "campaigning costume;" but it is as hard to say what is the Dogra uniform as it would be to say what is the colour of flowers. When the Prince of Wales was at Jamû he saw fourteen or fifteen regiments: and *quot* regiments *tot* uniforms. There was not even a general similarity between them. The Maharaja's army constituted a very pretty *spectacle*, equal for variety and fancy of costume to the most sumptuous extravaganza ever seen on the London stage.

No. 52 – Women of Kashmir.

Kashmir is hardly more renowned for the beauty of its scenery than for that of its women. Its reputation in the first respect is most fully deserved; as to the second some reservation is required. Perhaps young Hindu women of the upper ranks, never exposed to extremes of climates, and not forced to labour, may be as handsome as they are imagined; but Hindu women are seldom seen in public in Kashmir. The Sex is chiefly represented before the world at Kashmir by Mahommedan women not of the higher class, and these are not markedly prettier than the girls of Kumaon, Sirmur, and Gurhwal. The reader can judge for himself, remembering, however, that the three ladies depicted in the photograph are fare above the average of Kashmir beauty.

No. 53 – The Maharaja of Kashmir.

His Highness Renbir Singh had scarcely ascended the throne, in succession to his father, Golab Singh (who died in the early months of 1857), when the Great Mutiny broke out to test conclusively his qualification for retaining it. He chose the wise as well as loyal course, and did valuable service to the British in many ways, although the quality of the troops composing the contingent which he furnished for the siege of Delhi, proved unequal to the strain of that stern occasion. Since then the Maharaja has on all occasions shown readiness to meet the wishes of Government. He has reduced at his suggestion the transit duty on goods passing through his dominions to five per cent, *ad valorem*, and has in others ways proved himself accessible to liberal influences. Yet it would be vain to deny that European opinion in India has, on the whole, shown itself to be unfavourable towards him. Specific accusations, however, have never been established against him, and have in most cases been proved distinctly to be unfounded. A vague prejudice has nevertheless survived, though even this is much more easily explained than justified. It is not very

different in kind from that which makes Russians echo eagerly every charge against the possessors of Constantinople. There is a general feeling that Renbir Singh's astute father obtained the extensive and beautiful principality of Kashmir on absurdly easy terms – in fact, that that wily chieftain had virtually duped the Government of Lord Hardinge; and there has consequently always been an idea among the non-official public that the question should be re-opened and the bargain revised. The circumstances under which Golab Singh became possessed in full sovereignty of Kashmir are fully narrated in Cinningham's "History of the Sikhs," but may be briefly summed up thus, - that Golab Singh, who began life as a private trooper, and who never in the days of Sikh independence was anything more than a vassal of the Khalsa, even as regards his domain of Jamû, was not only recognised by Lord Hardinge as independent master of that province, but freely endowed with the sovereignty of the coveted valley of Kashmir and of the whole hill-country between the Beas and Indus, to which he had never previously advanced the shadow of a claim. He received all this in return of what? Why, in consideration of his abstention from active opposition to the British in the first Satlej campaign, for some passive support in the second, and for the payment on behalf of the Panjab State of a million sterling, nearly three-quarters of which (£680,000) he had already acknowledged himself to owe to the Panjab Government. It is thus commonly declared that Golab Singh purchased Kashmir, and his rank as independent Sovereign of both Kashmir and Jamû, for the ridiculous sum of £320,000. It is unnecessary, however, to argue that a contract, in order to be valid, need not ultimately prove to be equally advantageous to both parties; or that this particular bargain appeared (like the permanent settlement of Bengal) much more convenient to the British Government at the time when it was made than it does now; or that, though Kashmir be charming, and a healthful resort for ladies and gentlemen in the hot weather, this is no just ground for questioning the present Maharaja's title to the dominions he has peaceably inherited and done nothing to forfeit. It is equally needless to say that there is not the smallest disposition on the part of Government to disturb the Maharaja in his treaty rights, nor any greater likelihood of the Maharaja putting the splendid position, to which fortune and the favour of the British Government have raised his family, in jeopardy by an equivocal policy. The supremely magnificent reception given by the Maharaja at Jamû to His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales was the expression of his eager anxiety to testify his devoted loyaltyto the British Crown.

The Maharaja Renbir Singh is about 40 years of age, pleasant in countenance, and of mild, unassuming manners. Popular report credits him with saying all the witty things in his dominions, while Kirpa Ram, his minister, does all the wise ones. In other waords, the Maharaja is more reflective than energetic; he thinks shrewdly, and is clever at putting his thoughts into pointed words, but is not very assiduous in business. Mr. Grant Duff mentions one of the Maharaja's smart sayings. With reference to Mr. Grant Duff's visit to India to acquire information for himself, His Highness said, putting his fingers to his face: "The eye and the ear are very close together; but what a distance between hearing and seeing!"

No. 72 – Maharaja of Oorcha on state elephant.

His Highness Hamir Singh, Raja (or by courtesy Maharaja) of Oorcha (or Tehri) in Bandelkand, is now about 26 years of age. He was, therefore, only a boy at the time of the Mutiny. The Bandela chiefs, however, were, as a rule, faithful in that period of trial.

The elephant in the picture has a distinction of his own: natives declare him to be the tallest in Upper India.

No. 73 – The Maharaja of Alwar.

Mr. Grant Duff, in his "Notes of an Indian Journey," remarks during his visit to the picturesque town of Alwar: "The Alwar chief who reigned while I was at the India Office has, happily for his subjects, been gathered to his fathers. A boy of fourteen has succeeded, and the State is being managed during his minority by the Paramount Power." And again: " The honours of the palace were gracefully done by the young chief, who had been suddenly taken from a more than private station to fill

his great place, and is still almost a child." The Nawab of Alwar is now (1876) just fifteen, and in the opinion of the British Resident, gives good promise of filling his high position worthily.

No. 77 – Elephants and attendants of the Maharao of Alwar.

The most strange and splendid pageant of all those presented to the Prince of Wales's view within the Bengal Presidency was certainly the "march past" of native princes and their followings at Agra. On the great plain to the north of the royal encampment there defiled before the Prince, for more than an hour and a half, an army of native chieftains and their retainers so diversified and sumptuously barbaric, affording such as a matchless mixture of magnificence and savagery, that old Anglo-Indians were almost as much astonished and amazed at the unusual display as the freshest spectator from England. Each chief came on at the head of his own small army of followers; and as they passed the Prince one by one and made their obeisance, His Royal Highness beckoned to join them him, and take their place in his own group, leaving their retainers to move on alone. An eye-witness writes: " Many of the chiefs looked proud and fierce enough to make a bold snatch at a crown; and many of their followers looked, for all their sumptuous apparel, like men not safe to be trusted near a silver spoon. The followers of one Prince looked in their chain mail like Crusaders, and those of another still more like the Saracens whom the Crusaders went to fight. One band might have consisted of the Circassians with whom Schamil so long baffled all the power of Russia, and another reminded one of French pictures of the Mamelukes. I think the Bikanir and Alwar troops were the most picturesque and dangerous-looking; they had an expression in their eyes as if for the life of them they could not understand why they were not allowed to plunder." The photograph gives a picture of the State elephants and personal attendants of the Maharao of Alwar; but does not show us any specimens of his romantic soldiery. Some of these, however, are seen in the photographs succeeding.

No. 81 – Group of Thakurs, Bikanir.

For all the simplicity in costume and habits of these personages, whom we see here seated so modestly on the ground smoking a pipe in common before resuming their seats in the bullock-carriage, they are in reality long-descended gentry – Rajputs of the Rajputs – not at all slow to take to the sword, and very capable of giving their princes, as a perusal of Tod's " Rajasthan" abundantly shows, a vast deal of trouble.

No. 82 – The Maharaja of Gwalior.

It must be acknowledged that the Mahrattas have strong stuff in them. Princes of this race seem as a rule to have more idiosyncrasy, more personality, than the average Indian potentate. Neither Scindia nor Holkar can be considered a puppet – a tool in the hands of servants, the slave of his own zenana. If the English rule were suddenly withdrawn from India, it is probable that these two Mahratta princes would, in the first instance at least, have most to say regarding the redistribution of territory within the peninsula. Preferably Scindia : he is the more powerful, the more popular with his own subjects, and not the less able and ambitious of the two.

His Highness Alijah Jayaji Rao Scindia was born in 1833, and was just twenty-one when he assumed the government of his states. He was fortunate in having to his hand one of the very ablest statesmen in all Hindostan, the present Sir Dinkar Rao. It speaks much for the Maharaja's sagacity that he confirmed him in office, and cordially supported him for several stormy and critical years, and it says still more for his strength of character that he determined, and was able, to dispense with his services later on. This may have looked a little like ingratitude, but the Maharaja has no idea of allowing his minister to be his master. Sir Dinkar Rao, with the prestige of his successful policy and the declared favour of the British Government, was becoming too powerful, and Scindia did not choose to be overshadowed in his own dominions. The subsequent history of Gwalior has shown that this was not the

petulant jealousy of a weak mind towards a strong one. The reports of successive Residents present the Maharaja to us as a prince of strongly-marked traits, observant and thoughtful, ambitious, but with great self-control, a close critic of the English character and Government, and on that very account one whose loyalty, though not affectionate or impulsive, may in ordinary circumstances be securely relied on. The circumstances of the Mutiny, indeed, were anything but ordinary ones, and his conduct was magnificently faithful even in those. Nor have the results of his then policy been such as to disgust him with fidelity. The Maharaja of Gwalior is a far richer and more honoured sovereign now, than before he threw in his lot so unreservedly with the British. He rules over wider territories, and holds them by a securer grasp.

No. 86 – Maharaja Ram Singh of Jaipur.

This intelligent and useful ruler was trained from childhood for his great duties under the supervision of the British Residents. His father had died – in all probability murdered – in quite early youth; and some of the reputed murderers expiated their complicity in the suspicious events of that period by imprisonment for life in the British fortress of Chunar. The Maharaja was twenty-one years old at the time of the Mutiny; and his good wishes and, so far as his power went, his aid were with us throughout that time of trial. Major Eden wrote on the 17th May: "I feel assured the Maharaja and Sirdars will do all in their power to aid us." Unfortunately the Jaipur contingent was not amenable to its only-nominal sovereign, and practically it was English power which reduced his subjects to their due obedience, not the Maharaja who helped to restore the English power. (...) he has been the first to design and carry them out (his people) (...) more or less improved under his auspices. In fact, Jaipur contests with Travancore the honour of being the model native state of India. (...) as showing the Maharaja's superiority to prejudice, and his inclination to like Europeans and their ways, that *he has learnt to dance*, (...)

No. 87 – The Princes first tiger, Jaipur.

(...) On the occasion in question, a fine tigress was duly driven towards the spot where the Prince, the Maharaja, Rajah Kishore Singh, Lord Aylesford, and one or two others were in ambush. (...)

No. 91 – Group of Jaipur Sirdars.

On the occasion of the Prince's visit to Jaipur it was quite unnecessary for the Maharaja Ram Singh to summon, or even invite, his vassal chiefs to the capital: they were so eager to come. In fact, the Thakurs assembled from districts of Rajputana far beyond Jaipur, to pay their homage to the heir of the whole Empire. Thus, the Maharajas Pertab Singh and Kishore Singh, brothers of the reigning sovereign of the great rival Rajput State of Jodhpur, were present at Jaipur. There were some Mussulmans too, of distinction, as the Nawab Sir Faiz Ali Khan. The photograph presents a group of a few such chiefs, members of the *bara-kotri*,* as are entitled to chairs on occasions of ceremony, with their favourite attendants standing at their back.

* *Bara-kotri*, the brotherhood or peerage of Dhundar, consisting of the possessors of the twelve great fiefs of Jaipur.

No. 92 – View of Naini Tal.

On the principle of *Omnia dat qui justa negat*, or that a chain is no stronger than its weakest link, it is perhaps well to show the extreme beauty of Naini Tal by

exhibiting its least beautiful view. The photograph does this. No search can find another point from which the admired lake looks so little attractive. Yet as, after all, even this scene is very far indeed from being hideous, or even unpleasing, those may perhaps obtain credence who pronounce Naini Tal one of the most beautiful spots in the whole world inhabited by Englishmen; for Naini Tal may be called an English town with more truth than any other in India. No doubt the natives are even here in large majority; but the European minority is larger here than anywhere else. Besides, the town owes its first rise to the English. There were no native settlers on the shores of the lake when a few English officers of the nearest stations in the plain below, fascinated by its beauty, first built rude cottages there for shelter on their occasional visits. These rude cottages were gradually replaced by comfortable villas, and these year by year increased in number, until at last, something less than half a century ago, Naini Tal became what it still is, the hot-weather capital of the North-West Provinces. Whether it be for the advantage of India, on the whole, that all its Governors, who possess a mountain refuge within their governments, should fly there punctually, with all the apparatus of government, as soon as the weather becomes painfully hot in the plains, is a question on which the opinions of those who have, and those who have not, the option of escaping, from the heat and ugliness below, to the fresh air and beautiful scenery above, will be, as a rule, diametrically opposed. The high officials who can go argue that when a man is physically ill at ease, as he must be in the plains in the hot weather, his work must suffer. Such minor officials as are compelled to remain below object that, when the climate and scenery tempt so strongly, as they do in the hills, to open-air enjoyment, the *quantity* of work suffers far more than its quality does in the other case. Besides, they urge the point of expense; and certainly on this point most people uninterested personally in the question feel constrained to join them. Rousselet writes in his "L'Inde des Rajahs": "Cette émigration annuelle du Gouvernement est une des choses les plus étranges, et c'est par millions que se comptent les frais qu'elle occasionne."

The photograph explains at a glance the origin of the lake. What would have been a ravine, like a thousand others among these mountains, actually is a lake, purely from the accident that the only issue from the ravine (in the background of the photograph) has been blocked up by rocks and earth. The *town* of Naini Tal (*i.e.* the one or two streets and lanes where the shops, European and native, are) is built on comparatively level ground, straight in front of, but below, the point from which this

view is taken. The four or five hundred cottages and villas occupied by the English gentry are studded about the mountain sides, some more than a thousand feet higher than others; but all, or nearly, look down upon the lake.

No. 95 – Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur.

This remarkable man raised himself to more than royal power among a fierce and cruel people by exerting, together with equal disregard of life, a prompter resolution. A dozen times in his upward career it was a mere question of time whether he or his rivals should get the start in killing; and it must be said that when it related to putting an enemy out of the way, Jung Bahadur never used procrastination. It may be said also that he never devolved on others the danger of his homicides. He was always ready to pay with his person, and perhaps no man living has slain at his proper risks and perils so many foes with his own hand. Some think that there is no more call for abhorrence towards the Maharaja, on account of the means by which he supplanted his rivals, than there is towards the bears and tigers of the jungles, whom nobody considers cruel for destroying life ever so freely, according to their wants and after their kind. Certainly his acts excited no moral disapprobation in Nepal, but, on the contrary, a very profound respect and an even affectionate admiration.

At any rate, whatever may be thought in humane English circles of the measures by which Jung Bahadur attained the supreme power, it cannot be denied that he has used it beneficially for his country, and usefully for us. In the first place, by the acquisition of the lowlands on the Oudh frontier, he has aggrandizes the Nepalese State. As to internal reforms, he has abolished mutilation as a punishment for crime, and restricted the sacrifice of *suttee*. The cultivation of waste land has been extended; dacoity has been almost suppressed; and, not least, the infiltration of European ideas has been encouraged. Some of the more stupid obstacles to international trade have been removed; the mutual extradition of criminals has been conceded; the principle has been admitted that civil suits affecting whether British or Nepalese subjects should be decided wherever the cause of action may have arisen,

and that British subjects have the same rights of access to Nepalese courts of law as natives of the country. Moreover, the whole course and spirit of law and justice has been to some extent liberalized and strengthened; and (perhaps most effectual of all) Nepalese of the higher ranks have been encouraged to visit the English territory and associate with English officials.

Jung Bahadur, though of the ruling tribe and of good family in Nepal, did not show in the front rank of Nepalese chiefs until 1845, when, by the favour of the Maharani Lakshmi, he became one of a Council of six nobles for administering the affairs of state. Less than two years afterwards his patroness, the Maharani, was an exile at Benares; the Maharaja, Rajendra Bikram, had abdicated in favour of his son, Surendra Bikram, then as now, entirely in the hands of Jung Bahadur; and all Jung's former superiors, colleagues, and rivals were dead, or had frankly accepted the position of his adherents and dependents. Jung Bahadur was at that time hardly 30 years of age, and from that time to the present his authority has been paramount in Nepal. It would give quite and inadequate idea of his dignity in the State to say that he is "Prime Minister" of Nepal, for besides being a Maharaja himself, with independent rights of sovereignty in his own large domains, he is grandfather of the future lawful king – his son being married to Surendra Bikram's daughter, and his daughter to that sovereign's son. A further solidity is given to his position by the persuasion, general in Nepal, that the British Government desires the continuance of his power, over and above its ordinary friendly relations to the minister of an allied State; and it is certain that the personal services which the Maharaja has rendered us quite deserve all the prestige he derives from our close friendship. So early as 1848 Jung Bahadur proved the value he attached to the British alliance by offering Lord Hardinge the aid of eight Nepalese regiments in the Sikh war, and, although the assistance was declined, the loyalty and good-will which dictated it were appreciated. Two years later he took the unexampled step of visiting England, at once braving the caste prejudices of his people, and leaving the field open for conspiracies in his absence. On the result of his visit, a British Resident at Katmandu writes: "His reception by Her Majesty was intensely gratifying to him and to the nation which he represented. So great was the enthusiasm excited by his letters from London that a royal salute was fired in Katmandu on Her Majesty's birthday, and this compliment has been similarly paid in each succeeding year. The letter from the Queen, of which he was the bearer on his return in 1851, was received and read in Durbar with

marked respect." This gratification on the Maharaja Jung Bahadur's part was not the consequence merely of flattered vanity, it was the result of a conviction that, in obtaining a cordial alliance with the British Government, he was securing the most solid guarantee for the independence of his country, and strengthening his own position as its administrator. That this was his conviction, he proved it the Mutiny. The most popular course with his people would have been to join in the attack upon the English. It was a great temptation to them. For ages the tendency of the Nepalese policy has been to eke out the comparative barrenness of their own hill-country by encroachments on the fertile plains below. But to all those who urged him to seize the opportunity and take sides with the mutineers, Jung Bahadur replied: "I have been to England, and seen with my own eyes. If the British were driven out of India, they would come again within six months with men and guns enough to sweep every native power into the sea. By joining the Sepoys we might get a good deal of plunder, and some temporary increase of territory, but in the long run we should lose our independence altogether." Nor did he merely abstain from aggravating our difficulties: he came at once to our succour with almost the entire force of Nepal, and was, as a matter of fact, of very considerable service. On the other hand, the army and people of Nepal very soon recognized the wisdom of the maharaja's policy, for their reward was great and immediate. "In addition to the cost of their equipment," says Mr. Girdlestone, "and their expenses while employed in the British provinces, the Nepalese troops carried off a liberal share of plunder from Lucknow, and received large gratuities, which were extended also to the families of those who fell in action. All fighting men who, by the rules of our service, would have been entitled to it, were presented with the Mutiny medal, which is worn with pride by general officers as well as private soldiers. The nation at large was the gainer by the restoration of the lowlands in the Oudh frontier, which it had been forced to cede to the British in 1816. On the Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur was conferred the Grand Cross of the Bath, an honour unique in the annals of Indian history." The Maharaja has since received also the Grand Cross of the Star of India, of which exalted Order he wears the mantle and decorations in the annexed photograph.

No. 98 – Scene in camp, Terai: Arrival at Nanak Matta.

Only a few carts and camels have as yet arrived, and consequently only a few tents are pitched; but the road – for, since the march is still through British territory, there is a road (...) with Goorkha Sepoys, police guards, lancers of the 11th Bengal Cavalry, and a miscellaneous tribe of attendants and camp-followers. (...). Whatever is brittle – wine, beer, glass, china, &c. – must be carried on coolies' heads, or, safer still, by *banghy-burdars*, of whom one is seen in the photograph with a bamboo over his shoulder, from each end of which a basket hangs. The elephants (...) carry chiefly the English servants of the prince and some of his guests, or the European *employés* of Mr. Kellner, the Prince's purveyor for the expidition. One elephant, however, must have arrived – that, namely, which is allotted to Messrs. Bourne and Shepherd's photographic artists – or we should not have had this beautiful picture. Nanak Matta is indeed one of the prettiest spots in the whole of the Terai. It takes its name from having been for twenty months a resting-place for the founder of the Sikh religion. It was Nanak's way to wander about the country, halting for uncertain times according as the people seemed to welcome his preaching. (...) There are some shrines in the near neighbourhood of the encamping-ground which are visited at certain seasons by Sikhs in considerable numbers, who come all the way from the Panjab for the purpose. But the shrines, though subsidized by the Maharajas of Pattiala and Nabha, are in dismal disrepair, so that possibly the liberality of the Maharajas is chiefly applied to the sustenance of the local priesthood. The chief of these, the *mohant*, is quite a young man, with nothing of the ascetic, but a good deal of the gentleman about him. He presented some of the Prince's party with an offering of reeca-nuts, regarding which there is the following legend: While Nanak was resting here, some of his disciples, like those of a diviner person on a similar occasion, were an-hungered. He had pity on them, and pointing to the reeca-tree before him, said, "There are nuts, eat." They objected: "But, master, reeca-nuts are sour." He repeated, "I say unto you, eat!" and tearing some from the nearest branch, he gave them to eat. And lo! the nuts were sweet. And to this day the nuts on that bough (but on that bough only) of that reeca-tree are sweet. Sir Henry Ramsay and others with the Prince will vouch for the miracle *thus far*, that the nuts which the

mohant gave them, though unquestionably reeca-nuts, were sweet, and that reeca-nuts are generally a proverb for sourness.

No. 100 – Native officers and men of the 3rd Goorkhas.

The object of His Royal Highness's visit to the Terai being chiefly tiger-shooting, it was of course desirable to compress the party into the smallest number possible. (...) the Prince's escort was reduce to the very lowest limit compatible with dignity. It consisted of only seventy men and the band of the 3rd Goorkhas, under Captain Gregory, and twenty-five horsemen of the 11th Bengal Lancers, under Major Prinsep; and of these only the cavalry accompanied His Royal Highness beyond the frontier into Nepal. The truth is, that the sight of our Goorkha Sepoys, since they are recruited in Nepal, can never be a pleasant one to a Nepalese patriot. They may not be exactly traitors or deserters; but "why, if they have a turn for military service" (the Maharaja Jung Bahadur would not unnaturally think), " are they not serving in my army?" It was thought, therefore, only delicate towards a generous but susceptible host not to tax him with the presence of superfluous guests, whose sight, moreover, must be more or less disagreeable. The gallant little Goorkhas and their capital band were consequently left behind at the river Sardah, which forms the boundary in this quarter between British and Nepalese territory. Before their departure several groups of them were successfully photographed; and it was very droll to see the complacency of such of the little men as were selected for the decision, and the vexation (obvious, notwithstanding the men's efforts to conceal it) of those who were discarded as not having noses flat or eyes pig-like enough. It may be as well to note that the so-called "Goorkhas" in our service are seldom true Goorkhas – *i.e.* Gorkhalis – who correspond to the Rajpoots of the plain, but Muggurs and Gurungs – Hindus, Hindus of lower caste.

No. 101 – Group of Thibetans.

It was at first supposed that this party consisted of Lepchas from the Sikkim frontier of Nepal, but it subsequently appeared that they were really natives of Thibet. It was remarked that their countenances, not otherwise unpleasing, bore an expression of melancholy; and it was stated by an English gentleman, who had himself on two occasion visited Thibet, that this is the general character of the Thibetan physiognomy. There was nothing morose, however, about these people. It was the easiest thing in the world to make them laugh; but, the laugh over, their faces subsides at once into a look of sadness.

No. 102 – Group of Beschirs, with presents.

The tidings that the son and heir of the great Queen was about to pass through the Terai, had spread throughout the valleys of Kumaon and Gurhwal, and far up the Himalaya towards the watershed of Thibet. Parties of strange, good-natures, Tartar-looking people were every now and then dropping in upon the Prince's progress, generally bringing rude offerings, but their best – yak's tails, goat's-wool caps, knives, pân-boxes, or musk – sometimes, however with the converse purpose of extracting something from his princely bounty. The Beschirs, men and women, of the photograph were of those who came to *bring* presents and homage, not to beg. One of the women was pronounced rather handsome.

No. 103 – Thibetan mendicants.

Another party of Thibetans also visited the camp, and were of course marked down for portraiture. These were of much lower social rank. In fact they might be called without libel beggars, for though not importunate they were ready and anxious to accept anything; and indeed, so far as appeared, they had no means of living from day to day apart from the alms in food or money which they might obtain. In one respect, however, they had a superiority to the mendicants of most other countries – their clothing was abundant and warm. In fact they might perhaps be more justly classed as peripatetic paupers than beggars proper.

No. 104 – Group : His Royal Highness with Sir H. Ramsay and party.

(...) It is scarcely a wonder that the natives there have come to look to him [His Royal Highness] as to their earthly providence. It is doubtful whether there be in all India a British official so absolutely beloved and reverenced by his "subjects" as the "King of Kumaon." (...)

No. 110 – View up the Sardah.

The Sardah, or Kali, river has been since 1858 the boundary between Nepal and the British province of Kumaon. In that year the lowlands between the Sardah and the Rapti, which had been ceded to the British by the Treaty of Sigauli in 1816, were restored to Nepal in recognition of the loyal service rendered by the Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur in the Mutiny. The Sardah, however, here divides itself into no fewer than five branches; and as it is from the furthest and most eastern shore of the

river that the Nepalese territory is held to commence, the islands opposite, which might be mistaken in the photograph for the other and true bank of the Sardah, are still British ground. But the Maharaja, in his eagerness to show respect for his royal guest, did not stay to await in comfort the arrival of the Prince on his own frontier before bidding him welcome. Accompanied by the English Resident in Nepal, Mr. Girdlestone, and attended by a brilliant staff and large escort, he crossed, by extempore bridges which he was at the trouble of constructing, all the several streams of the Sardah to Bambassa, the first British station; and leaving his troops there, rode himself with only a handful of flowers to meet the Prince on his march while yet some miles off, and conduct him to his tents. The two camps, of the Prince and Maharaja, were pitched in close neighbourhood in an open, park-like plain studded with fine trees, and commanding from some points the view exhibited in the photograph. It was here, at banbassa, that the visits of ceremony and presents were exchanged; and it was here that Major-General the Hon. Sir Henry Ramsay, Commissioner of Kumaon, who had done the honours of the British jungles to His Royal Highness, laid down the functions which he had discharged to such perfection. The Sardah once passed, the Prince and his suite became the guests of the Maharaja of Nepal; and henceforth the arrangements for H.R.H.'s sport were made by Sir Jung Bahadur in his own person, and for his comfort and entertainment also by Sir Jung, but through the judicious intermediation of the Resident.

No. 112 – Ladies of Sir Jung Bahadur's household.

Allusion to the female portion of a native gentleman's family is always a delicate matter, and is not less so when the gentleman is a prince. On the other hand, it is not common for a native prince to submit the ladies of his household to photographic processes. Weighing these opposing considerations, we will simply take these ladies as we find them. Their attire and ornaments, and the presence of an attendant, prove their importance in the Maharaja's establishment, and in the case of one at least of the two, this importance may be explained by her personal advantages.

No. 113 – The first day's bag in Nepal.

A great French whist-player, who was also a diplomatist, said it was not worth while to be a despotic monarch, since the greatest autocrat could not make hearts, or spades, turn up trumps. But in sporting matters it *is* of some use to be a despot, since you can then make sure of seeing game, and almost sure of bagging it. Ten days in British territory had yielded, after much squeezing, two tigers; one day in Nepal gave seven of those animals with ease and certainty, and of these seven, six fell to the rifle of the Prince of Wales himself. Such is the difference between constitutional and despotic government!

The photograph on the opposite page represents Mr. Bartlett, the Prince's naturalist, resting from his labours. The skins of the seven tigers around him show what those labours were. It is fortunate that the photograph cannot give the *smell* which accompanies the operation of skinning tigers. It will be observed that there are also seven natives standing or squatting about. Some of these, perhaps all, might be trusted alone near a bag of uncounted rupees; but they are longing, to a man, to pick and steal from these dead tigers. What they covet are the teeth, claws, and whiskers of the animals; and all Mr. Bartlett's vigilance has not been too much to preserve his servants' and the skins' integrity. The flesh of the tiger is also greatly valued for food, but not for its flavour. Native parents of certain castes – not, of course, the highest – make their children eat morsels of it, from the belief in some parts of India that it will cause them to grow up brave, in others that it will simply make them strong. But all castes and classes alike prize the tiger's claws, teeth, and whiskers. The teeth and claws are worn as amulets to preserve the possessor, some say, from danger of wild beasts – others think vaguely, from evil in general; while no one doubts that the tiger's whisker, chopped up fine and administered in an enemy's food, makes a superlative poison. (...)

No. 114 – Women of Thibet.

These are the same ladies that appear in a previous picture, and need no further notice. It might be thought from this duplication of their portraits that they were not free from personal vanity. They were not. One of the artists in camp took the portrait of one of them in pencil, and her gratification on beholding it was excessive.

No. 115 – Nepalese soldiers on outpost duty.

The Nepalese army consists of about 14,000 infantry, and 2,282 artillery, but has no cavalry except a few score men to furnish orderlies, or ride as a state escort with the Maharaja. (...)

(...) The men pictured in the photograph belong to a crack regiment, somewhat corresponding to our Foot-guards, on service with Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur as his escort. They are evidently, from their comparatively tall and slender figures, true Gorkhalis, belonging to the proudest among the many races that compose the population, and furnish the army, of Nepal. A few regiments are recruited exclusively from these high-caste people, but as a rule Gorkhalis are mixed throughout the army with men of the other races – Muggurs and Garungs, Limbus and Kerantis, Bhutias and Nawars – only that everywhere the Gorkhalis have more than their fair share of promotion. English words of command are used throughout the Nepalese army, except, indeed, when all words of command are dispensed with, and orders are conveyed by music. A regiment was exercised in this way before the Prince of Wales, not a word being uttered throughout. It was curious and pretty, but seems an unprofitable practice. The Nepalese army is recruited much on the German system – short service (not indeed absolutely compulsory, except from the fact that the army is known to be the only road to consideration and prosperity), but with the liability to be always recalled to the standard in case of need. " The original period of service extends to three years; and afterwards at the yearly renewal of service, which

affects everyone, officers and men alike, each has the option of taking his discharge or serving for another year, and so on from year to year." On this system the numbers of the standing army can at any time be trebled, or even quadrupled, by the recall to the ranks of retired men who have taken their discharge after serving three years. As to warlike qualifications, there can be no better material than the Nepalese: their cousins in our service, the so-called Goorkhas, have no superiors on the earth in gallantry, fidelity, and docility.

No. 116 – Nepalese soldiers.

These are Gorkhalis belonging to a regular regiment, of the same class as the men exhibited in No. 115, but in "fatigue" dress, or, it might almost be said, in civil costume. It is true, the *kookrie* is a weapon, but it is also an axe, a table-knife, and an almost indispensable article of Nepalese attire. At the same time, the *kookrie* is, perhaps, the most formidable arm even of the regular troops. The superior bravery of Roman soldiers has been attributed to their use of very short swords, which could only be effective at close quarters. In the same way the Nepalese sepoy is most at home in hand to hand encounters, when his *kookrie* has sometimes proved more than a match even for the English bayonet.

No. 117 – Nepalese hunters.

Although efficient fire-arms of native manufacture are cheap in Nepal, and have entirely supplanted bows and arrows for purposes of warfare, yet these are still extensively used in the pursuit of game. They have, indeed, one considerable advantage – that of being noiseless: and as Nepalese *shikarries* are more distinguished by their skill in approaching an animal unperceived than by accuracy

as marksmen, this merit of the primitive weapon may, with them, intelligibly outweigh its imperfections.

No. 118 – Group of Nepalese: fishermen, etc.

At least two religions, three races, and the same number of callings, are represented in this not very numerous group. The taller men, which features of the Aryan type, are Gorkhalis, exercising the functions of gamekeepers, or rather, purveyors of game to the Maharaja: they are Hindus. The two squatting on the ground, with dogs lying at their knees, are, to judge partly by their physiognomy, Kerantis, or perhaps Limbus, and Buddhists in religion. The fishermen are Tharos, natives of the Terai, who have the peculiarity of being proof to its malaria (which in certain seasons is deadly to anyone else), but liable to contract dangerous fever at the shortest notice in any more salubrious spot.

No. 119 – Jung Bahadur's fakir.

This "Edie Ochiltree" of Nepal, the "patriarch" of holy beggardom, is a special protégé of Sir Jung Bahadur. Policy may have as much as piety to do with the Maharaja's ostentatious consideration for the old rascal. In some respects the Nepalese are among the most superstitious and bigoted of the peoples of India; and the veneration for cows and for religious mendicants are two of these respects. At any rate, this shrewd-looking old fellow has, what with the protection of the Maharaja, and the general immunities of his class, by no means a dismal time of it.

No. 120 – Nepalese coolies.

These coolies happen to be Niwars by race, but generally the porters' work of Nepal is done by Bhutias, or Bhotias, a more strongly-built people, with a Tatar physiognomy. An ordinary hill-coolie, however, with no pretension to great muscular development, will do work in the way of carrying which a powerful English navvy would break down under. The weakest of the men here represented would think little of carrying a load of fifty or sixty pounds twenty or thirty miles over a bad road, or no road, and all up hill, and for days together. These loads, however, they must carry in their own way. Whatever the nature of the load, it must go *in* the basket if it will, *on* the basket if it will not. The stick which they all carry is of vital use to them. It is not only that it eases them in extra steep passages, and steadies them in dangerous ones, but (employed as by the figure to the right of the photograph) it is a relief and respite from their load. The stain on that coolie's head, produced by his load of perhaps forty pounds, is reduced by the employment of his stick to one of four or five pounds.

No. 121 – The home of the fakir.

This dwelling of the holy person mentioned in No.119 is certainly not palatial – not what we might in expectation attribute to the favoured ecclesiastic of a prince. Yet in the climate, and in comparison with the average hut of the Nepal jungles, it calls for no contempt or pity. The unusual collection of cooking utensils, too, all in metal, show that his holiness does not fare badly in another department of creature comforts.

No. 122 – Group: H.R.H. The Prince of Wales,

The Maharaja Sir Jung Bahadur, and suites.

In this group His Royal Highness and the Maharaja alone are seated. Mr. C. Girdlestone, C.S., the British Resident in Nepal, is standing behind the Maharaja, to whom he is accredited; while in rear of the Prince of Wales are Prince Louis of Battenberg, General Sir D. Probyn, and Lord Suffield. Others of the party are Lord Alfred Paget, Sir S. Browne, Lord Carington, and Lord Charles Beresford. Colonel Ellis may be just descried in profile behind the Nepalese officers in attendance on the Maharaja. Sir Jung Bahadur presents here a very different appearance from the chivalrous show he makes in pages 51, yet this is equally like; in fact, the Maharaja, being a man of the most desperate personal courage, to whom fear is absolutely unknown, and before whom everyone in Nepal trembles, often affects the effeminate, not to say the anile, in voice, manner and costume. On a state occasion it will be quite a chance whether he makes his appearance armed to the teeth , with jewellery casque and nodding plume, looking every inch a soldier, or like a native an old native lady in satin petticoats and silk Bloomer trousers. In the latter case his slight moustache and scanty beard would not quite suffice to remove uncertainty as to his sex, but the glance of his eye would. No self-restraint can hide its daring: it is cold, hard, and keen as a rapier. His voice id under control, and issues generally thin and soft as a woman's, but his glance always flashes sharp as a stab.

No. 132 – Sir Salar Jung.

This distinguished statesman will probably be remembered in history as one of perhaps half a dozen natives of India who have been at the same time powerful, enlightened, and patriotic. His power is manifest: his will is as dominant throughout the Nizam's territories as Sir Jung Bahadur's is over the kingdom of Nepal. That he is enlightened is proved by a bright constellation of reforms which he has enforced upon the state of Hyderabad, against difficulties and dangers which make it accurate

to say that he has compelled his people to be prosperous in their own despite. He has disbanded the armed banditti, Arabs, and others, who, while nominally soldiers of the Nizam, were virtually the masters of his government as well as the extortioners and bullies of his people. He has abolished the system of farming the revenue, thus more than doubling its nett receipts, while relieving the population from that constant dread of extortion which formerly discouraged accumulation and enervated industry. He has considerably improved the administration of justice, done much to extend primary education, and established a system of police, under which a habit of order is growing up. Irrigation, mining, road-making have all had his support; and under his auspices a railway has brought Hyderabad into easy connection with all the chief cities of India. But chief of all proofs of Sir Jung's sagacity (because it is thus he obtained the authority and support which has aided him in his ameliorations) is his recognition of the real solidity of the British power in India, even when the mutiny of the native army had subverted the foundation on which, to less acute observers, that power seemed to rest. Appreciating the infinite superiority which Government derived from its organization, the patriotic unity among its European servants, and the resources of England in the background, Sir Salar Jung knew that the difficulties of Government were only momentary, and that the true policy of the Hyderabad state was to throw in its lot with the British. His loyalty in 1857 was of immense service to us, and it was splendidly rewarded by large augmentation of territory and the remission of heavy pecuniary liabilities. But, faithful as this great minister has been to the paramount power, he has still remembered that his first duty is to the sovereign whose minister he is, and to the state which he directly administers. Wherever it seemed to him that the dignity of the Nizam or the interest of his country required opposition to the wishes of the British Government, he did not hesitate to compromise his favour with it (although that favour constitutes the better part of his domestic influence and individual strength) by a resistance resolute to the verge of danger. Thus, with regard to the Nizam's projected visit to the Prince of Wales at Bombay, or the efforts for the redemption of the Berars, there can be no doubt that Sir Salar Jung's conduct in the one case was in accordance with the strong feeling of the Hyderabad people, and that his demand in the other was fairly plausible, and, whether essentially just or not, would have been, if conceded, greatly to the advantage of Hyderabad. Consequently, as the minister of Hyderabad, ha cannot well be denied the praise of patriotism. His first duty is, he feels, to his country; and if his

duty to the great paramount power, under whose shelter his country is able to make such wonderful material progress, comes only second, this should be no discredit to him with Englishmen. If we have no enemies among native princes save those whom the true interest of their states make such, we shall experience little serious hostility. It is the best security we can desire for the essential fidelity of Sir Salar Jung in all external and imperial crises, that we are sure from all his past conduct that his paramount and engrossing object is the well-being of the Nizam and the Nizamat.

Sir Salar Jung was born in 1833, and is therefore 43 years old. He comes of a noble Mohammadan family of the Deccan, having an hereditary and almost vested right to high office, if not the highest, in the Hyderabad state. His face, person, and demeanour are as distinguished as his descent, intellect, and caracter. Comparatively simple in attire, there has never been a meeting of the princes of India in which the high-bred air and calm, stately carriage of the omnipotent minister of the Nizam have not made him the noblest of the noble. The highest homage that can be paid him is that, with the Raja of Vizianagram and one or two others, Sir Salar Jung, by his appearance, manners, and conduct, deserves the title of a perfect gentleman. If, in these last days, especially during his self-imposed embassy to England, his proceedings have attracted some blame, this is in most part due to the suspicious ill-taste with which he was flattered by certain members of the London press.

No. 133 – The Maharana of Udaipur.

There are many more powerful princes even in India than the Maharana of Udaipur, but there is not one in all the world who can boast so ancient a royal descent of such unimpeached purity. The Rana of Udaipur was the acknowledged head of all the Rajput races at the time of the Norman conquest, and the present Maharana governs almost exactly the same territory which his ancestors held when Mahmûd of Ghazni first showed Mussalman conquerors the road to India. The present chief of Udaipur is a very young man, whose character has not declared itself in any marked manner, but its indications are all favourable. He is stalwart in person,

with an open and pleasing countenance, and frank, courteous manners. It may be remarked that his country is, both as to natural scenery and the beauty of its edifices, one of the most interesting in all India.

No. 134 – The Begum of Bhopal.

One of the most interesting circumstances in the splendid Chapter of the Star of India held by H.R.H. the Prince of Wales in Calcutta, was the presence, in her place as one of the Grand Commanders of the Most Exalted Order, of a lady, the subject of this photograph, Her Highness Shah Jahan, Begum of Bhopal. A female knight grand commander might have seemed a little incongruous, especially in a land where women seldom hold their due place in estimation, if it had not been remembered that Shah Jahan's mother, Sikandar Begum, had borne the same honour before her, and if all had not acknowledged that no braver or more loyal spirit ever dignified an order of chivalry than that illustrious lady. No history of the great Mutiny can ever be written in which the conduct of this wise and generous princess will not be one of the brightest pages. As a matter of fact, Sikandar Begum never doubted, even in the darkest hour, that the British power would ultimately emerge stronger than ever from the conflict. But it was loyalty far more than prudence which dictated her policy. Had she despaired of our success she would have adhered to us all the same. Indeed, with the firmest conviction of our final victory, she could have no assurance as to her own safety in the meantime. There were long months before the tide began to turn, during which she and her dynasty might easily have been swept away in the flood of rebellion. But her tact was equal to her loyalty. Quite prepared to share our fall if it must be, she showed the skill of a statesman and the courage of a soldier in helping our rise. And if her services were great it is a comfort to think that her reward was not niggardly. Besides large increase of territory the Begum obtained the recognition of her own sovereign title, with the full right of succession to her daughter and grand-daughter. It was not only the British Government which had cause of gratitude to this able princess, but her people also. She was to the full as enlightened, careful,

and laborious in her domestic administration as she was staunch and cordial in her attachment to the paramount power. The reforms she initiated and carried closely out were numerous, and of the most vital character. In fact, she was both a strong and a kind ruler. Of her daughter, the reigning Begum, it may be said that she does not derogate from her parentage. Possibly her mother's inferior in energy of character, she is her equal in blamelessness of life and regard for the welfare of her subjects. She, like her mother, has only one child, a daughter, married to an Afghan nobleman, Mir Ahmad Ali Khan Bahadur.

No. 135 – Maharaja of Jodhpur.

Maharaja Takht Singh, the present ruler of Jodhpur, or rather Marwar – Marwar being the country and Jodhpur its capital – was, after a sort, *elected* to the throne in 1843. He belongs to a family which descends from a former sovereign of Marwar, but was neither adopted by nor nearly related to Raja Maun Singh, his immediate predecessor. Under these circumstances the British Government, at Raja Maun Singh's death, left the succession to be determined by the widows of the deceased prince and the chief nobles of the state. Their choice fell upon the Thakur of Ahmednagar, now his Highness Takht Singh, G.C.S.I., Maharaja of Jodhpur.

The military force of Marwar is estimated at about 10,000 men, the greater part cavalry, and the Rahtore cavalry used to be considered the best in India. Tod says in his *Rajasthan* that a popular prince could at any have caused "fifty thousand Rahtore swords" to flash from their scabbards. The maintenance, however, by the Jodhpur princes of a standing army has had, beyond its intended effect, of overawing the vassal chiefs, that of permanently depressing the warlike spirit of the people.

No. 136 – The Maharaja of Rewah.

Among the native princes who attended the Chapter of the Star of India in Calcutta there was one who, by his commanding stature, his strange complexion, and stern, warlike air, not to mention the unrivalled splendour of his pages and attendants, attracted particular attention. Those who did not recognise him – and few did, for he has rarely quitted his own territories, which are not often visited by Europeans – asked eagerly who he was. This was Ragraj Singh, Maharaja of Rewah. In some respects this little-known prince is a remarkable man. In the first place, as has been said, his appearance is in the highest degree princely. Upwards of six feet high, he is powerfully built, with a fixed, firm glance and determined air. Moreover, the Maharaja is (for India) of unusually ancient descent. Very few of the actually reigning Indian dynasties are two hundred years old. In fact the English, far from being a *parvenu* and mushroom power, possesses much of the superiority of long duration. The dynasty of Rewah, however, is an exception. The Baghela state has never been a power of the first rank in India, but it is among the oldest. The Maharaja's predecessors – that is, his ancestors according to Hindu modes of succession – date from an earlier time than the English acquisition of territory in India. Colonel Malleson mentions the local belief of Rewah that the present Maharaja is the 32nd of his line. The Maharaja Ragraj Singh is also remarkable intellectually. He has never shown much partiality for the society of Englishmen, but few native princes are so well informed on English matters. It would seem, too, that His Highness can sometimes throw off his usual reserve in intercourse with European visitors of other nationalities. Thus M. Rousselet gives, in his *L'Inde des Rajahs*, a curious account of a conversation in which the Maharaja was communicative, not to say didactic. M. Rousselet had complimented him on the purity with which he spoke English, whereupon the Maharaja replied in English, which M. Rousselet thus renders into French: "Sans la connaissance de l'Anglais un prince Indien ne peut que rester ignorant des progrès de la civilization. Il est obligé de suivre l'ornière tracée par ses ancêtres avec tout son accompagnement d'oppression et de barbarie, et à moins de talents peu communs, il ne peut que s'attirer la mésestime du gouvernement impérial et finalement la perte de sa

couronne. Si au contraire il peut lui-même suivre le mouvement de l'opinion Européenne il est sûr d'être encouragé, soutenu et d'arriver ainsi à améliorer la condition de ses sujets et à augmenter ses revenus." Notwithstanding the enlightenment of these views it is not supposed that the Maharaja has succeeded in getting his revenue system out of the "ornière tracée par ses ancêtres." The imposts are still for the most part farmed out, and little activity or intelligence is shown in developing the naturally considerable resources of the country. Still the Maharaja is not insensible or indifferent to the faults of his manner of government. A few years ago he went so far in an effort at financial reform as almost to engage the able Mahratta statesman, Sir Dinker Rao, ex-minister of Scindia, as his *dewân*, but the arrangement was frustrated, owing, it was said, to the jealousy of the Baghela nobles. The fact probably is, that the Maharaja's high qualities are neutralised by fits of discouragement, or rather by an habitual discouragement broken only by short-lived exertions of energy, which must be attributed to the disease from which His Highness has been a lifelong sufferer. This is leprosy, not of the most virulent sort, but still unmistakeable leprosy, such as to make him in some respects of caste, notwithstanding his sovereign rank, unclean. To dissemble the effects of this malady the Maharaja stains his face with a yellow dye, which gave him the strange complexion that added so much to the singularity of his appearance at the investiture.

In the earliest years of his reign, about the time of the Sutlej campaigns, the Maharaja's conduct was sometimes regarded with suspicion by the authorities. He was supposed to regard the Mirzapore district, which marches with his own territory, and especially the great commercial city of that name, with eager cupidity. It was remarked that at everything in the nature of a political crisis, threatening a period of confusion in British India, the Maharaja was sure to want to bathe in the Ganges at Mirzapore, or to visit some particular shrine there, and that to do this satisfactorily he must needs bring a perfect army of followers, not forgetting a battery of guns also for the purpose of saluting himself! These little alarms, however, always passed off, and when the great alarm, the Mutiny, came, the Maharaja, far from indulging in any of his old velleities of disaffection, showed himself heartily and energetically loyal. He was rewarded by an augmentation of territory, and by the concession of the right of adoption. Later on, His Highness was created a Grand Commander of the Star of India.

No. 137 – The Maharaja of Patiala.

It is not many months since this young prince, blazing with jewels, outshone by the splendour of his appearance all the great vassals assembled in Calcutta to do homage to the heir of their suzerain, and he has already been some months dead. Inasmuch as he died at the early age of 28, he had not the time to leave much history. All of his character, however, that bore upon the welfare of his states was such as to make his premature decease a matter of regret. He was always accessible to advice tending to develop the resources of his territory or improve the condition of his subjects. The Maharaja was a Jât by race, a Sikh by creed, the head of the great Phalkian tribe or *misl*, to which the Maharajas of Jheend and Nahha also belong. The father of the deceased prince, Maharaja Narendar Singh, rendered incalculable services during the Mutiny. Troops, influence, supplies, money – everything he had, was given heartily and unreservedly. So thoroughly did the great Sikh chieftain link his fate tot hat of the British power, that if the temporary eclipse of the latter had proved total extinction he must have utterly perished too. It was only just, therefore, that when English ascendency was once more irresistibly established the Maharaja's splendid fidelity should be splendidly rewarded. From perhaps the third, Patiala has stepped into the first class of Indian sovereigns.

No. 138 – The Maharaja of Indore.

His Highness Tukaji Rao Holkar was born in 1833, and was therefore only 24 years old at the outbreak of the Mutiny. Of no sovereign prince reigning at that time in India has the conduct in that crisis been so strictly canvassed or so differently judged. The Anglo-Indian public has now, however, pretty generally settled itself into the conviction that the Maharaja Holkar was personally bent on loyally discharging all his duties to the British Government, and that his shortcomings were those of power, not of will, and this has certainly always been the view of the

supreme Government. The ruler of Indore was not the only one prince in India who, with the best intentions, was totally unable to control his own troops. The other great Mahratta military power was in exactly the same case: Scindia could only with the utmost difficulty cajole his army into temporary inaction. If the neighbouring Begum of Bhopal was able to take higher ground, it was because her subjects had had many years' experience of her strong will and her firm hand. But the Maharaja Holkar had not had the time, before 1857, to impress his people with a sense of his capacity. Nobody indeed, could have anticipated then that he would become the vigorous, self-sufficing ruler he has since shown himself. Oriental princes seldom combine magnificence with economy, but the Maharaja Holkar knows both when to save and when to spend. No sovereign understands better the strength that comes from a brimming treasury, but if the question is a railroad, a college, or anything calculated materially to benefit his state and people, he can forget his ordinary parsimony for the most liberal outlay.

No. 139 – The Guicowar.

After having been for long years the very worst governed state in all India, Baroda has at last every prospect of much brighter days. Under Khunderao and Mulharao the city of Baroda was the resort of all that was most infamous in the whole country, and the Guicowar's palace was the scene of the worst infamous in the whole country, and the Guicowar's palace was the scene of the worst infamies of the city. But the enormity of the evil brought the cure. So reluctant was the paramount power to alarm princely susceptibilities by extreme measures, that had the late Guicowar only had the once vice more of decent hypocrisy he might have practised all the rest much longer with impunity. Luckily, however, he would not exercise even temporary self-restraint, and after a repetition of warnings and an almost blameable long-suffering on the part of the British Government, he was at last deposed. The circumstances attending Mulharao's trial, his deportation to Madras, and the installation of the present youthful Guicowar on the throne of Baroda, are too

recent, and attracted too wide and keen attention, to need mention here. It would be extravagant to prophesy a golden age to Baroda from the pleasant, frank manners of its boy prince; nevertheless they are of good augury so far as they go. At any rate it is certain that under the able and upright tutelage of Sir Madhava Rao, both the little Guicowar and his rich territories will have all justice done to their natural advantages.

Appendix E: Photographic Processes discussed and used by Bourne

The Daguerreotype process

This process, invented by L. J. M. Daguerre, was presented on the 7th of January 1839 by the scientist F. Arago, but was officially out of the secret on the 19th August 1839 in front of the comity of the French Sciences and Fine Arts Academies. The daguerreotype process[2] is a direct positive image, obtained on a copper plate covered in a silver layer and carefully polished. This one becomes sensitive through the action of the light with the help of iodine vapours creating some silver iodide on the polished surface. The plate has thus to be used quickly – in the hour following the preparation. The exposure time, for the shot, is about fifteen minutes if the whether is bright enough. The plate is then developed away from the light through the mercury vapours, fixed afterwards thanks to the hyposulphite of sodium, and washed with distilled water. The picture consequently got is a large fineness of details but pretty fragile – easily scratched and damaged. As a precaution the daguerreotype is therefore often presented framed, under glass, or even protected by a box. Its bright appearance, sparkling, explain why the names sometimes referring to it mentioned the term of "mirror" such as "miroir qui garde toutes les empreintes"[3] In order to share its process, Daguerre published in 1839 a book called *Historique et description des procédés du daguérreotype et du Diorama*, and organised some demonstrations in public. Because of the shot length the first daguerreotypes were rather still lifes or

[2] Guillemot, Michel, *Dictionnaire Mondial de la Photographie* (Larousse : Paris, 2001), pp. 166-167.
[3] Quotation from Jules Janin, 1839.

city views where only appeared the buildings, as the walkers were not staying long enough in the shooting for their trace to be marked on the plate. Numbers of improvements increased the daguerreotypes stability – fixing with gold chloride discovered by Fizeau in 1840 – and their sensitivity – use of iodine bromide by A. F. J. Claudet, and lime bromide by R. J. Bingham – and from 1840, few seconds of exposure were enough enabling the shot of portraits. As a result the success was immediately. Their precious aspect was highlighted by the presentation, which was often in oval medallion. The success abroad was equally immediate, and in 1851 the first World Fair in London exposed several daguerreotypes. Nevertheless the enthusiasm for the daguerreotype process collided with a limit: the picture was unique, it could not be reproduced. For that reason when the first negative/positive processes appeared – such as the calotypes, then the albumen on glass plate and the negative collodion – enabling the reproducibility of prints, the concurrency played against the daguerreotype process. Its use decreased all along the 1850s to nearly disappear around the year 1865.

This process was the first one seen by the young Samuel Bourne. It was indeed a daguerreotype picture of his uncle, which had a great impact on his life as a photographer. It was like 'magical'. Few years later when Bourne became himself a photographer he did not use this process because it was not appropriated for his work – too fragile and no possibility to make some copies which is a problem for a commercial photographer – and also already outmoded.

The Calotype process

The calotype process – or Talbotype – from the Greek word *kalos* ('beautiful'), was patented by W. H. F. Talbot in 1841, and used for one decade before having been progressively replaced by processes on glass such as albumen on glass plate or wet collodion plate. The calotype[4] is a sheet of paper in which a surface is coated – with a brush – with a solution of silver nitrate. When it is dry this surface is immerged in a solution of potassium iodide – for two/three minutes – with the intention of obtaining the formation of silver iodide, which is necessary for the sensitisation of the support. To use a sheet as a sensitive surface, a solution of silver

[4] Guillemot, Michel, *Dictionnaire Mondial de la Photographie* (Larousse : Paris, 2001), p. 113.

gallonitrate coats it, then it is introduced – dry or wet – in a frame to expose it. The exposure duration varies between one and several minutes – it depends of the atmospheric conditions. After that, the negative is developed with silver gallonitrate before being washed and fixed in a sodium hyposulphite bath. The big advantage of the calotype process over the daguerreotype process is the possibility to get from one negative several positives. Talbot tempted to prove the originality of his process in editing in 1844-1846 the first printed illustrated book called *The Pencil of Nature*. In Europe more than in America where the daguerreotype process knew its apogee, the calotype process was chosen for the possibility of reproduction it could provide but also for its esthetical specificities. Indeed either greyish or dark brown, the calotype has a granular appearance due to the fibres from the negative sheet.

The wet Collodion process (or wet-plate collodion process)

Invented in 1848 by F. S. Archer, the wet collodion process[5] came out publicly in November 1851. This negative on glass process was the most popular until 1880 when the dry gelatine plate process replaced it. To realise a wet collodion shot, a glass plate is coated with a collodion preparation, that is to say, coated with an emulsion of gun cotton and ether, in which some bromide and iodide salts have been dissolved. Becoming sensitive to the light, the glass plate still wet is place in a box before being in exposure for several seconds – the duration depending on conditions. The picture is then developed in the darkroom using as a developer some iron protosulphite or some pyrgallic acid. The negative is afterwards fixed with a saturated solution of sodium hyposulphite, and then washed. For a better conservation, the print is varnished with alcohol, which has the advantage to protect the picture when it is hardening. Despite the numerous disadvantages – weight and fragility of the glass; difficulty to apply the collodion in the darkness, and to develop the printed plate before it becomes dry; the obligation of transporting a portable darkroom, the chemical products, and the camera itself – the advantages of this process are so important that they compensate for the difficulties of the operation. The wet collodion process permits to get a wide precision of details and a wide range of tonalities thanks to the grain fineness and the clearness of its whites. It is why this

[5] Ibid., p. 150.

process was used a lot for portraitures. Bourne mainly used this process when he was in England and in India. He also used the dry version with the Fothergill process.[6]

Albumen print

Albumen[7] is a viscous organic substance, soluble in water, coagulating with heat, notably contained in the egg white. This one contains some sodium chloride, which is transformed to become silver chloride thanks to some silver nitrate. Albumen paper was the predominant printing paper used by the photographers from 1850 to 1890. This paper print can be mix with several processes such as the collodion process. Therefore wet collodion negatives printed on albumen papers have resulted in some of the "finest images of the nineteenth century" with a low gloss, soft sepia tones and yellow highlights, and although this is in part due to the aging process, the original tone being more rich and purple-brown in character.[8] Bourne used most of the time the collodio-albumen process.[9]

[6] To get more information about Bourne and the wet and dry collodion processes, refer to the part titled "Processes used by Bourne".
[7] Guillemot, Michel, *Dictionnaire Mondial de la Photographie* (Larousse : Paris, 2001), p. 27.
[8] Edwards, Elizabeth (ed.), *Anthropology and Photography, 1860-1920* (Yale University Press: New Haven and London, 1992), p. 265 and p. 267.
[9] To know about the use of the collodio-albumen process, refer to the paragraph dealing with the wet collodion process.

Appendix F: A Selection from Lala Deen Dayal's Photographs

Dayal's body of work is divided here into four groups: outside portraits (Photos 4.1.), portraits taken with a specific décor (Photos 4.2.), scene pictures (Photos 4.3.), and topographical photographs including architectural and landscape topics (Photos 4.4.).

Photo 4.1.1. *Social life: canoeing at Indore*
British Library

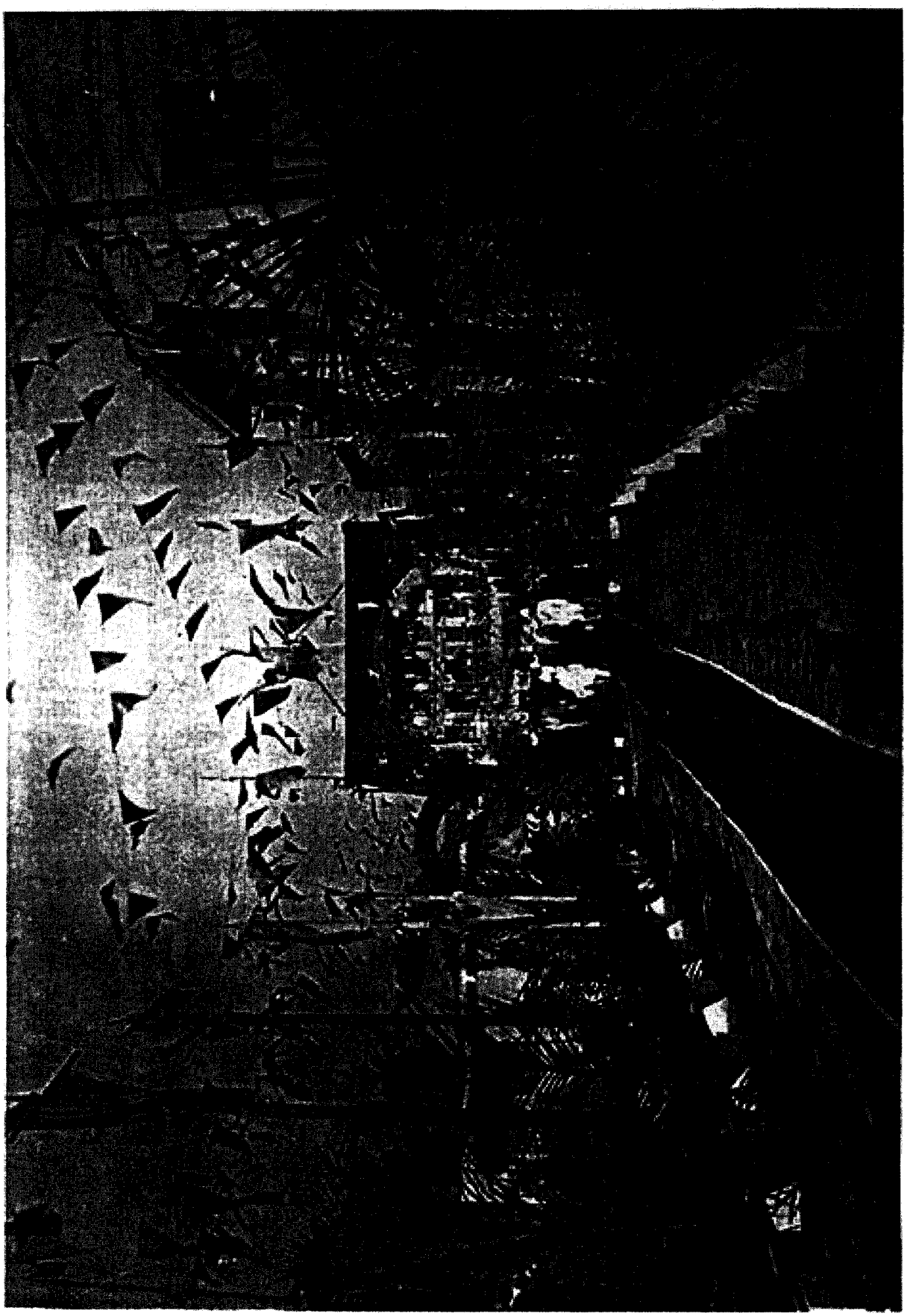

Photo 4.1.2. *Bombay:*
Viceroy and Lady Curzon's visit to Maharatta Plague Hospital
British Library

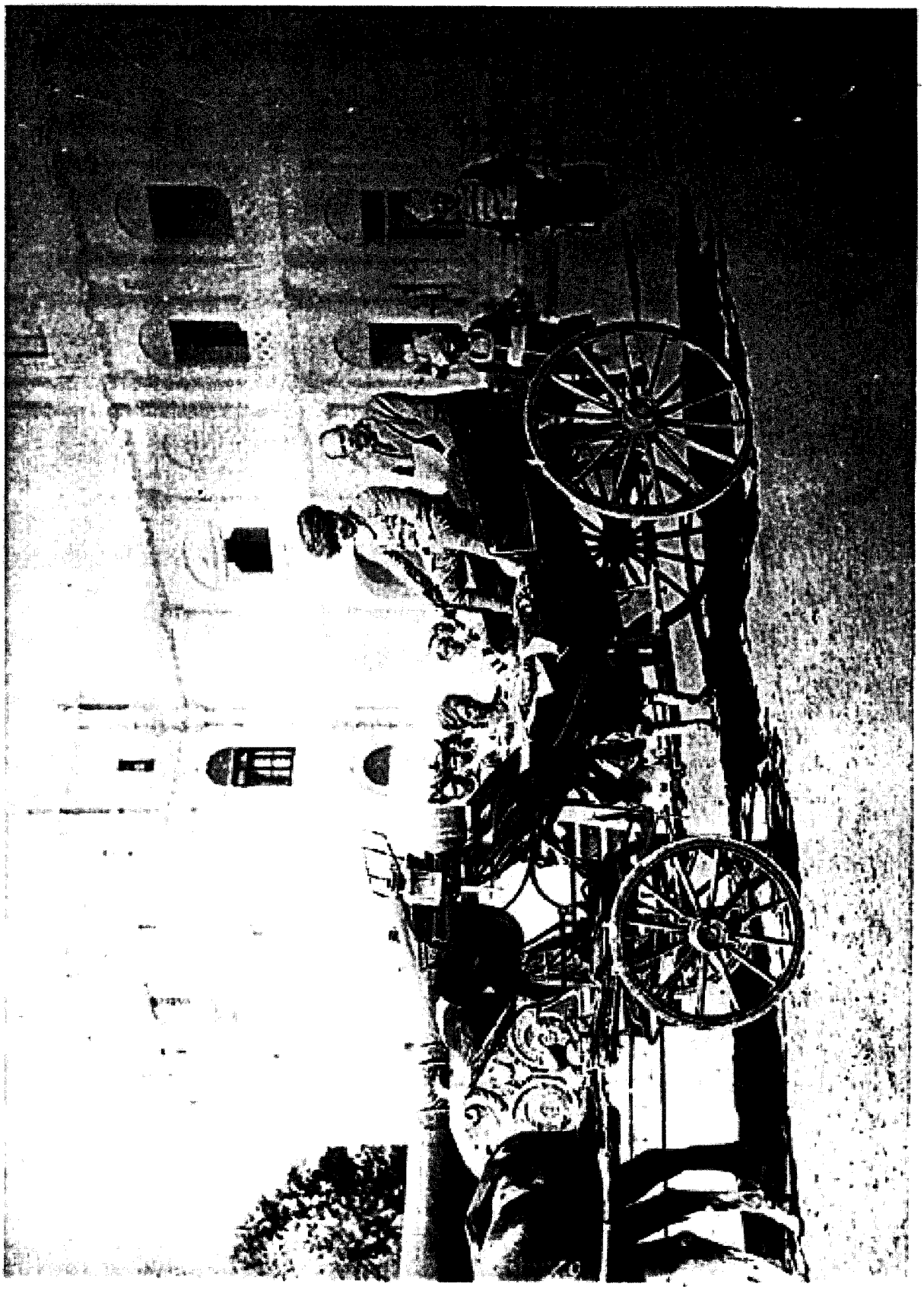

Photo 4.1.3. *Gwalior:*
Maharaja Sindhia returns from Shikar with Tigers
British Library

Photo 4.1.4. *Viceroy tour; party on elephants at Gwalior Fort*
British Library

Photo 4.1.5. *Social life: Ellora:*
Her Excellency Lady Elgin waiting at Inder-sabha cave
British Library

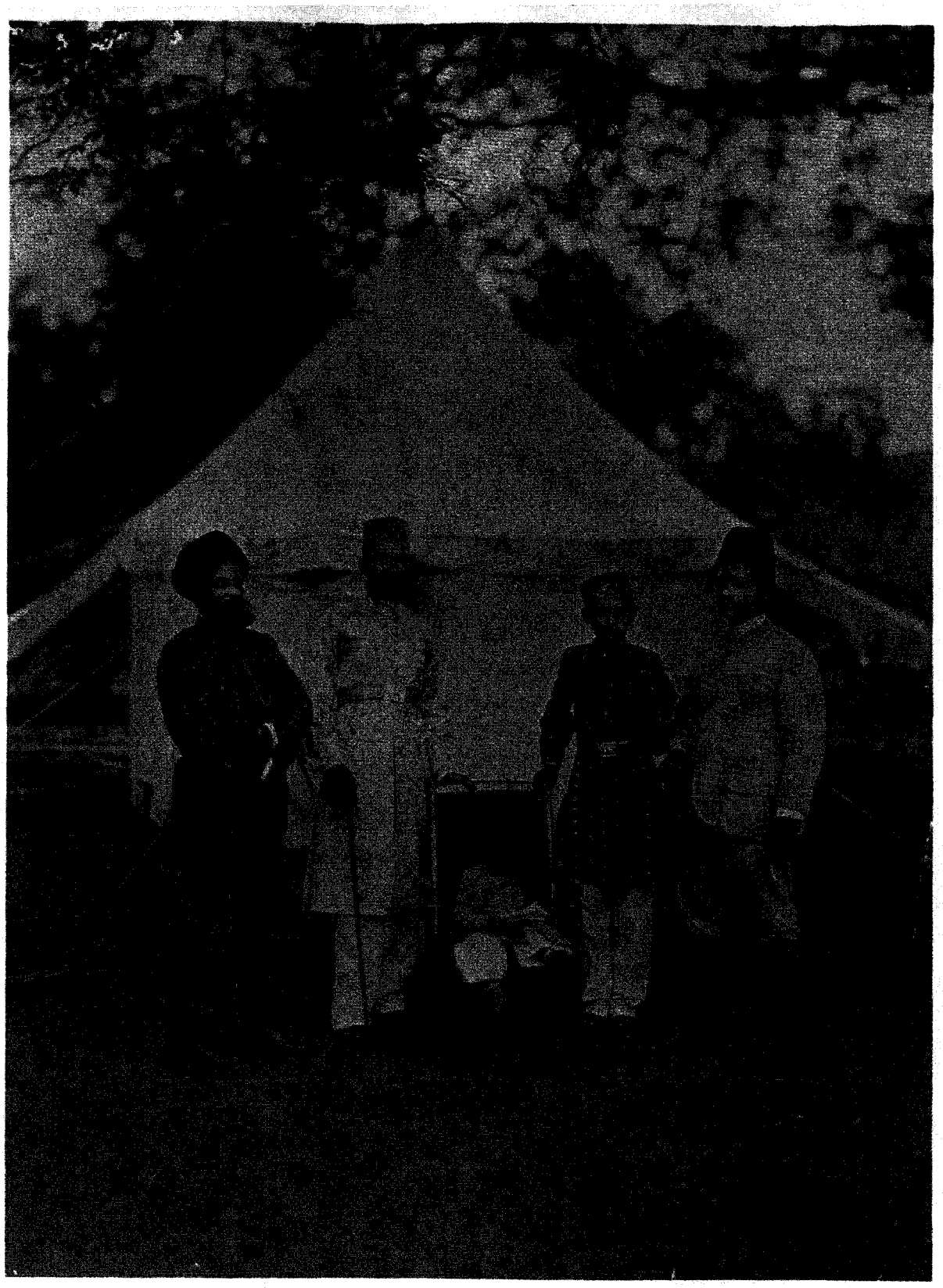

Photo 4.1.6. *Group of four state officers and child prince, Kalamnuri*
Worswick's

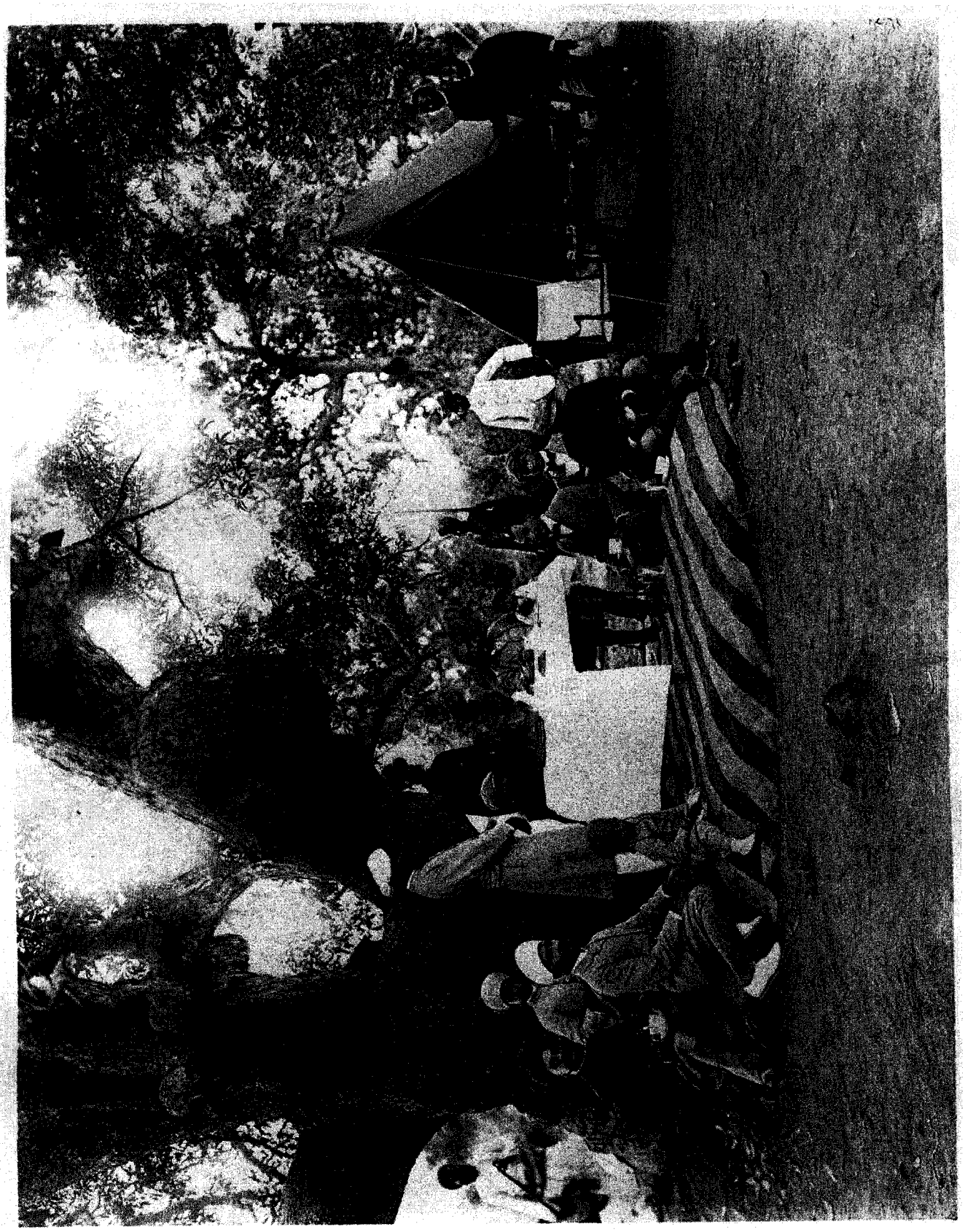

Photo 4.1.7. *H.H. the Nizam (seated, without hat) and staff, at tea party on 'shikar' (hunt) near Warangal*
Worswick's

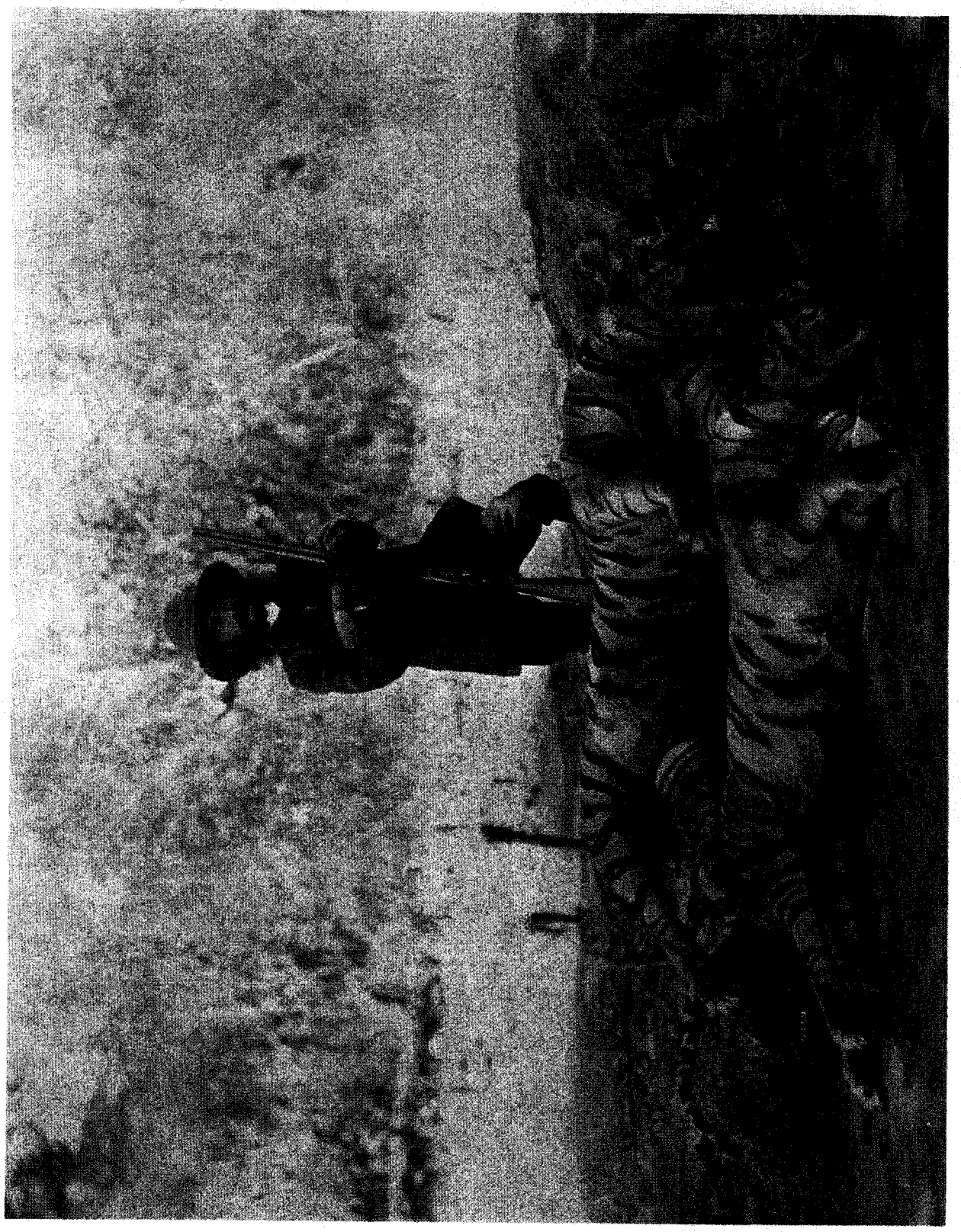

Photo 4.1.8. *H.H. the Nizam, with the day's bag, Nekonda*
Worswick's

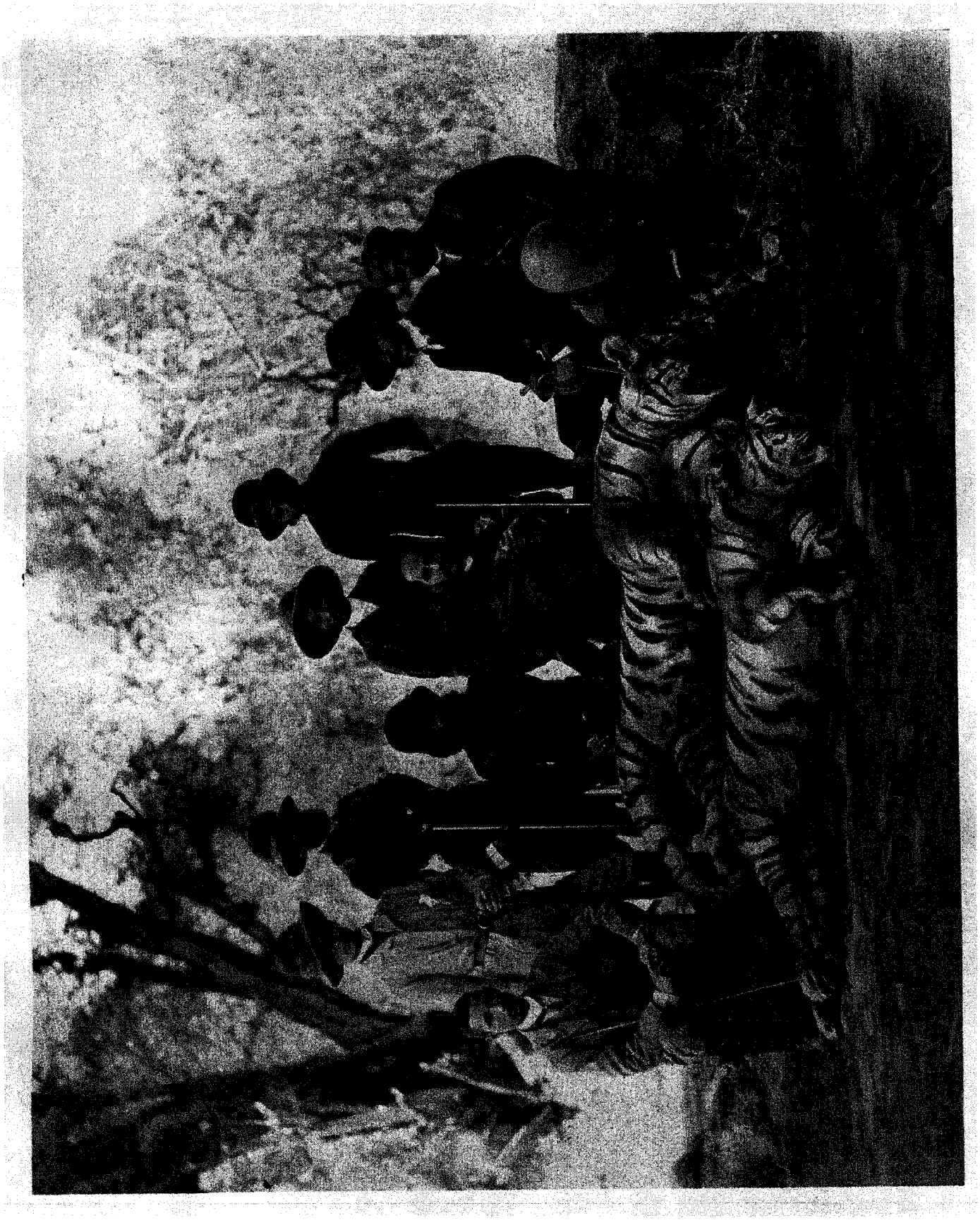

Photo 4.1.9. *H.H. the Nizam, Madanpalli*
Worswick's

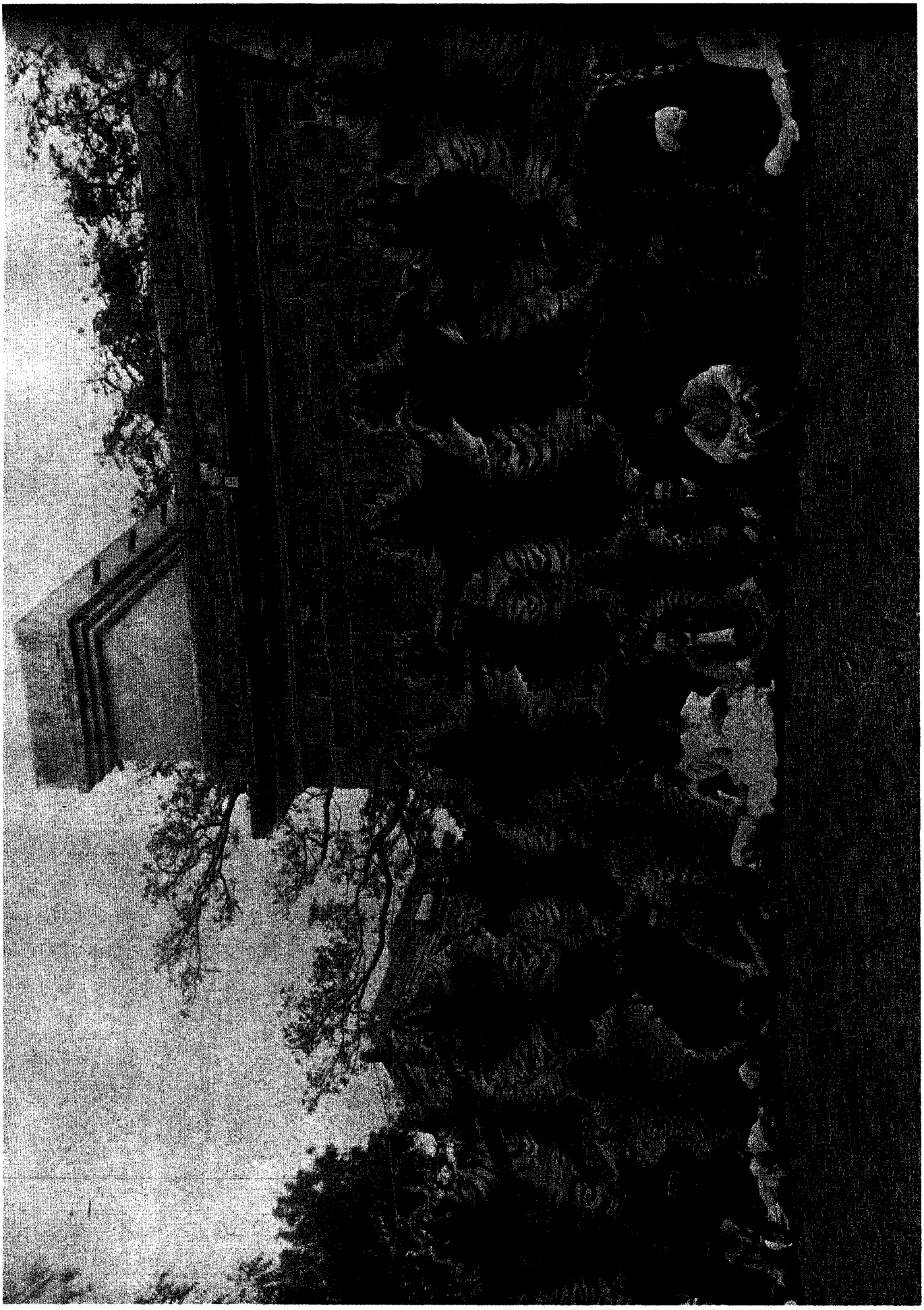

Photo 4.1.10. *Hunting party*
Worswick's

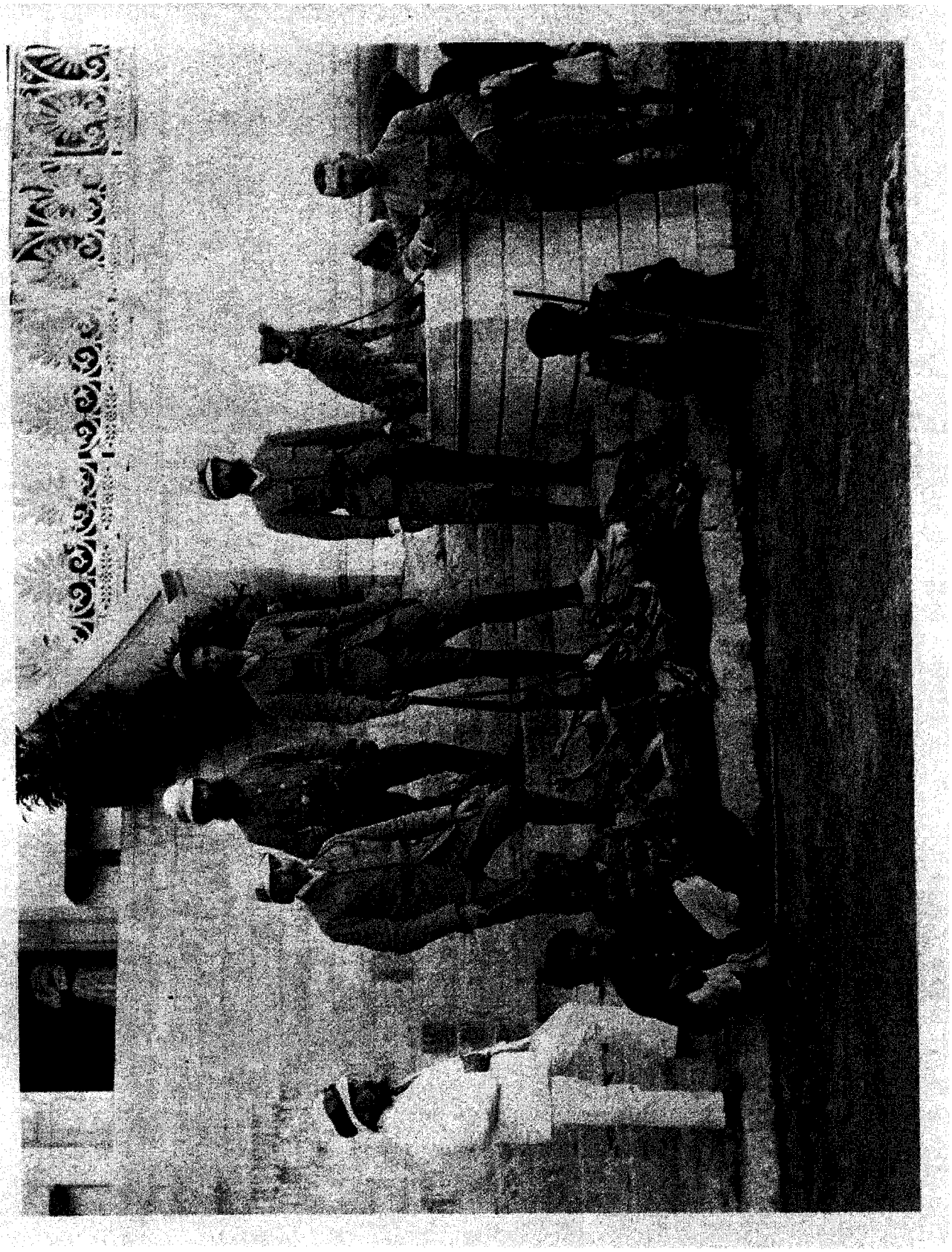

Photo 4.1.11. *Hunting party; H.I.H. the Grand Duke Alexander of Russia on the steps (right) of the Falaknuma Palace, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

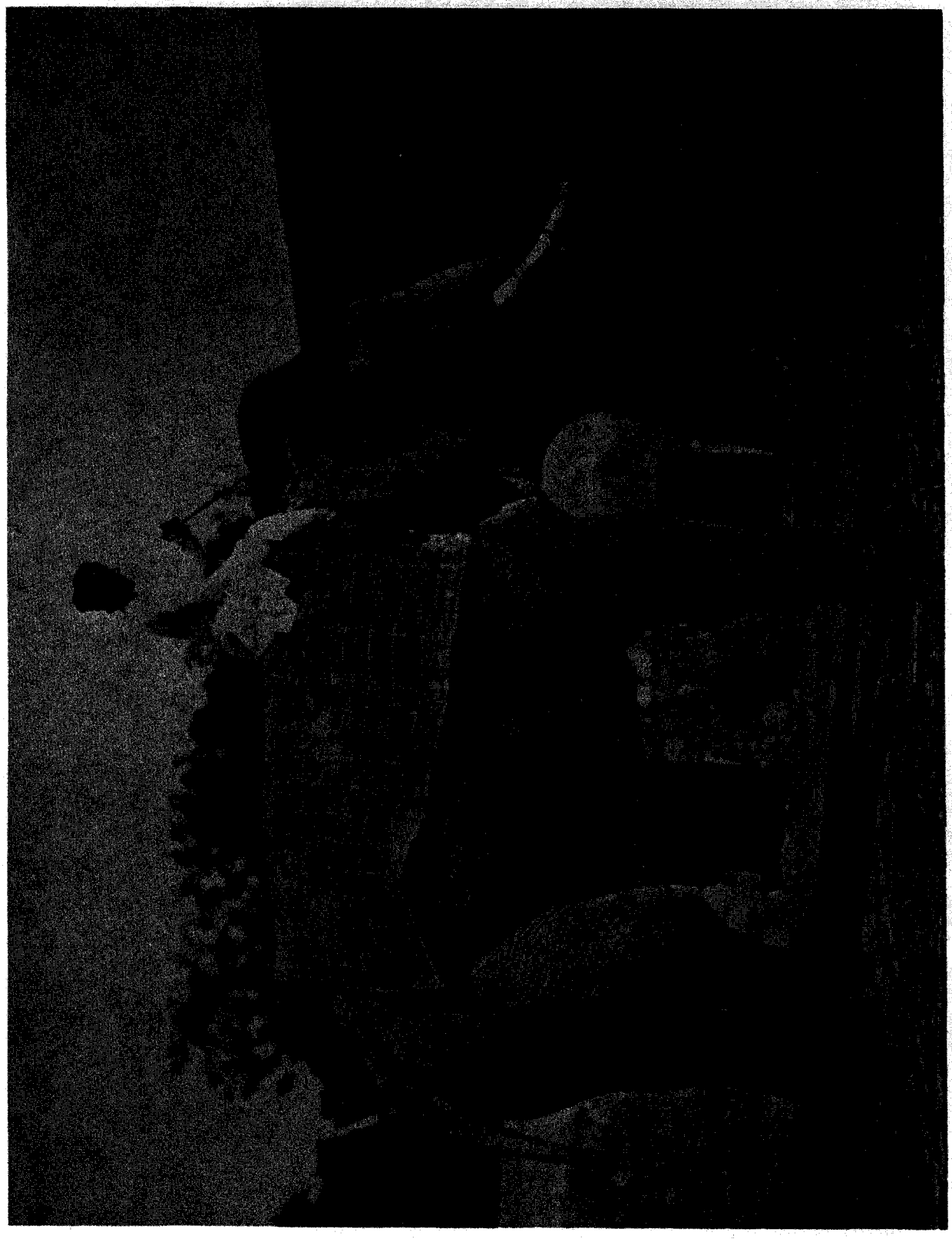

Photo 4.1.12. *Elephant with 'mahout'*
Worswick's

Photo 4.1.13. *The Commander-in-Chief Lieutenant-General Frederick Robert's luncheon party, the Panipat Maneuvers*
(these maneuvres, held on the battlefield at Panipat (outside Delhi), were designed to test the Indian army's readiness for war at the moment of the annexion of Burma)
Worswick's

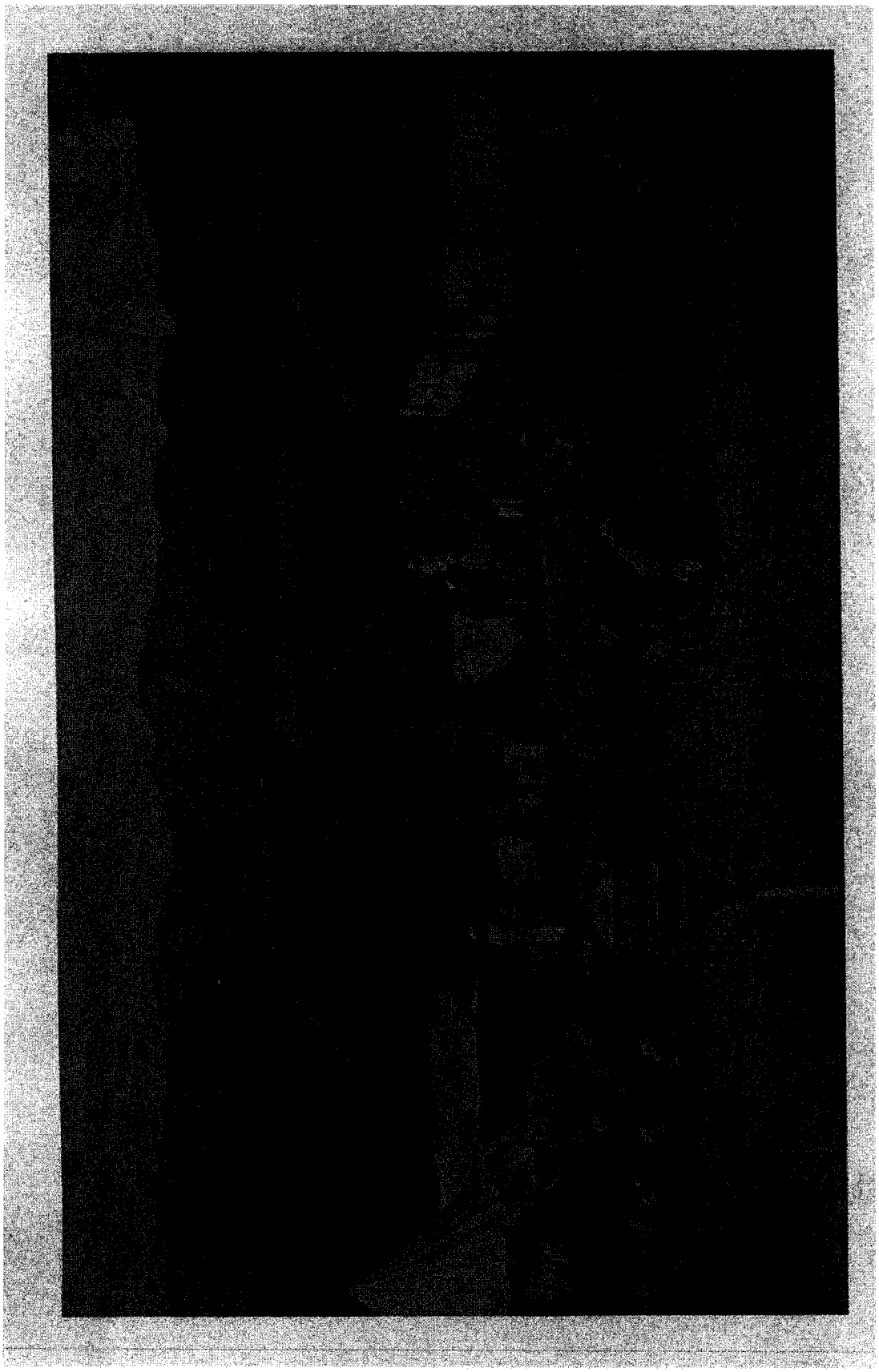

Photo 4.1.14. *Garden party, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

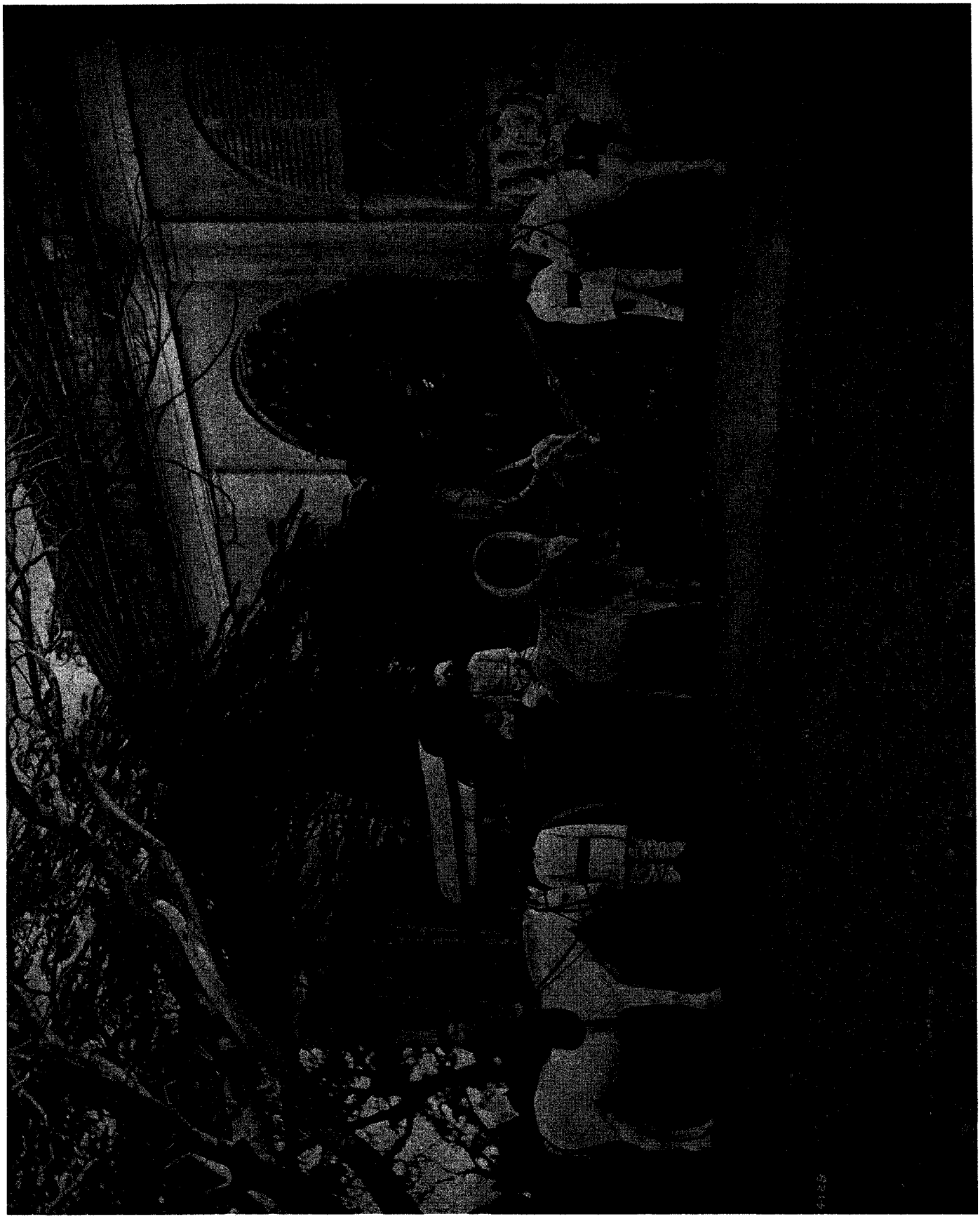

Photo 4.1.15. *British bungalow and family*
Worswick's

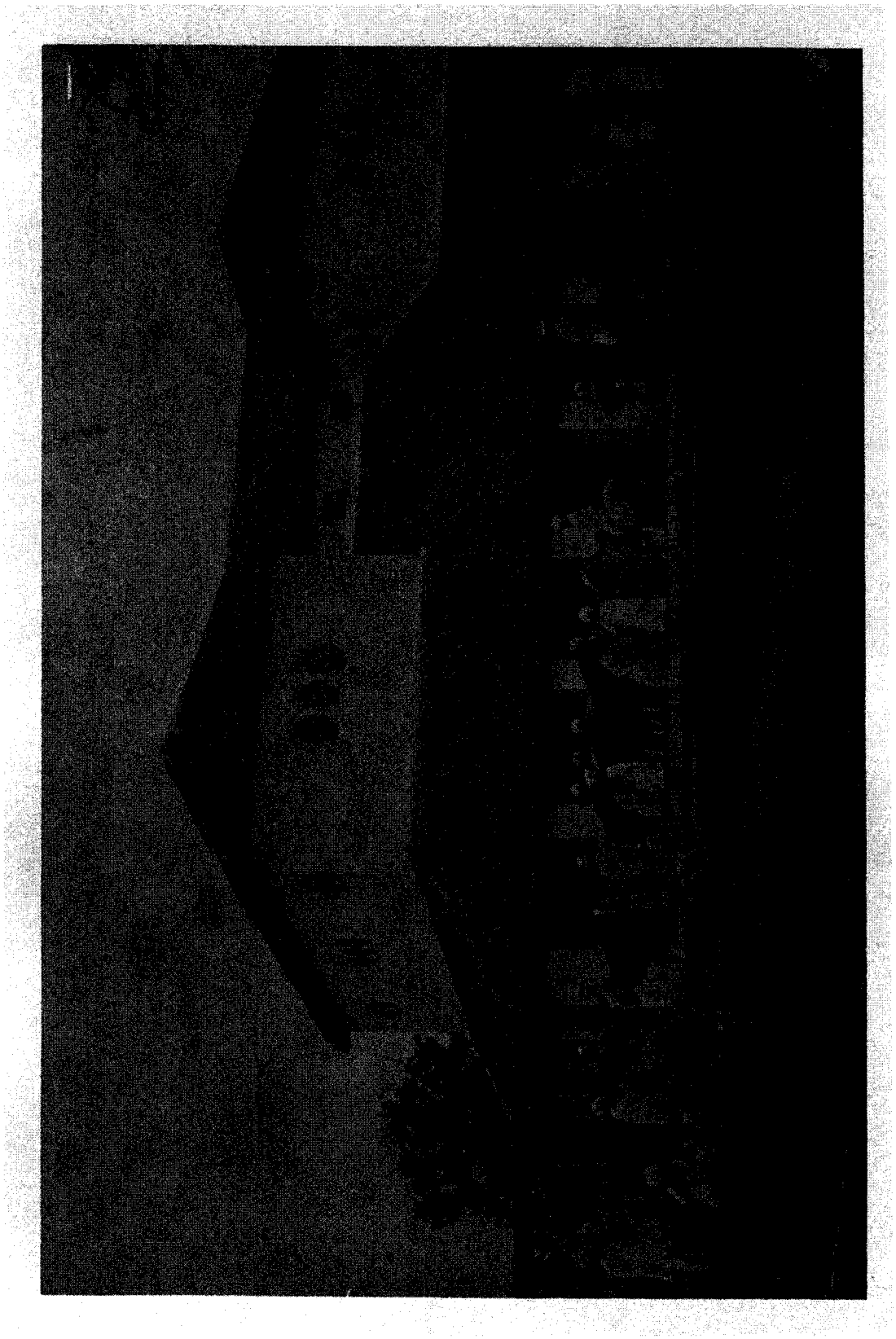

Photo 4.1.16. *Members of the hunt in front of a bungalow*
Worswick's

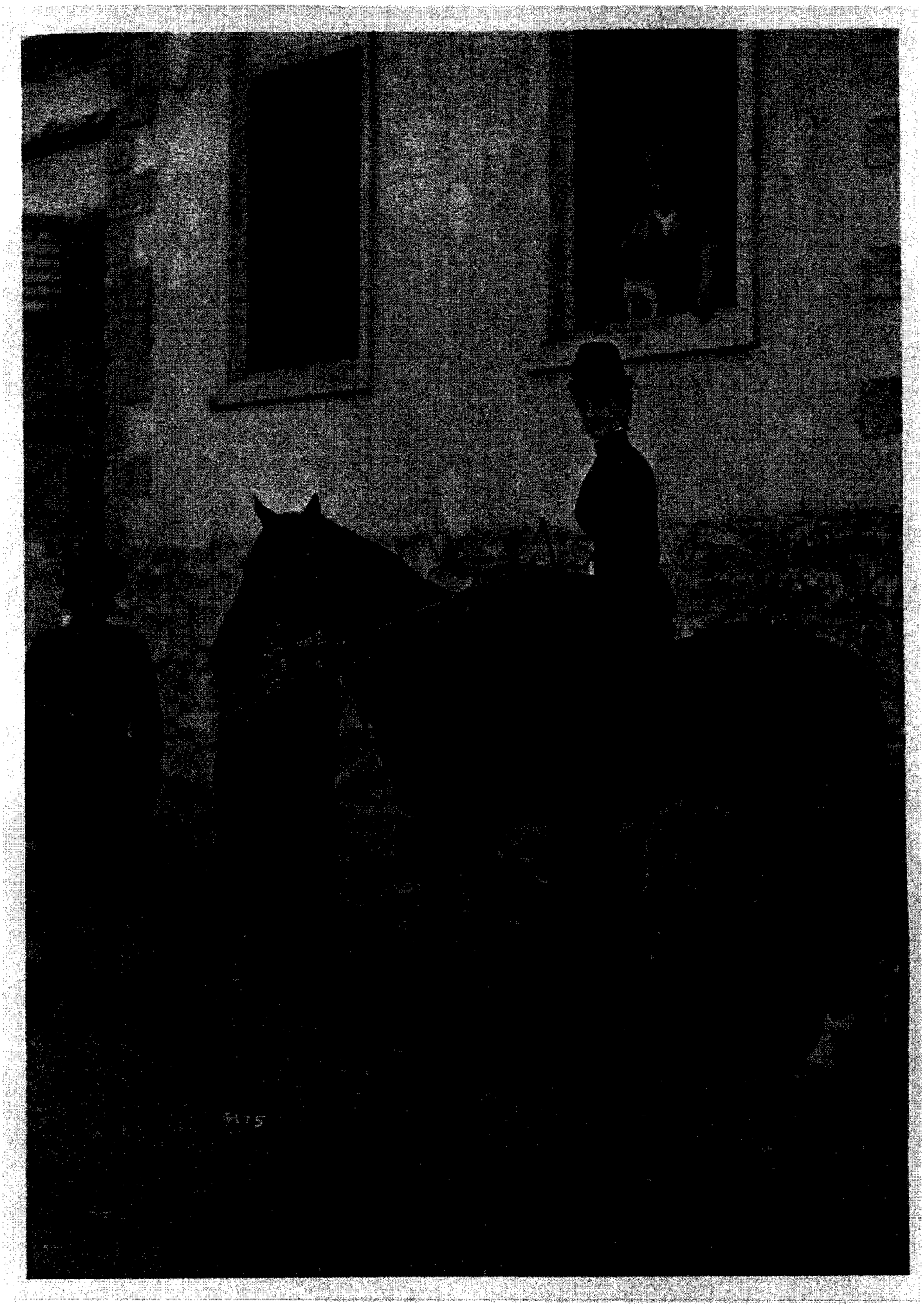

Photo 4.1.17. *Englishwoman on horseback*
Worswick's

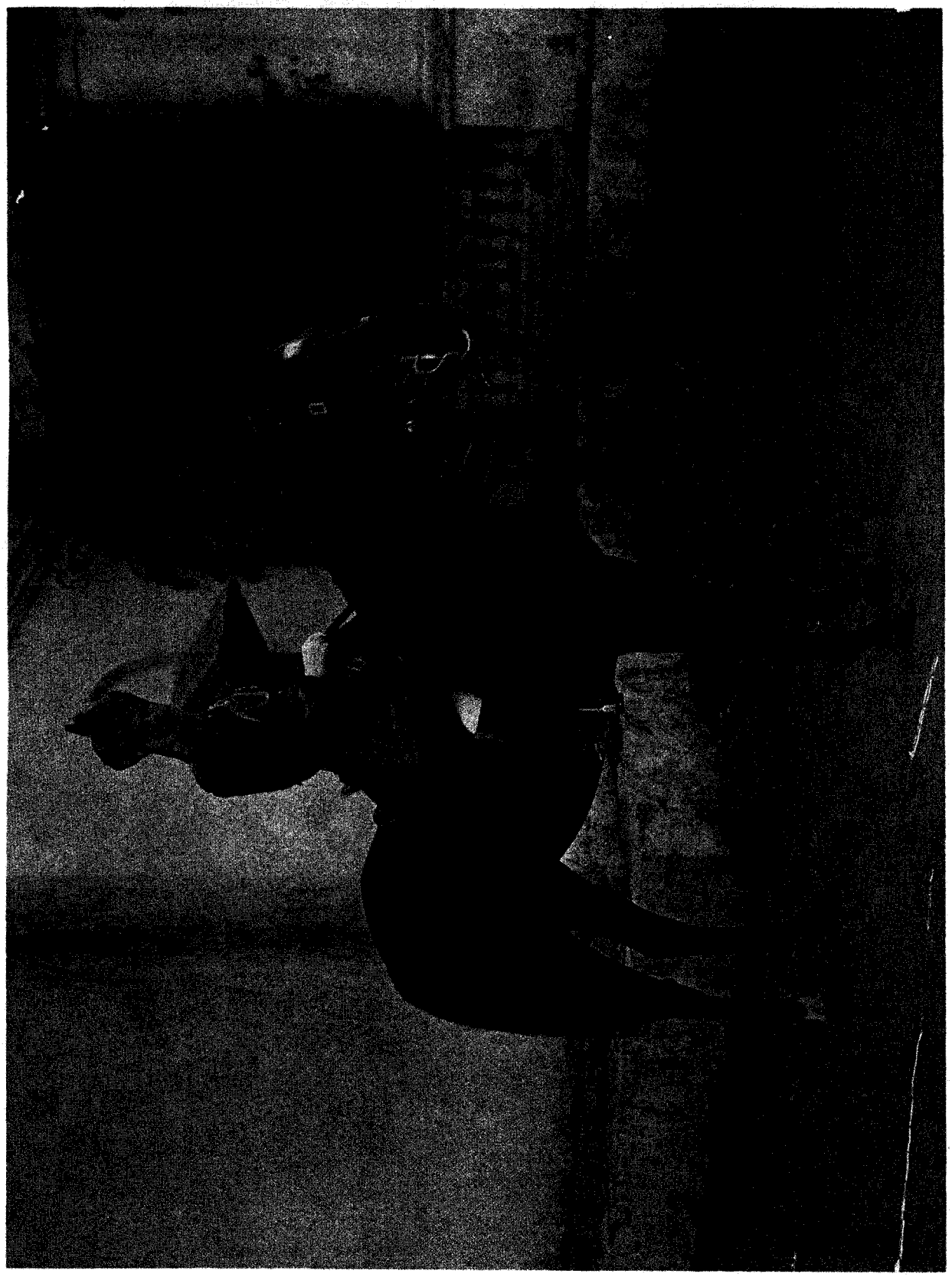

Photo 4.1.18. *Captain H.H. Andersen, the 33rd Cavalry, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

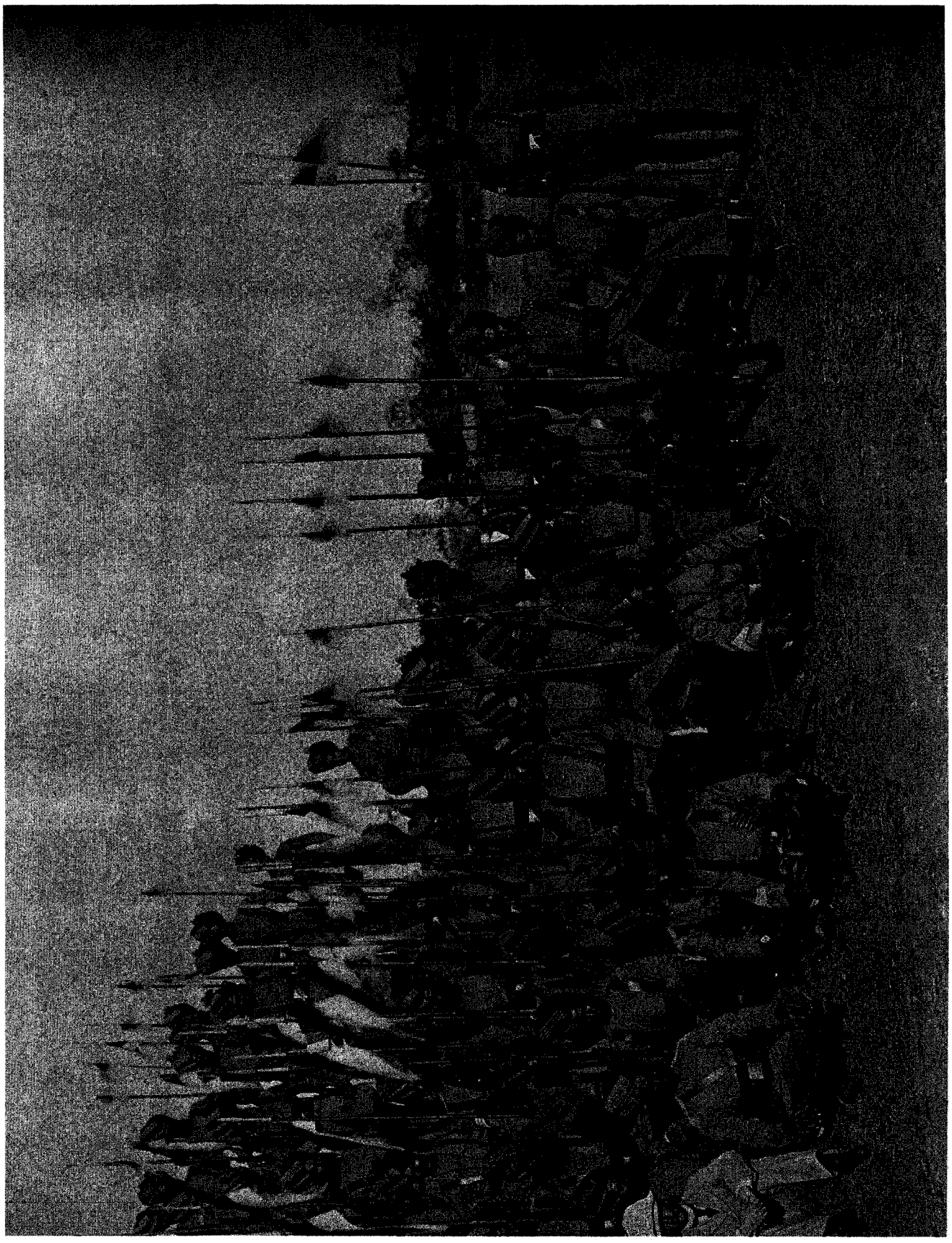

Photo 4.1.19. *Native lancers, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

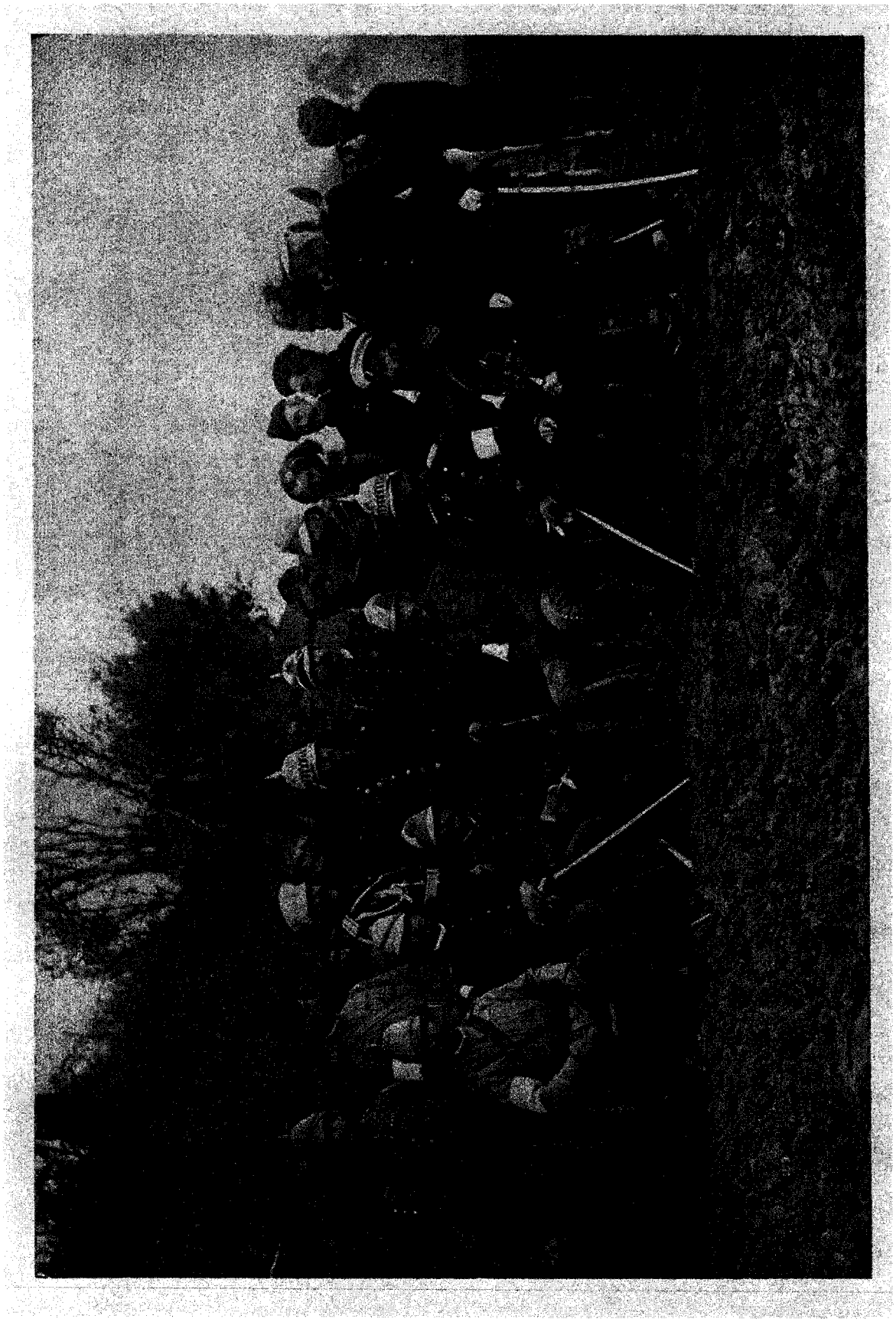

Photo 4.1.20. *Foreign officer observers, Panipat Maneuvers*
Worswick's

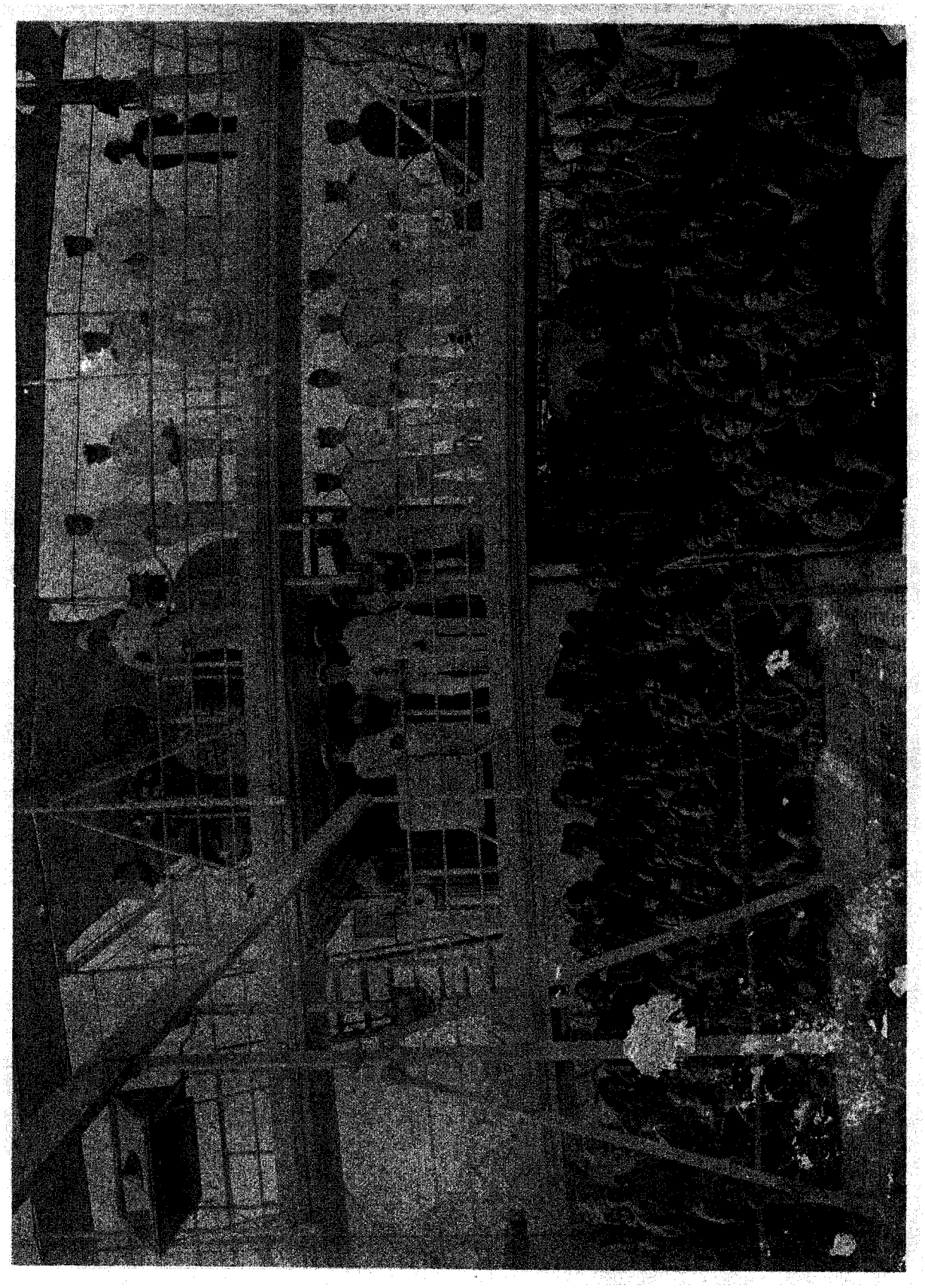

Photo 4.1.21. *Officers and lascars, H.I.M.S. Hardinge, Lord Curzon's Persian Gulf tour*
Worswick's

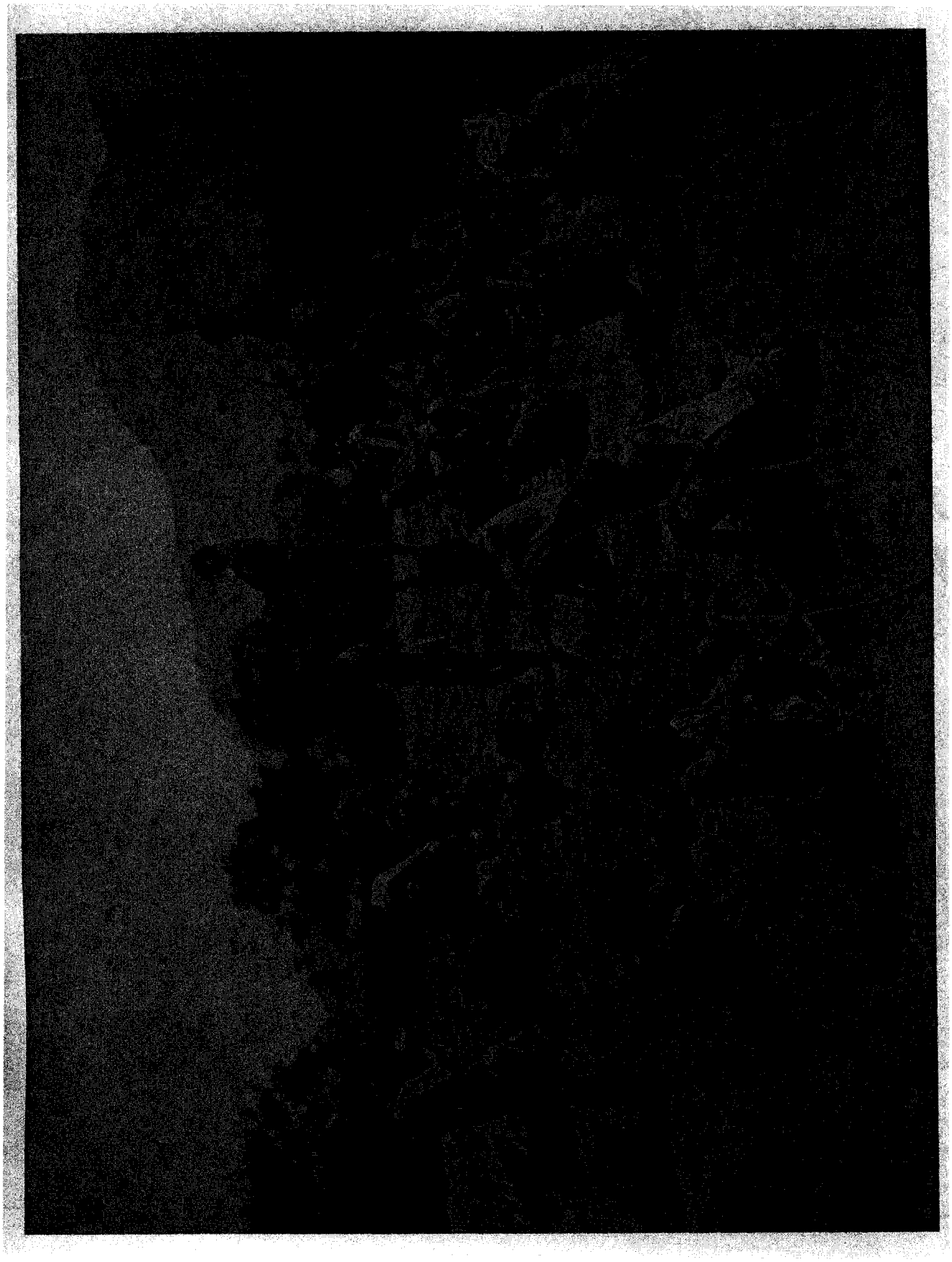

Photo 4.1.22. *Bhil aboriginals, Central India*
Worswick's

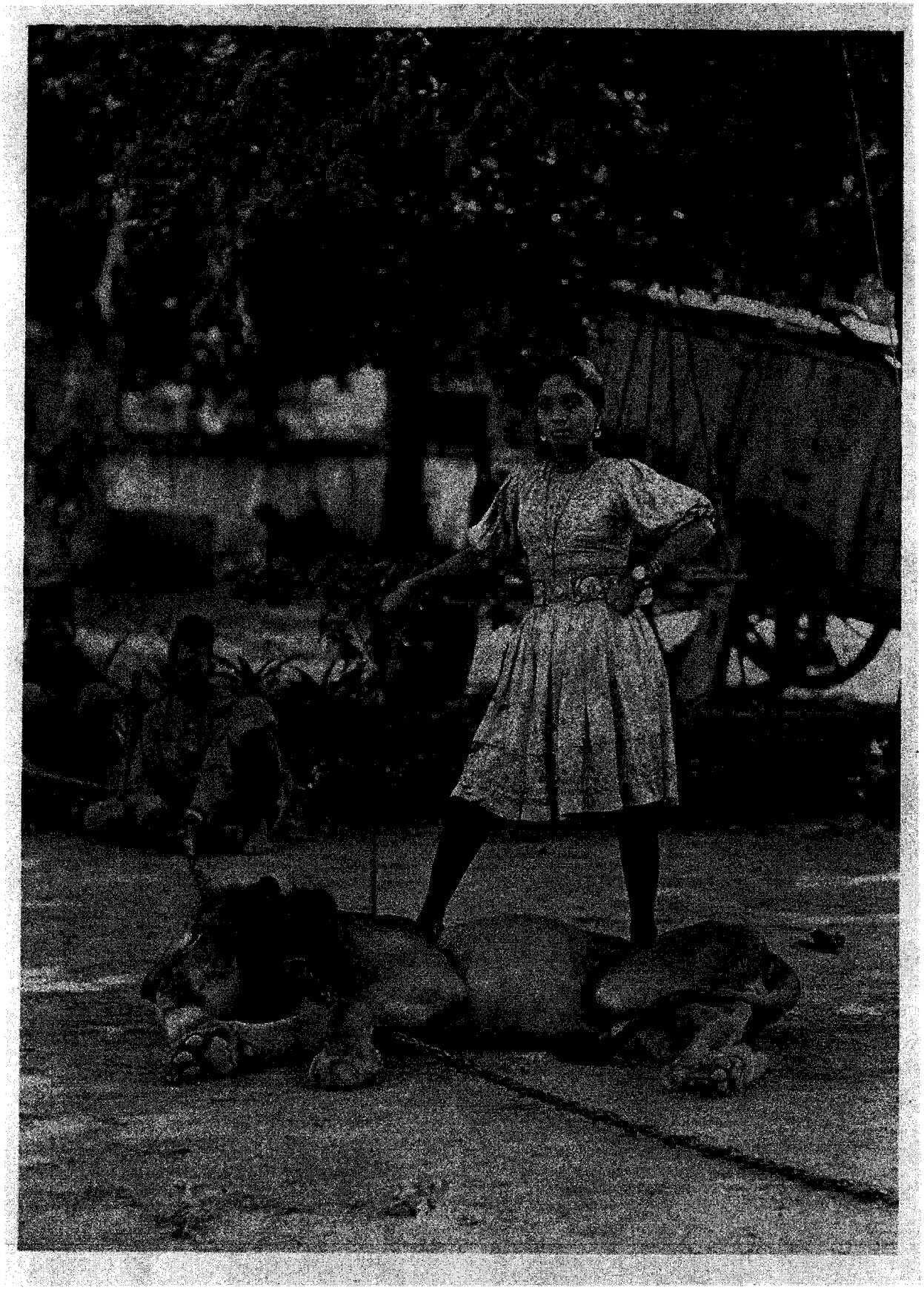

Photo 4.1.23. *Lion tamer, Chateri Circus*
Worswick's

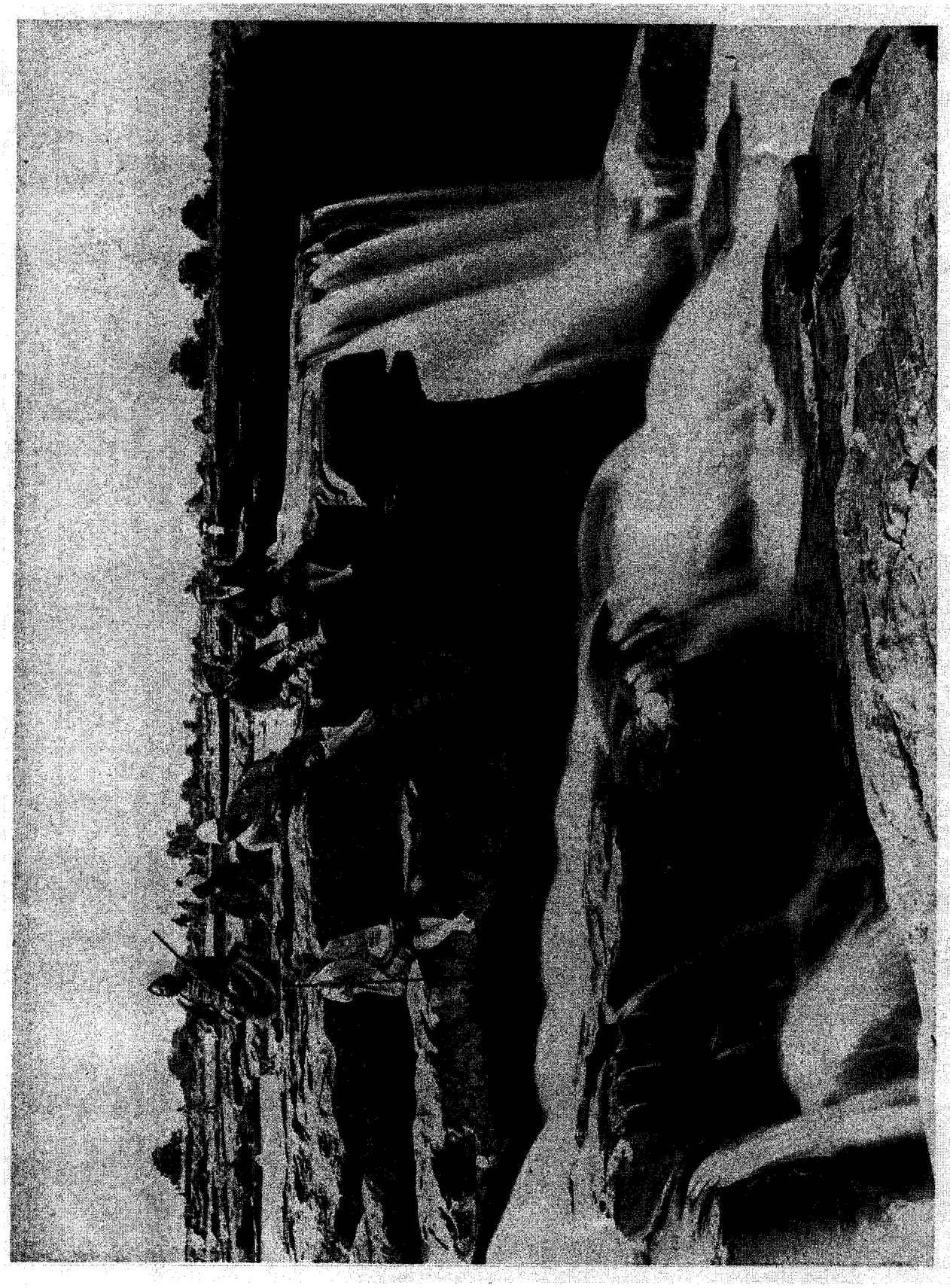

Photo 4.1.24. *Sir Lepel Griffin (centre) and party, at the Chichai waterfall, near Rewa*
Worswick's

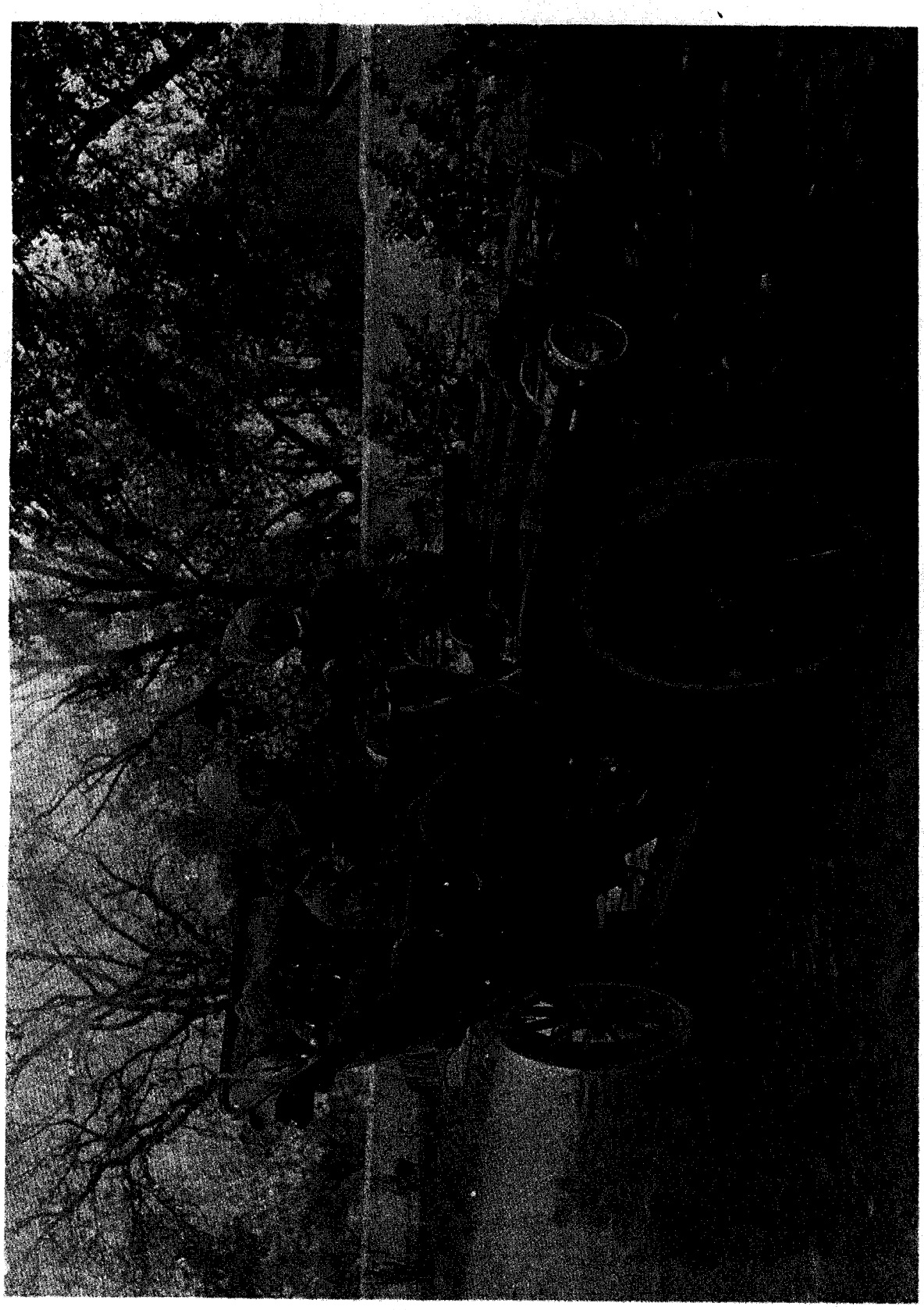

Photo 4.1.25. *Hakim Abdul Razaak (at steering wheel), physician to H.H. the Nizam, with group in motorcar*
(this picture date (1908) highlights the same problem as Photo 4.2.6.)
Worswick's

Photo 4.1.26. *Bombay Cycle Agency, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

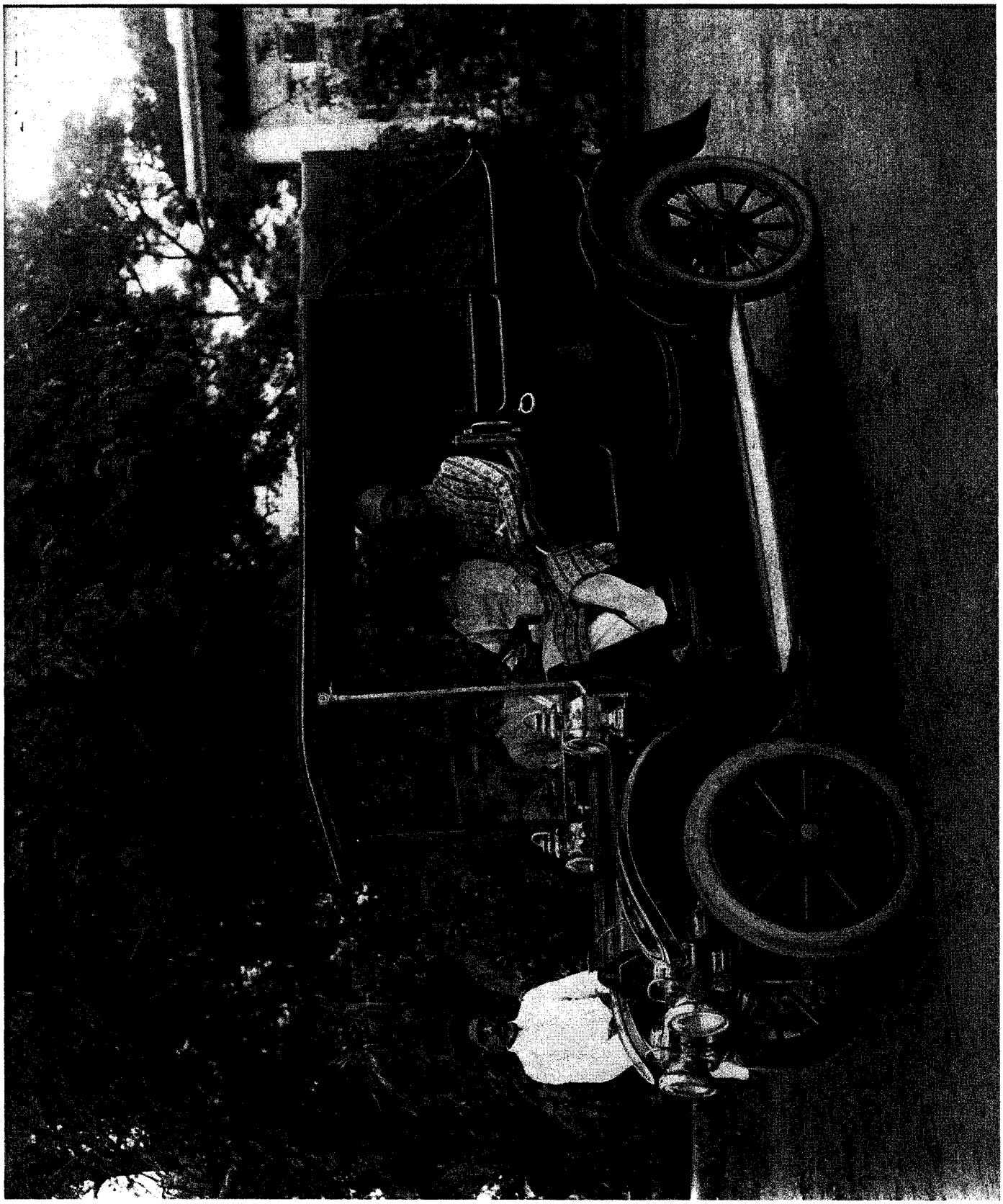

Photo 4.1.27. *Nobleman with motorcar, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.1. *H.H. the Maharaja of Dhar*
British Library

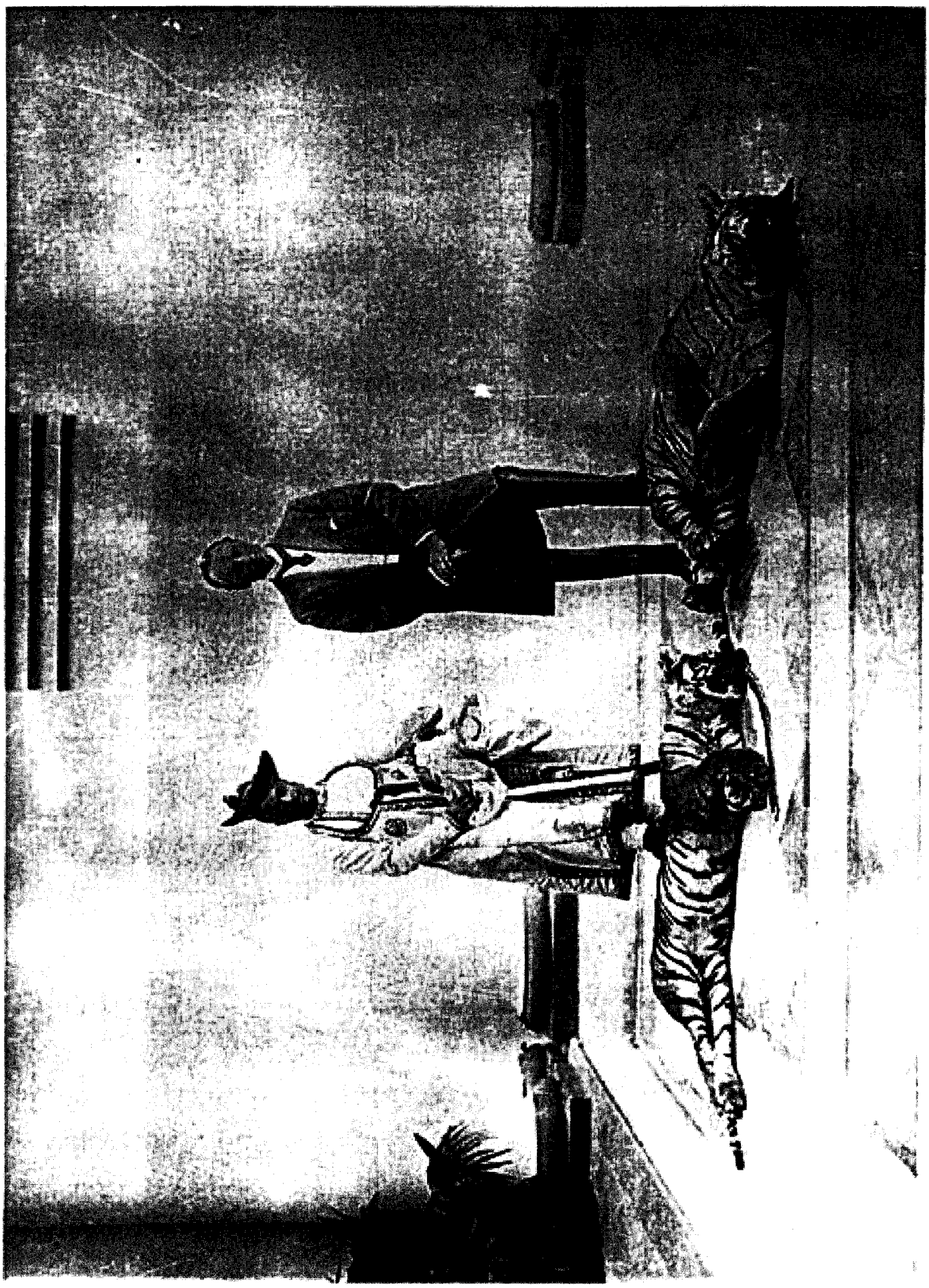

Photo 4.2.2. *Gwalior: First Tiger shot by Lord Curzon in India (with Maharaja of Gwalior)*
British Library

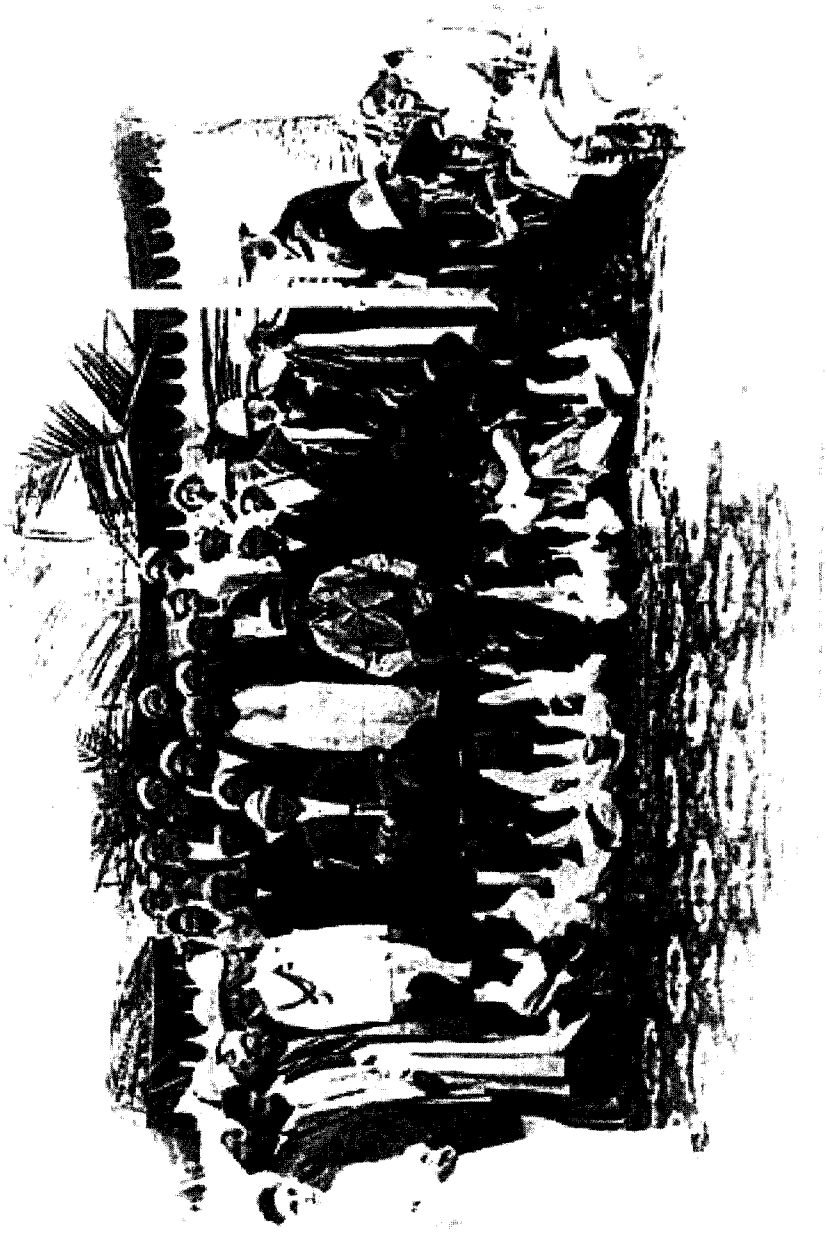

Photo 4.2.3. *Lord Curzon visiting Muhammadan Plague Hospital, Bombay*
British Library

Photo 4.2.4. *The Maharaja Bhan Pratab Singh of Bijawar and his court*
Desmond's

Photo 4.2.5. *Maharaja Sir Pratab Singh of Orchha*
Rogers'

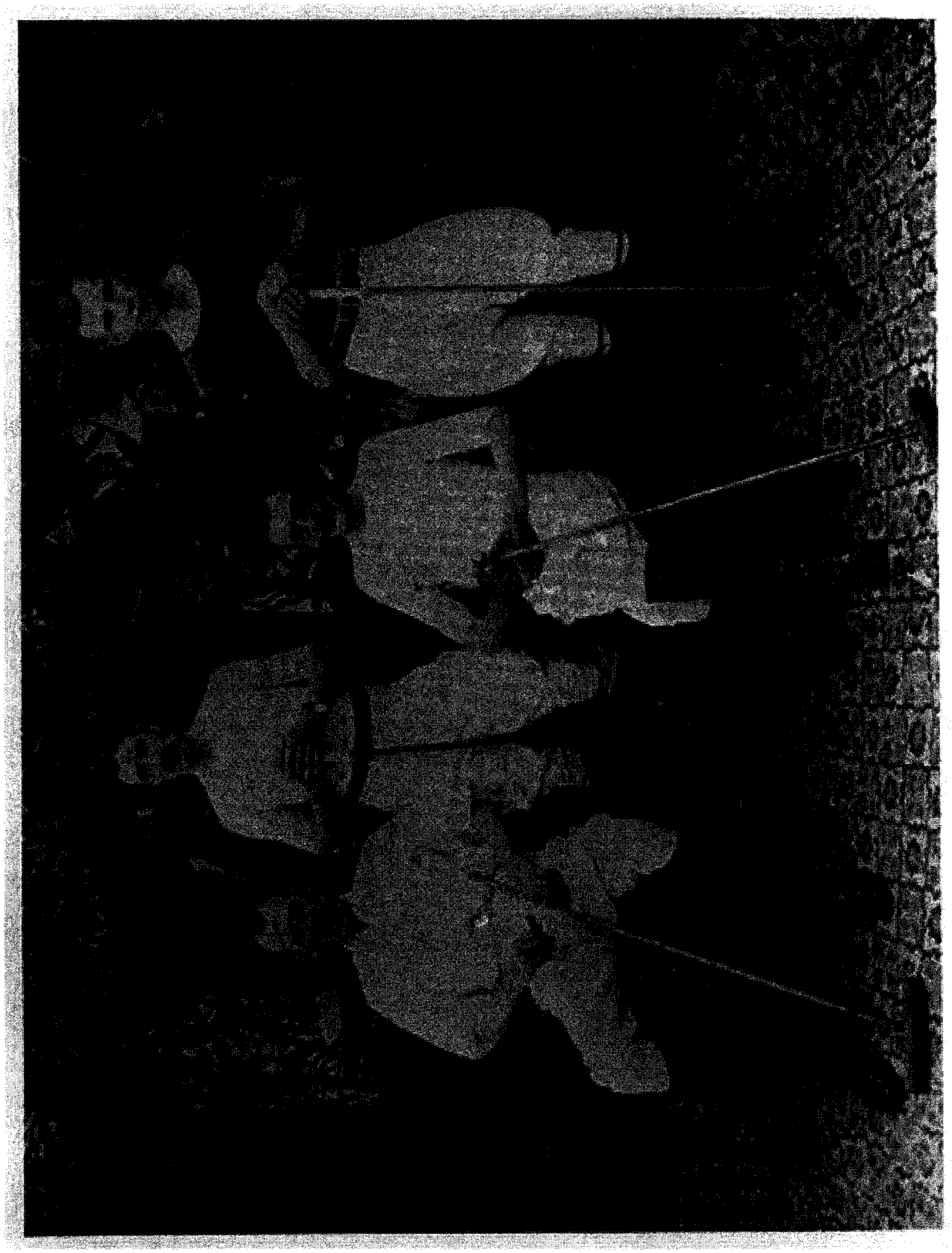

Photo 4.2.6. *The polo team of the British 33rd Cavalry*
(in *Masters of Early Travel Photography*, Fabian and Adam have edited
this portrait as having been photographed by Deen Dayal in 1908;
however the photographer was already dead by that date,
therefore either it is a mistake on the date or it is one of Dayal's sons
who has taken the picture)
Fabian and Adam's

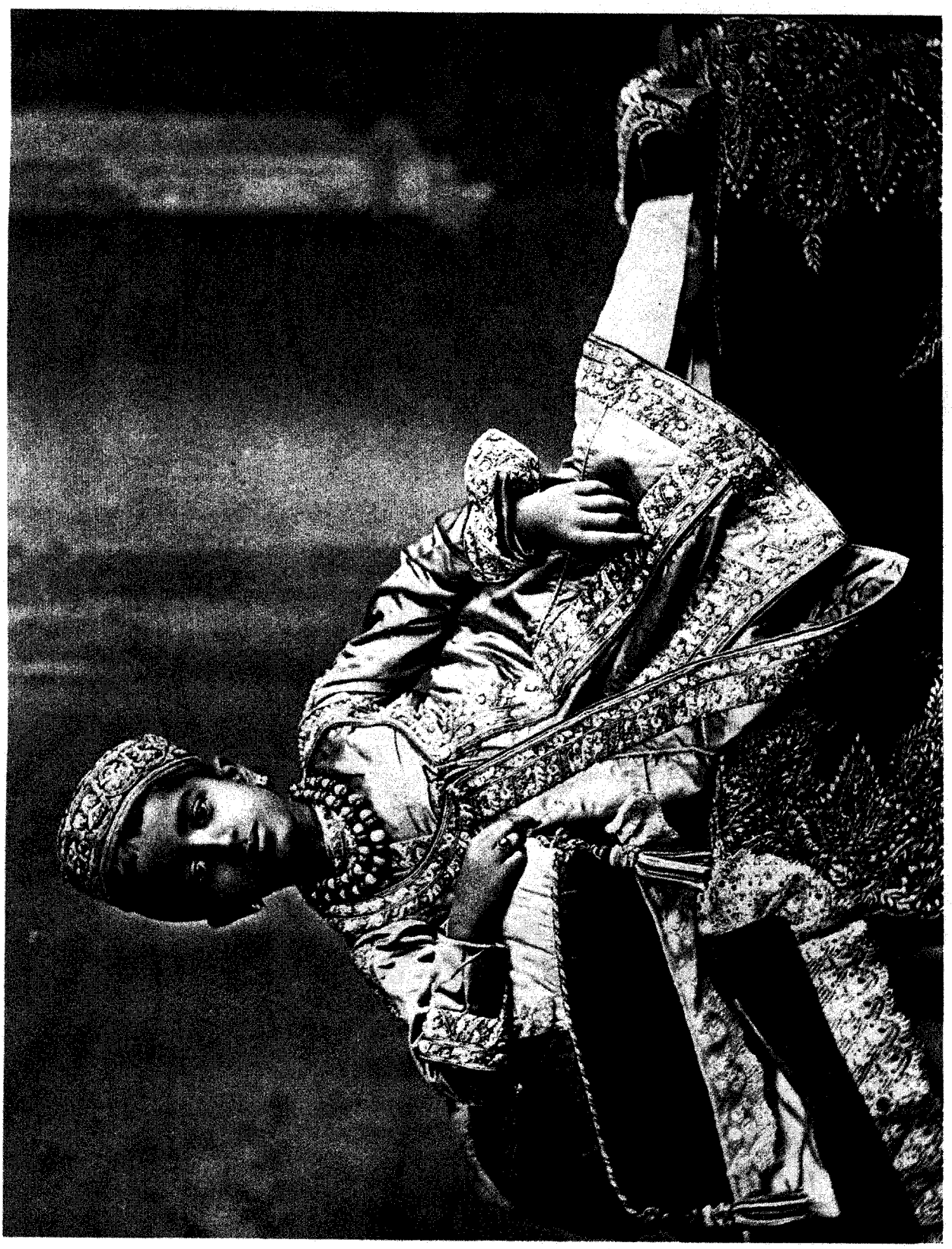

Photo 4.2.7. *Fateh Singh Rao,*
the eldest son of the Gaekwar of Baroda
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.8. *Child prince and courtiers, Central India*
Worswick's

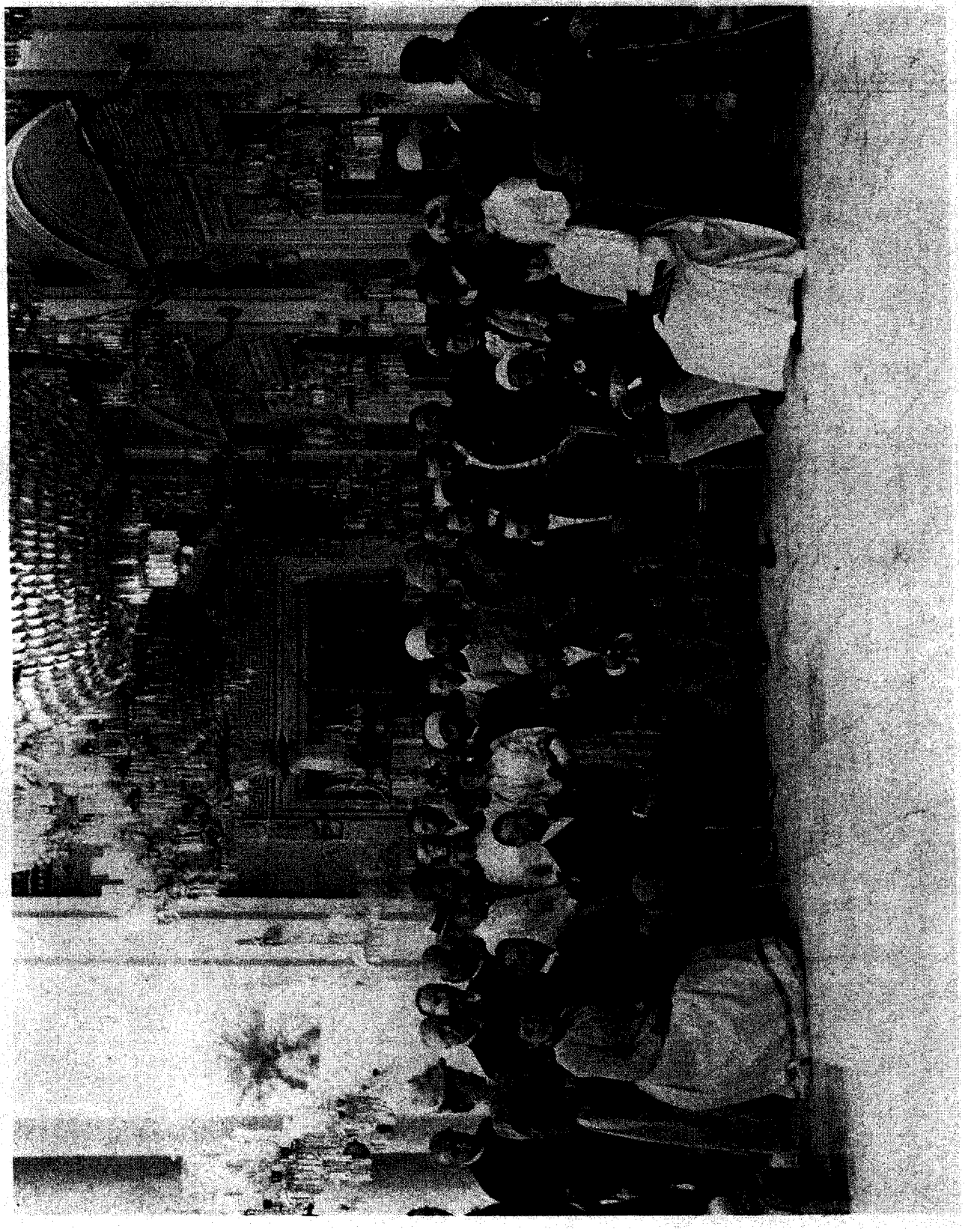

Photo 4.2.9. *Group portrait with H.H. the Nizam and H.I.H. the Grand Duke Alexander of Russia (at Nizam's left), the Chowmahalla Palace, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

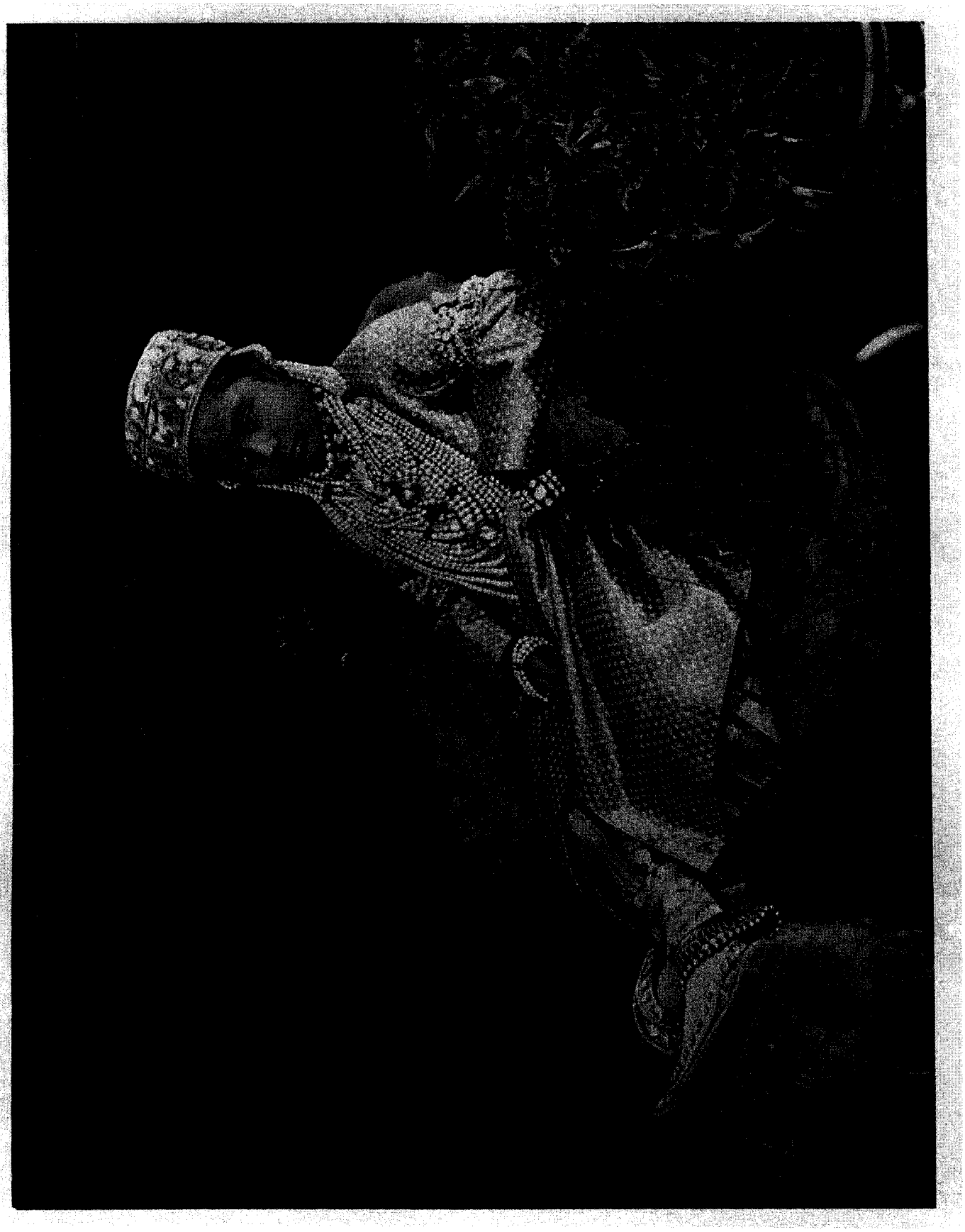

Photo 4.2.10. *H.H. the Nizam's daughter*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.11. *The Maharaja of Orchha, Sir Pratap Singh, with water-pipe bearer*
Worswick's

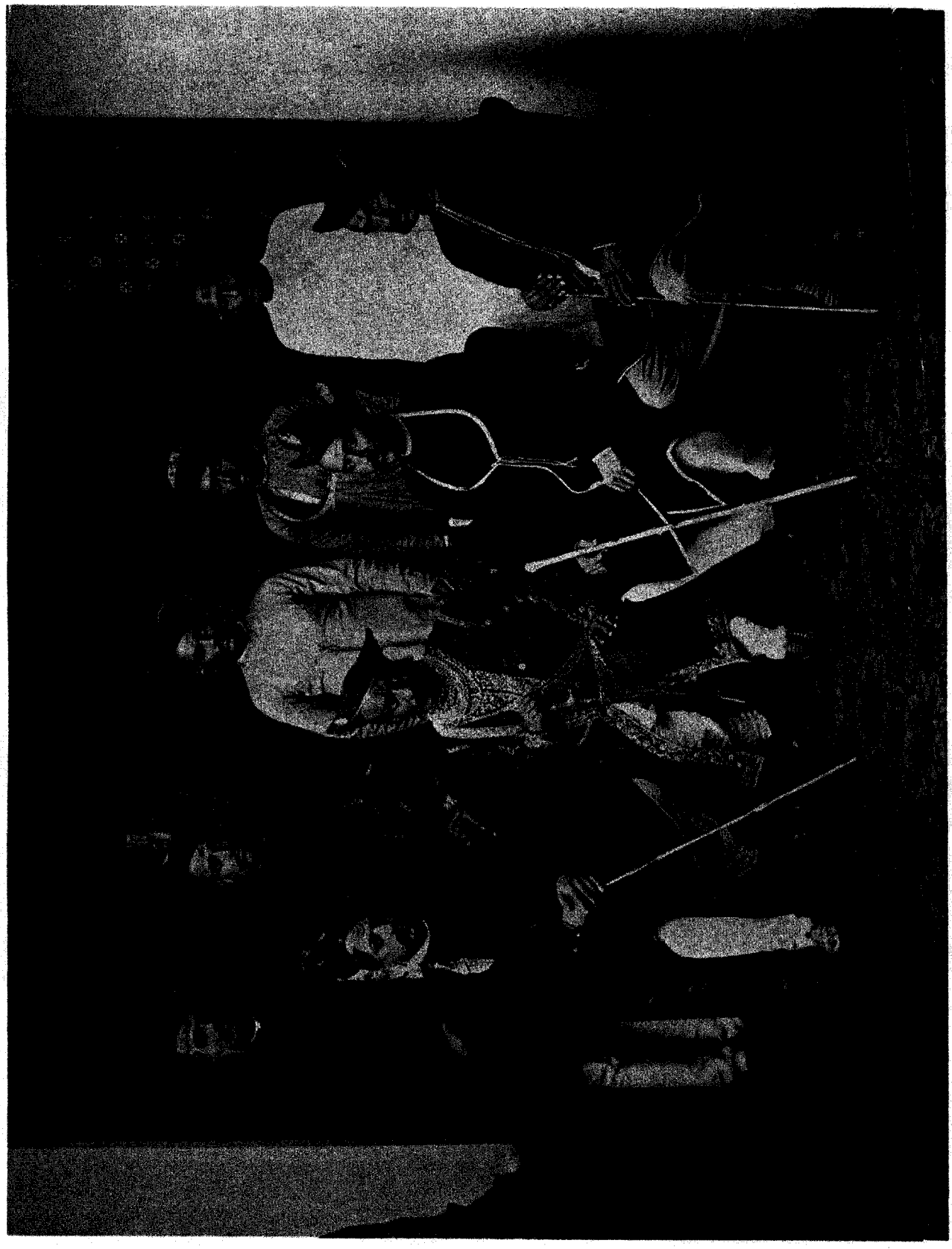

Photo 4.2.12. *The Maharaja of Dhar and suite*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.13. *The Maharaja of Dhar, Anand Rao Pawar*
Worswick's

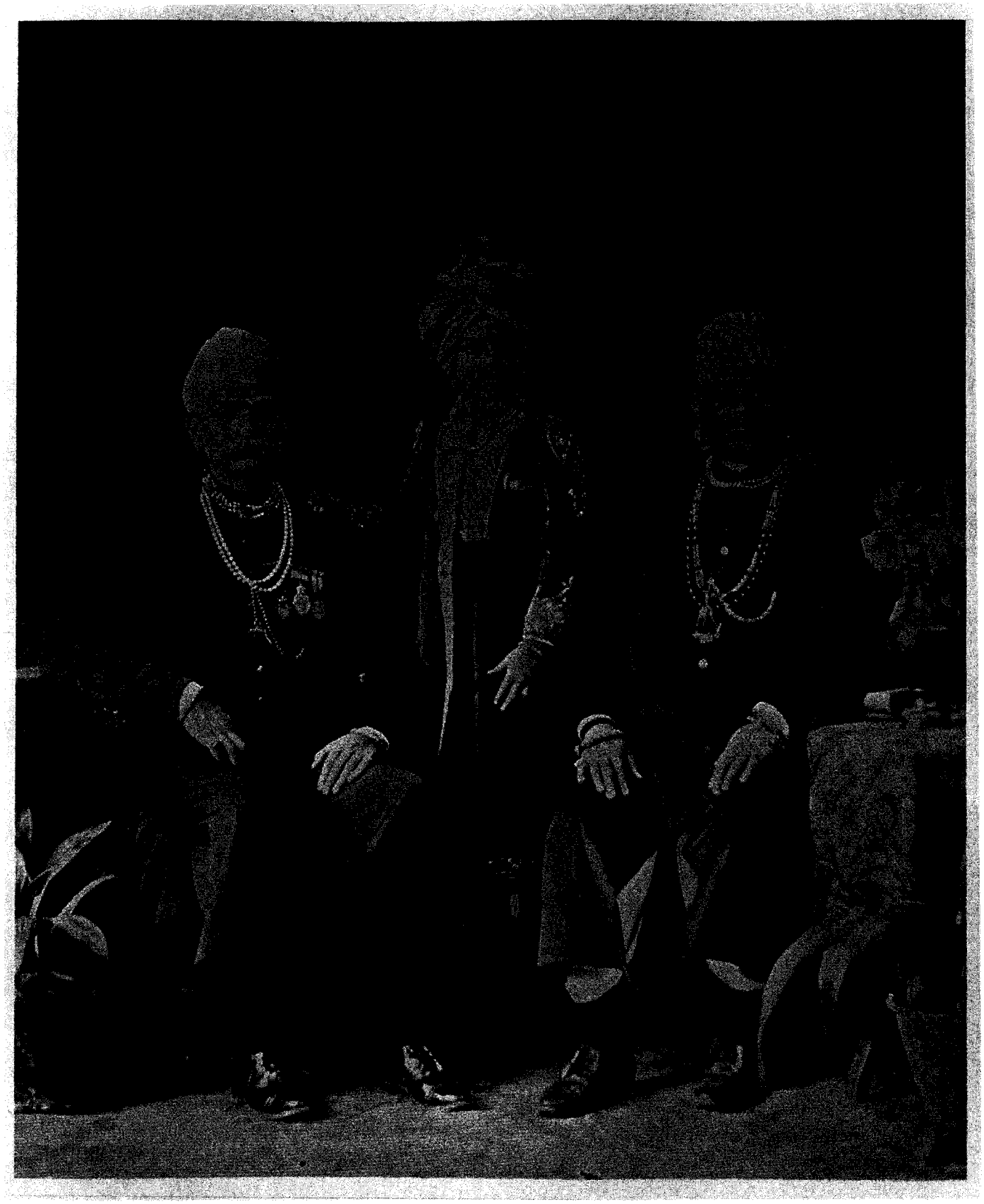

Photo 4.2.14. *The Maharaja of Bikaner (centre), with members of his Regency Council*
Worswick's

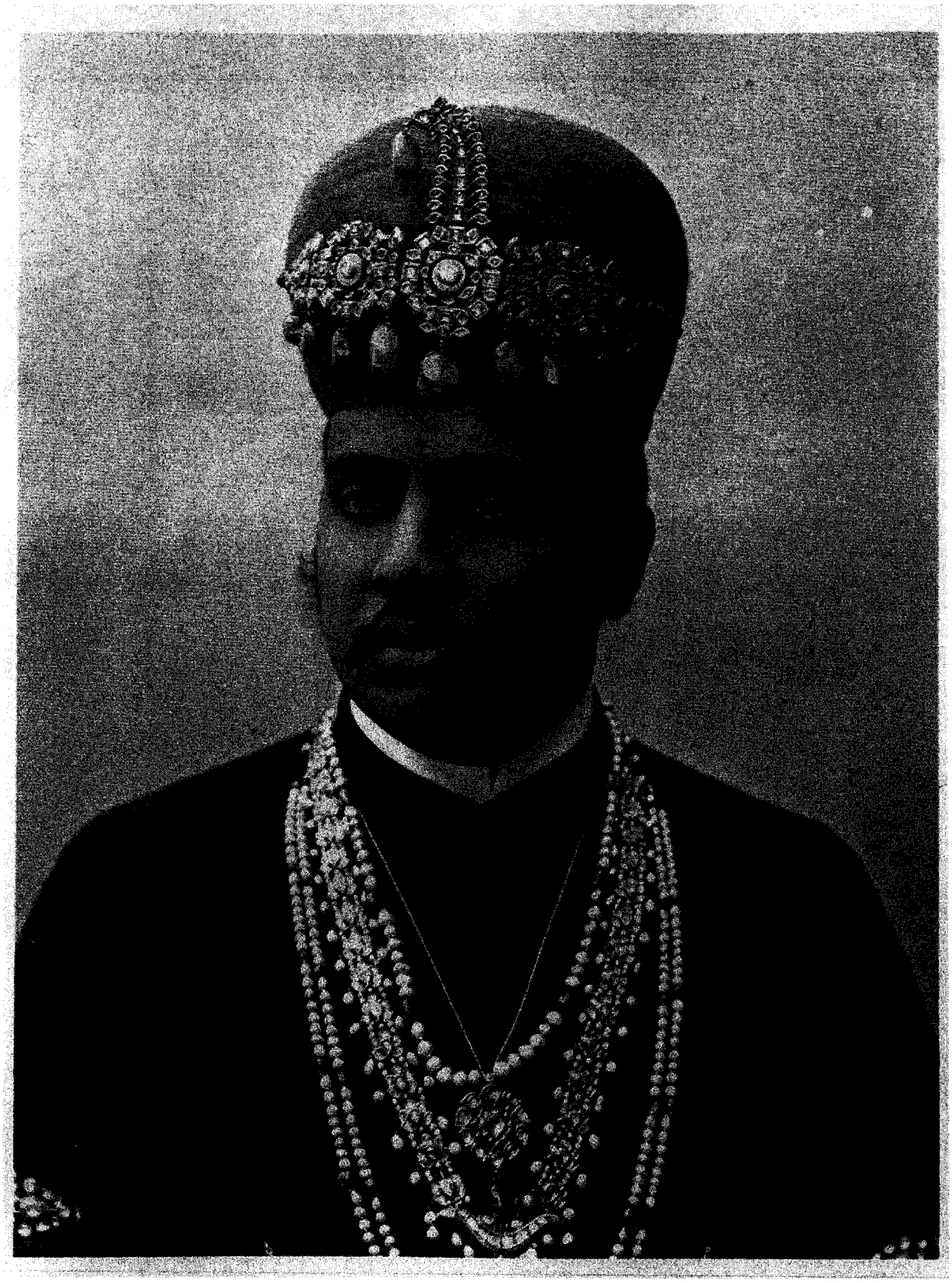

Photo 4.2.15. *Prince, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

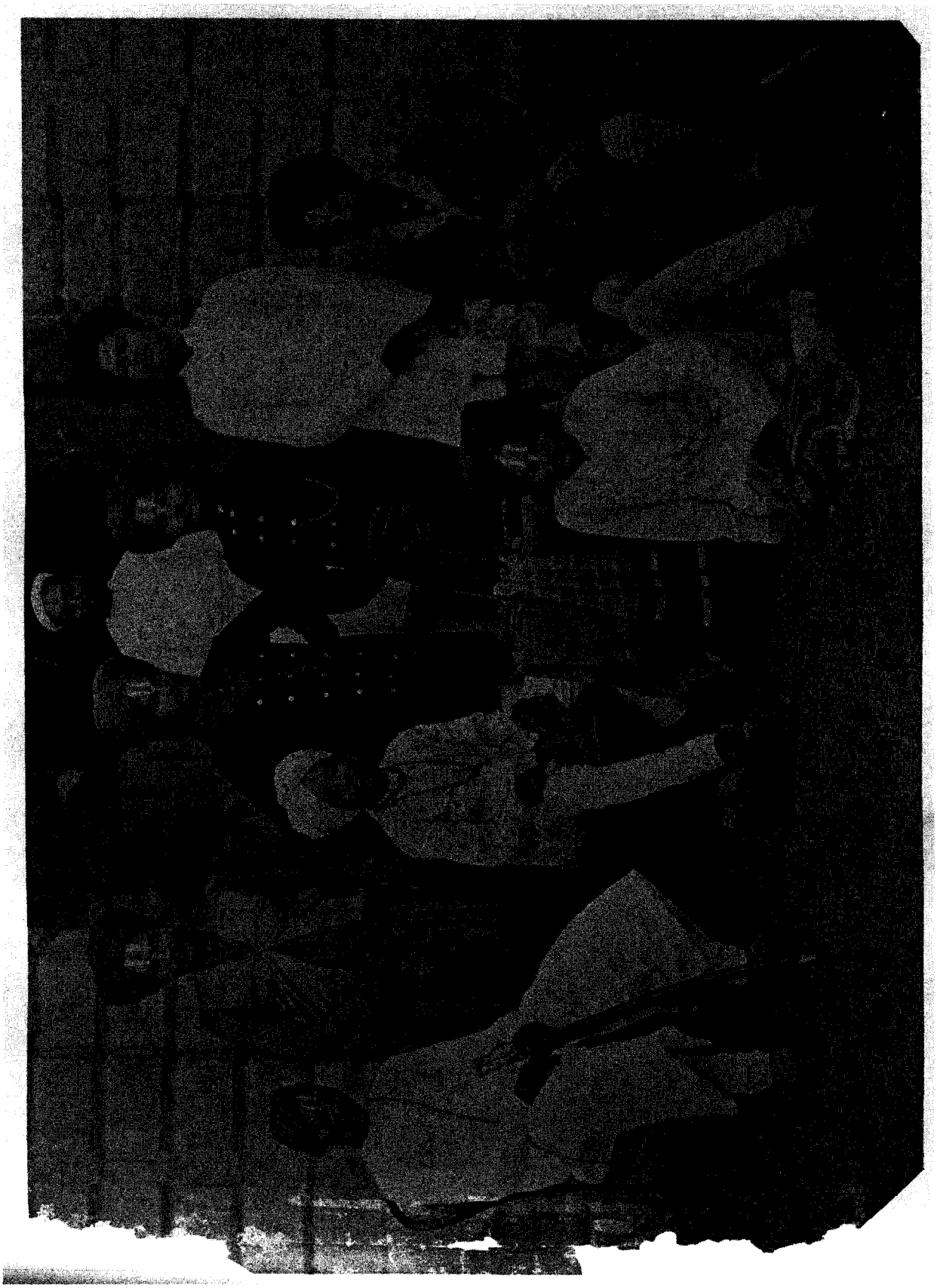

Photo 4.2.16. *Local nobles, with attendants*
Worswick's

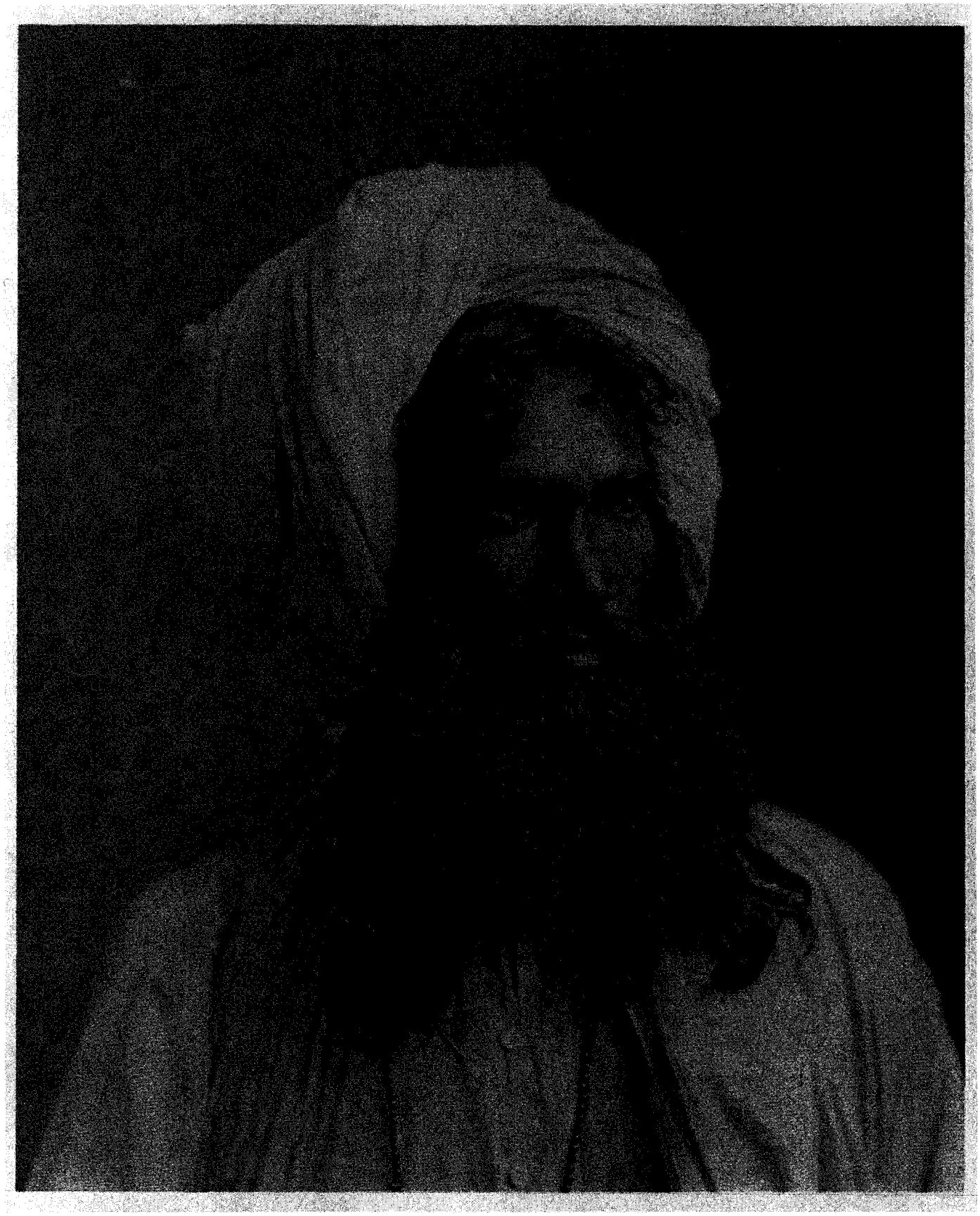

Photo 4.2.17. *An astrologer*
Worswick's

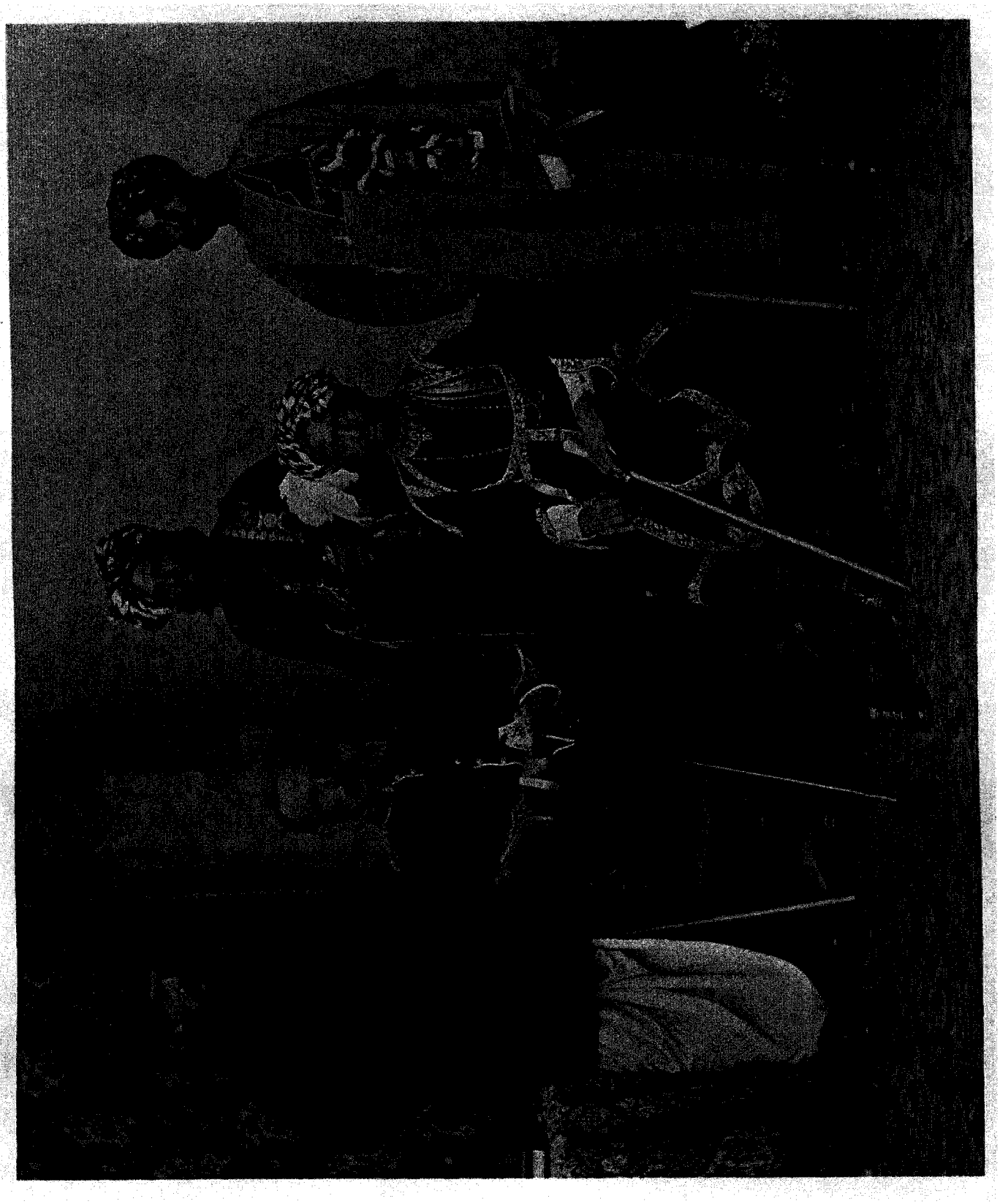

Photo 4.2.18. *Noblemen of Hyderabad, with British officer*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.19. *Prince*
Worswick's

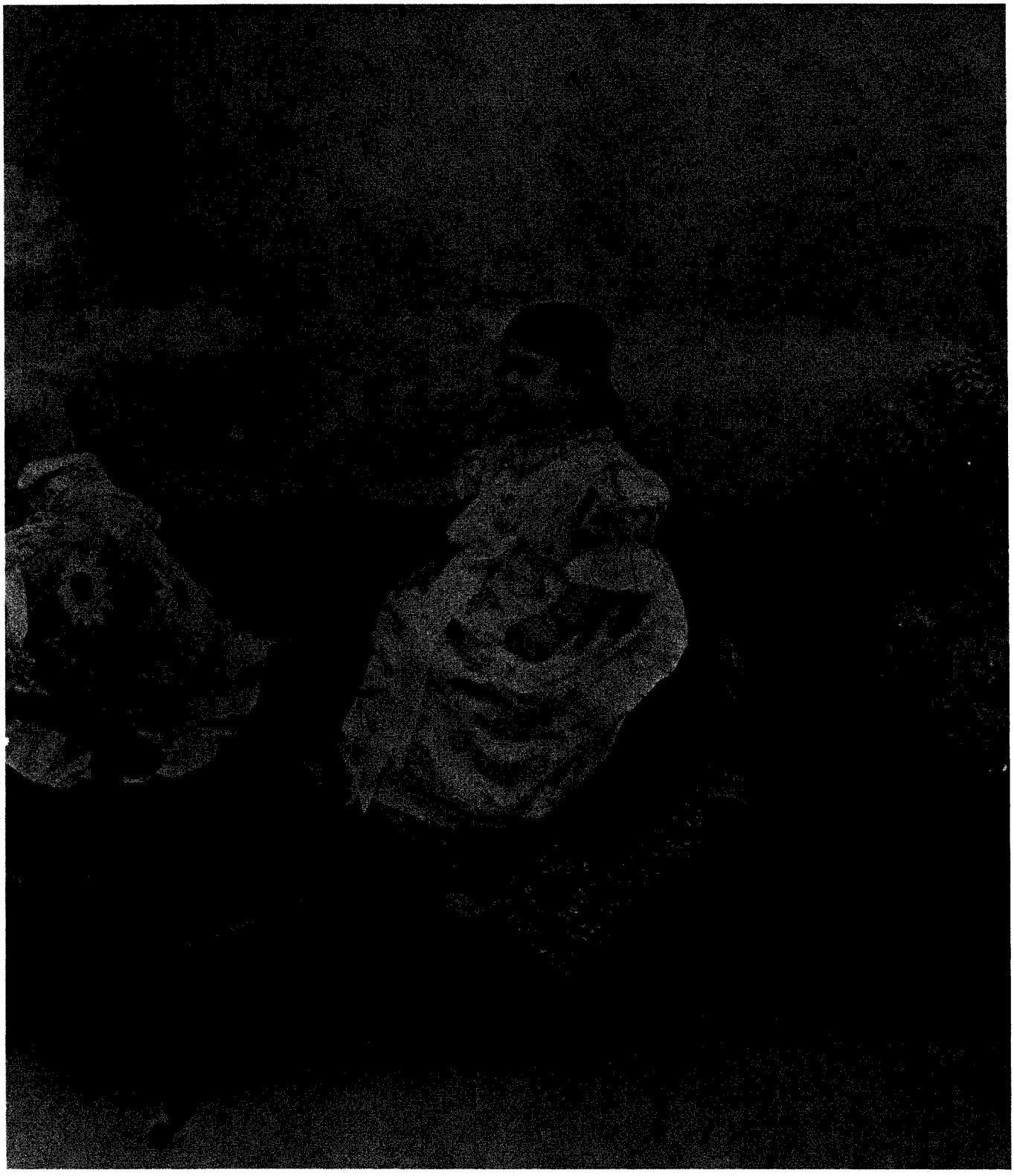

Photo 4.2.20. *H.H. the Nizam's daughter, dressed in rubies and pearls*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.21. *Young princes, with attendant*
Worswick's

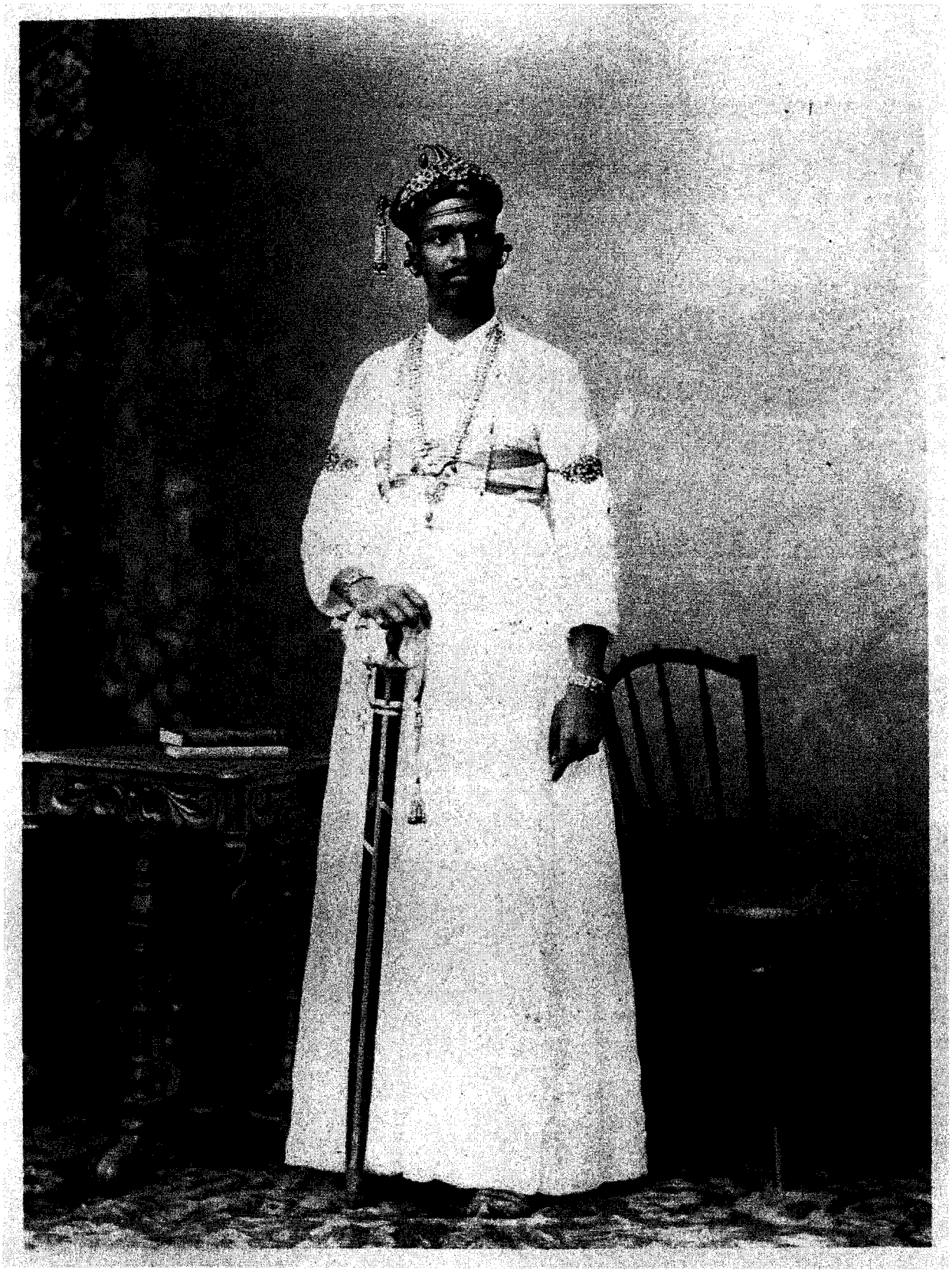

Photo 4.2.22. *Prince, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.23. *Prince*
Worswick's

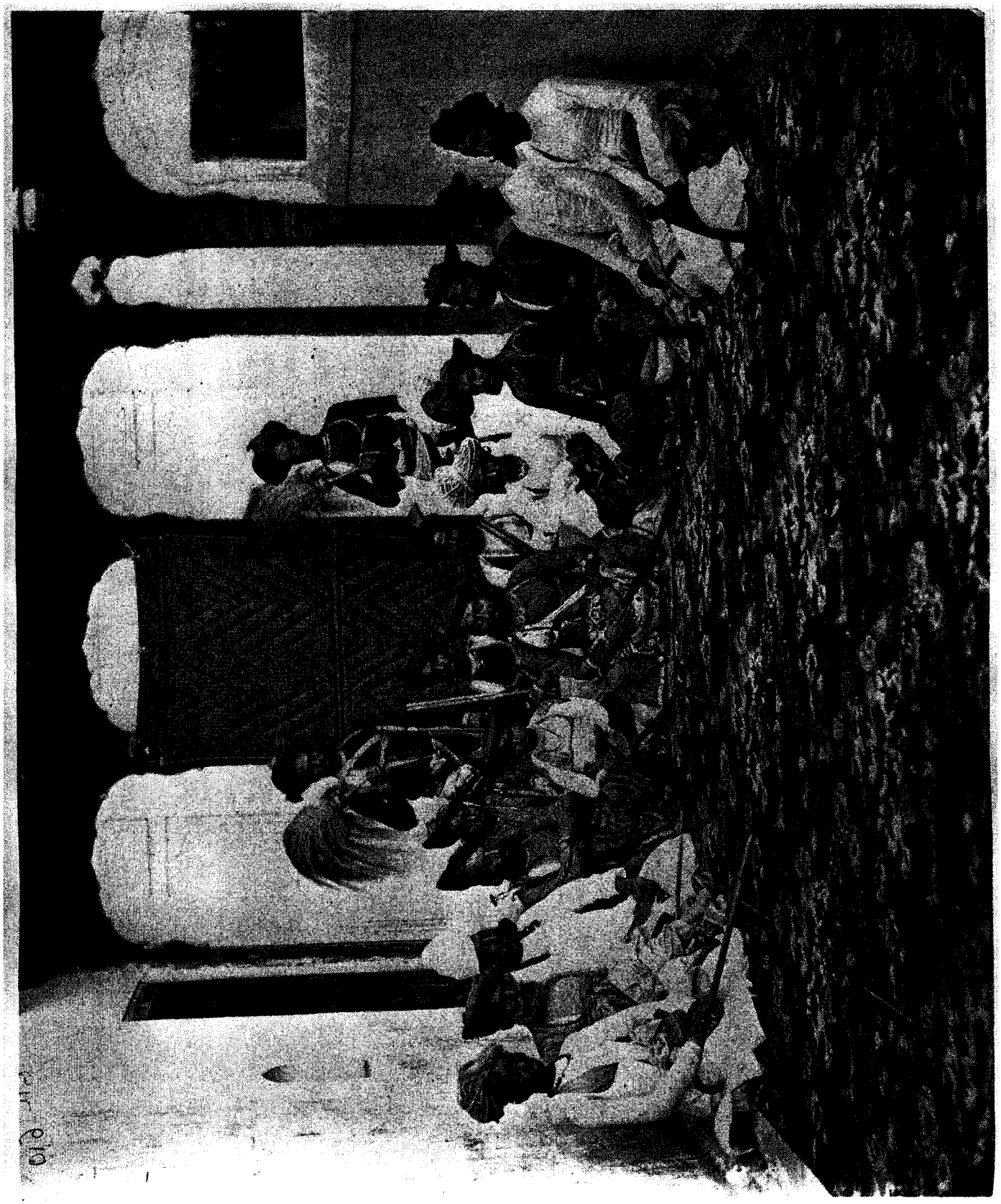

Photo 4.2.24. *Sir Jayaji Rao Sindhia, Maharaja of Gwalior, with attendants*
Worswick's

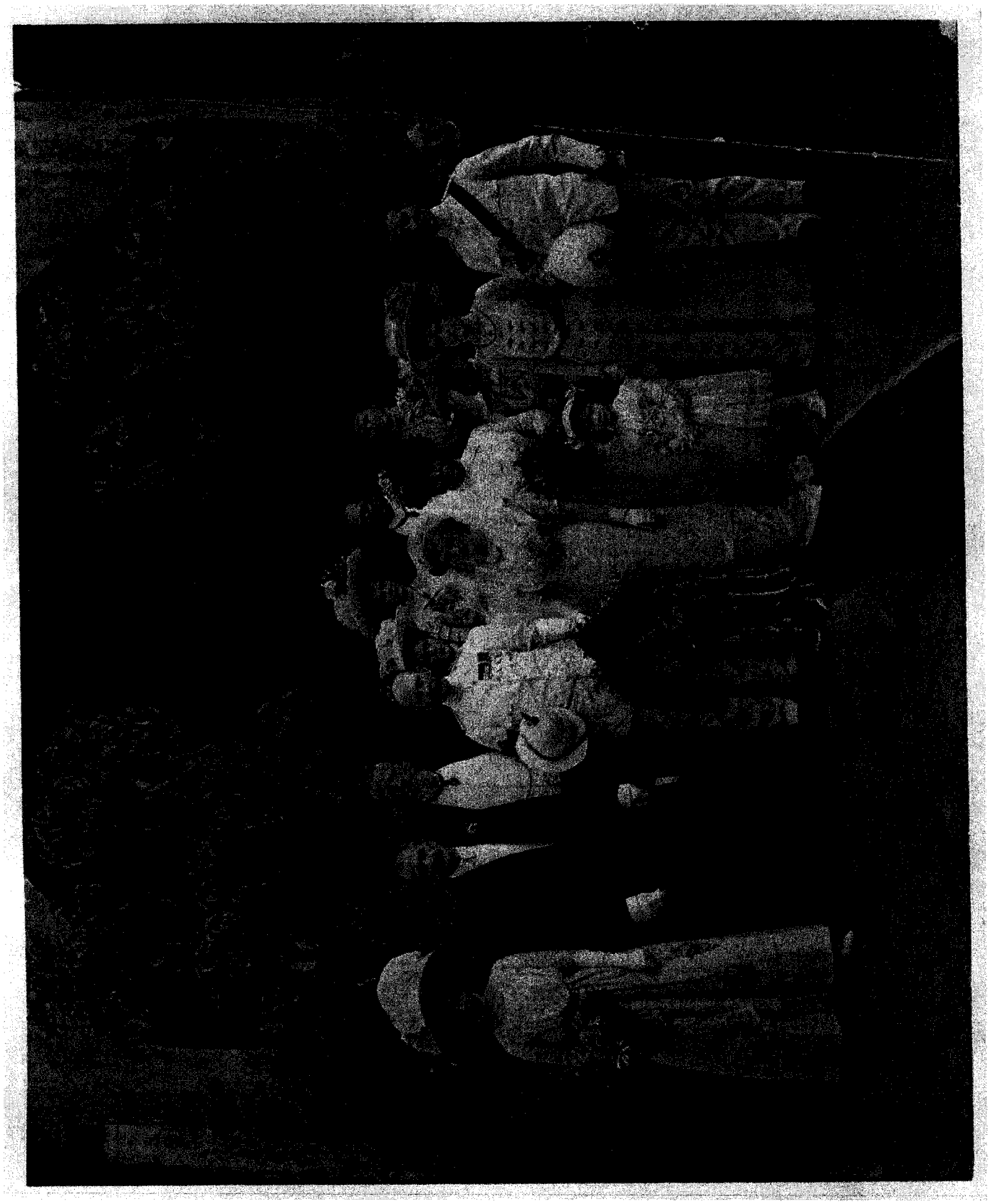

Photo 4.2.25. *British wedding party, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

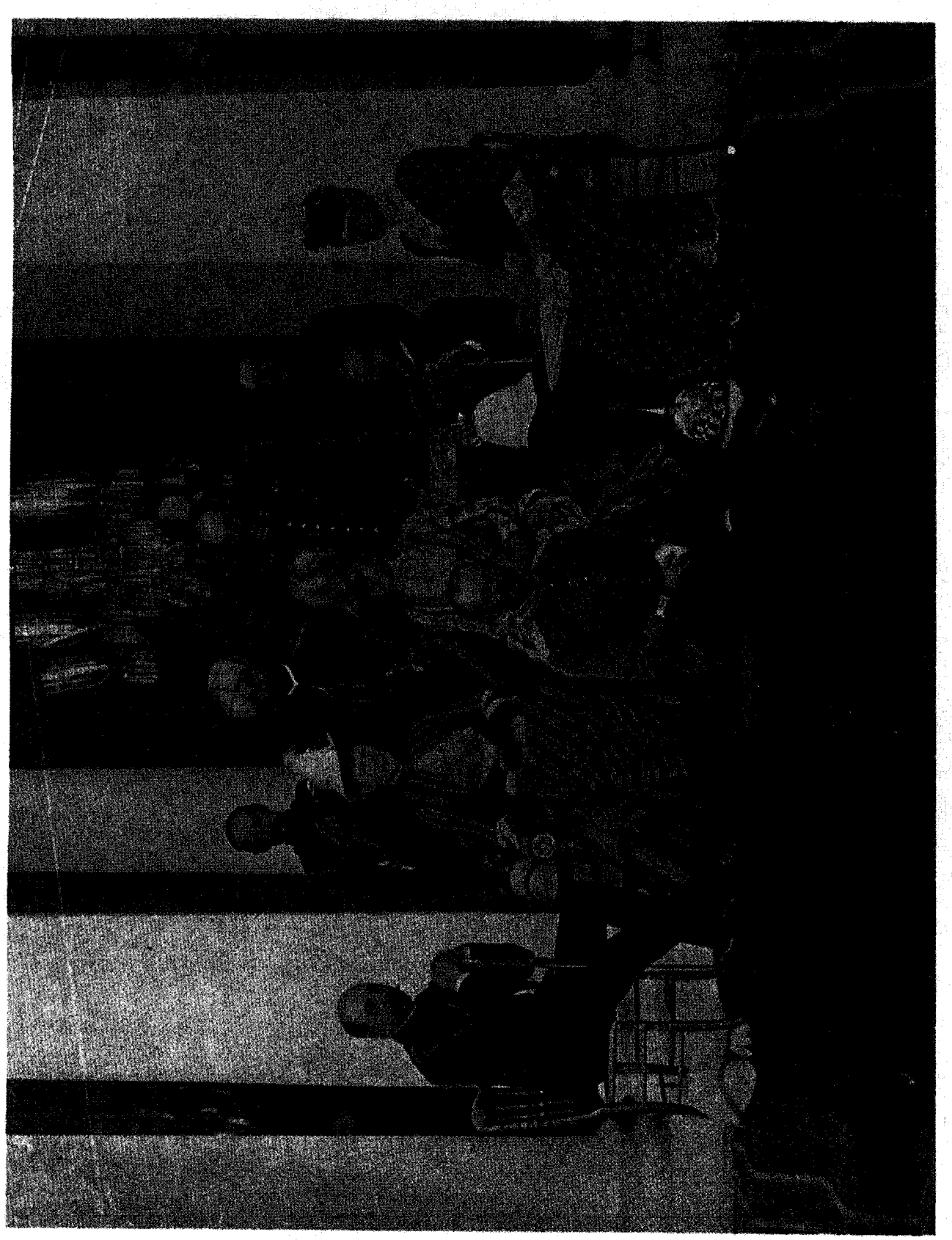

Photo 4.2.26. *H.H. the Duke of Cannaught (far left) and the royal party at Bashir Bagh Palace, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

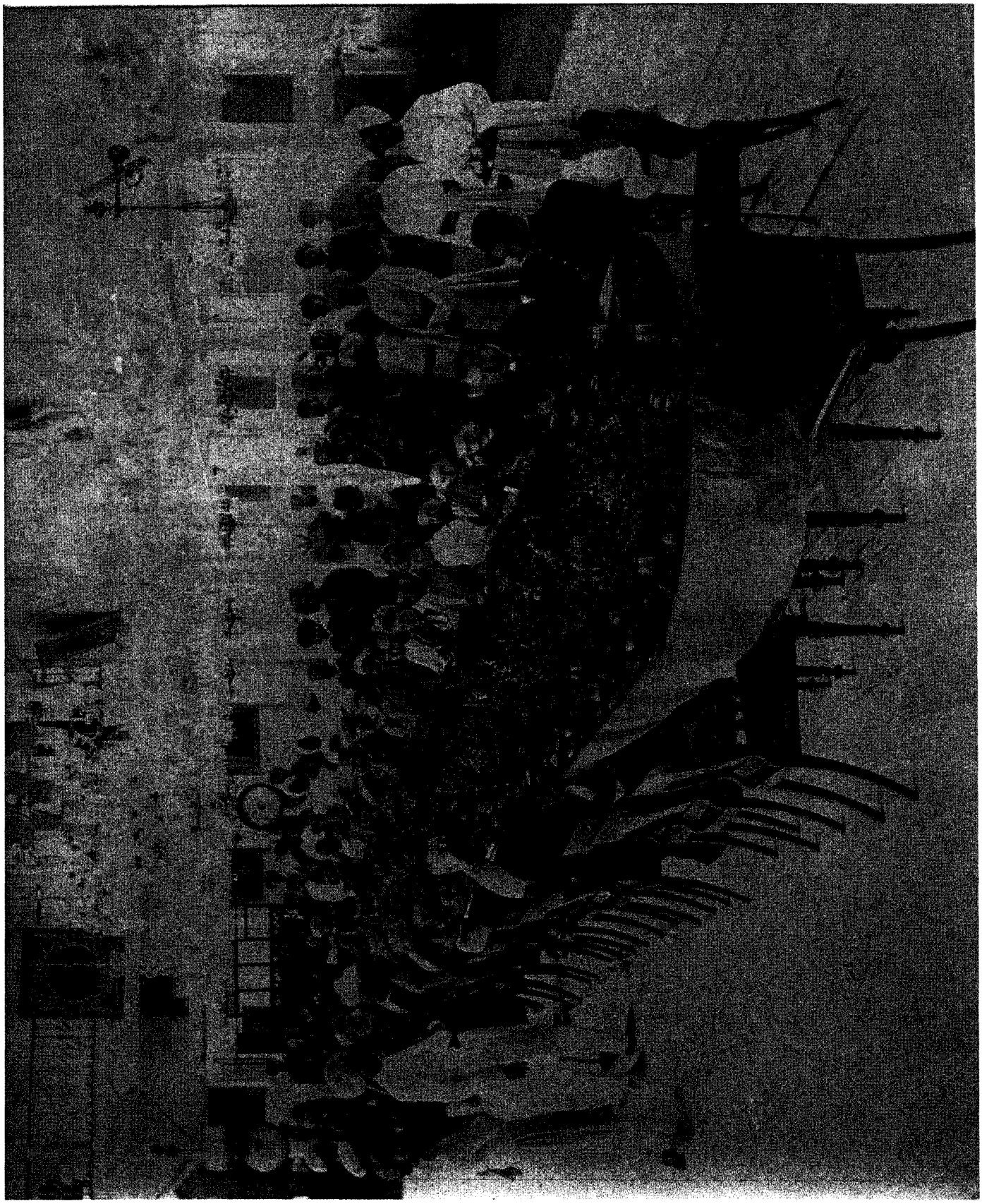

Photo 4.2.27. *Banquet, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

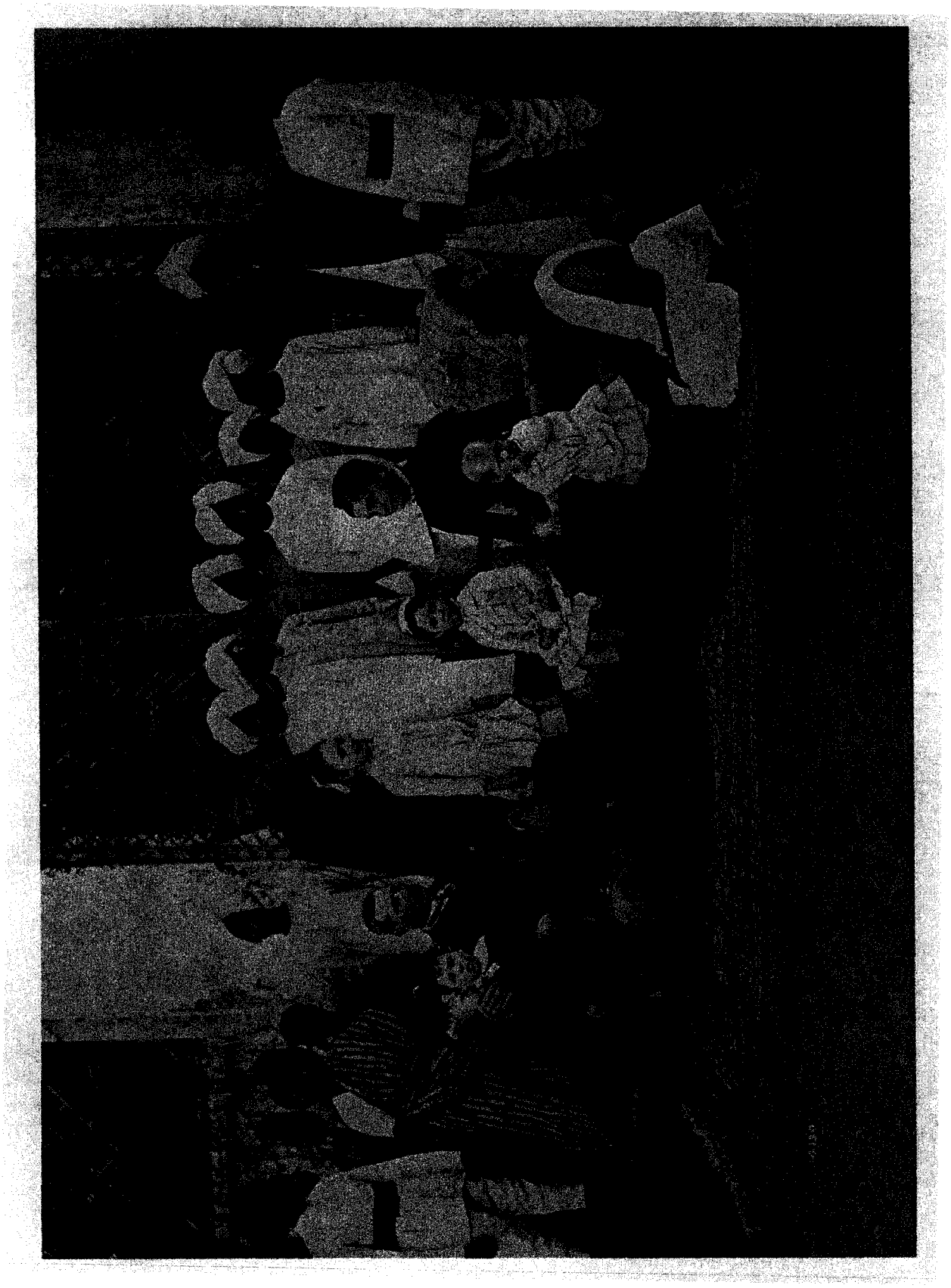

Photo 4.2.28. *British family and domestic staff*
Worswick's

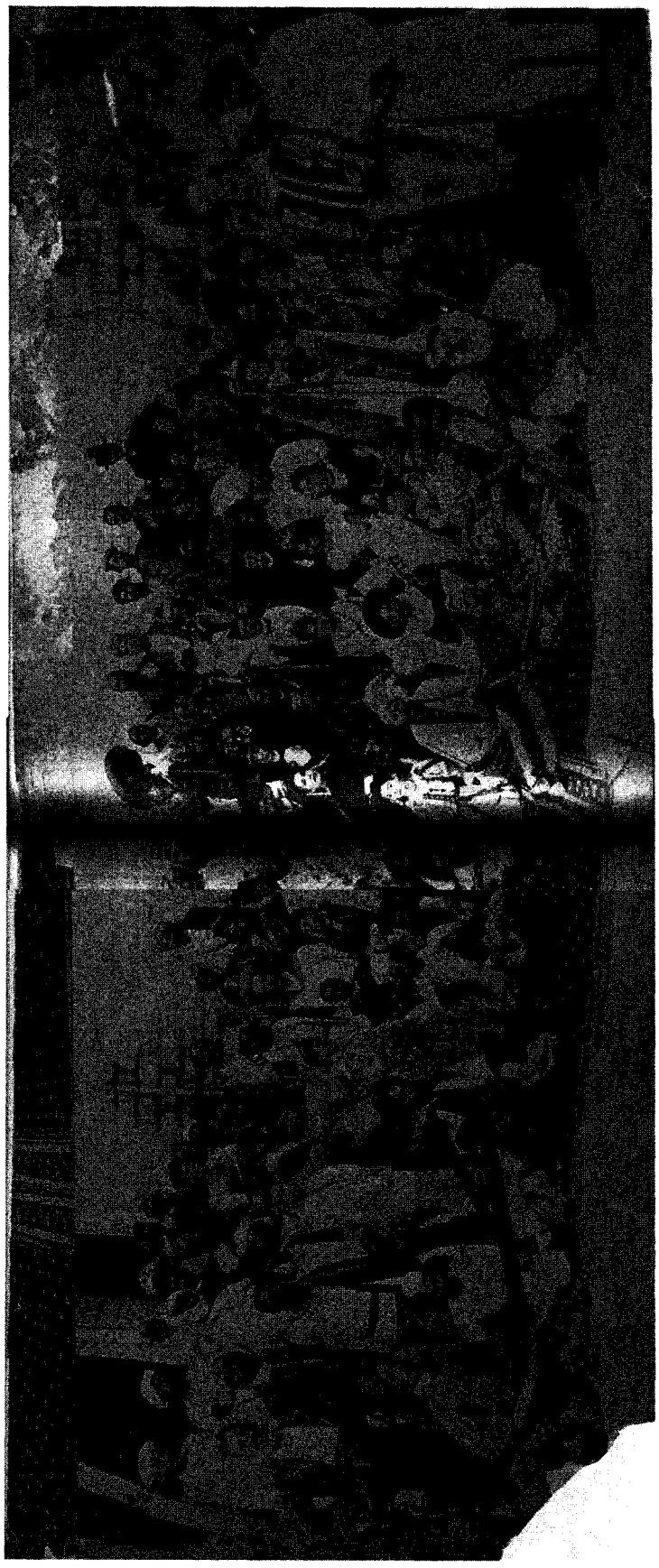

Photo 4.2.29. *Masquerade, Secunderabad*
(During the period of the Raj, British masquerades were ubiquitous. However, this photograph is one of the rare examples of Englishmen together with Indians dressed in costume.)
Worswick's

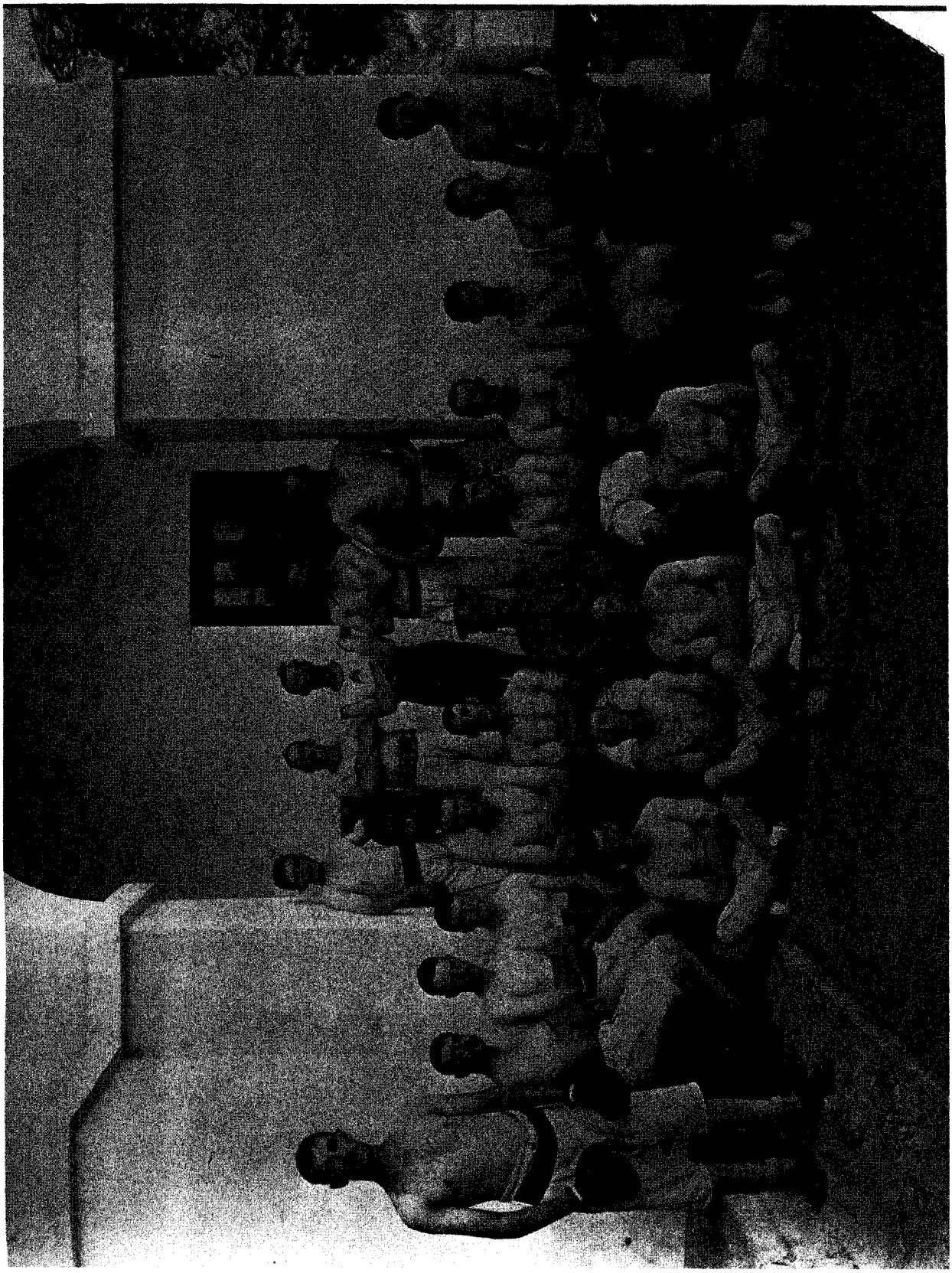

Photo 4.2.30. *Sergeant-Instructor Shaw, "S" Battery, Royal Horse Artillery, group of gymnasts, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.31. *Fancy-dress children's party at Mr. Hankim's house, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

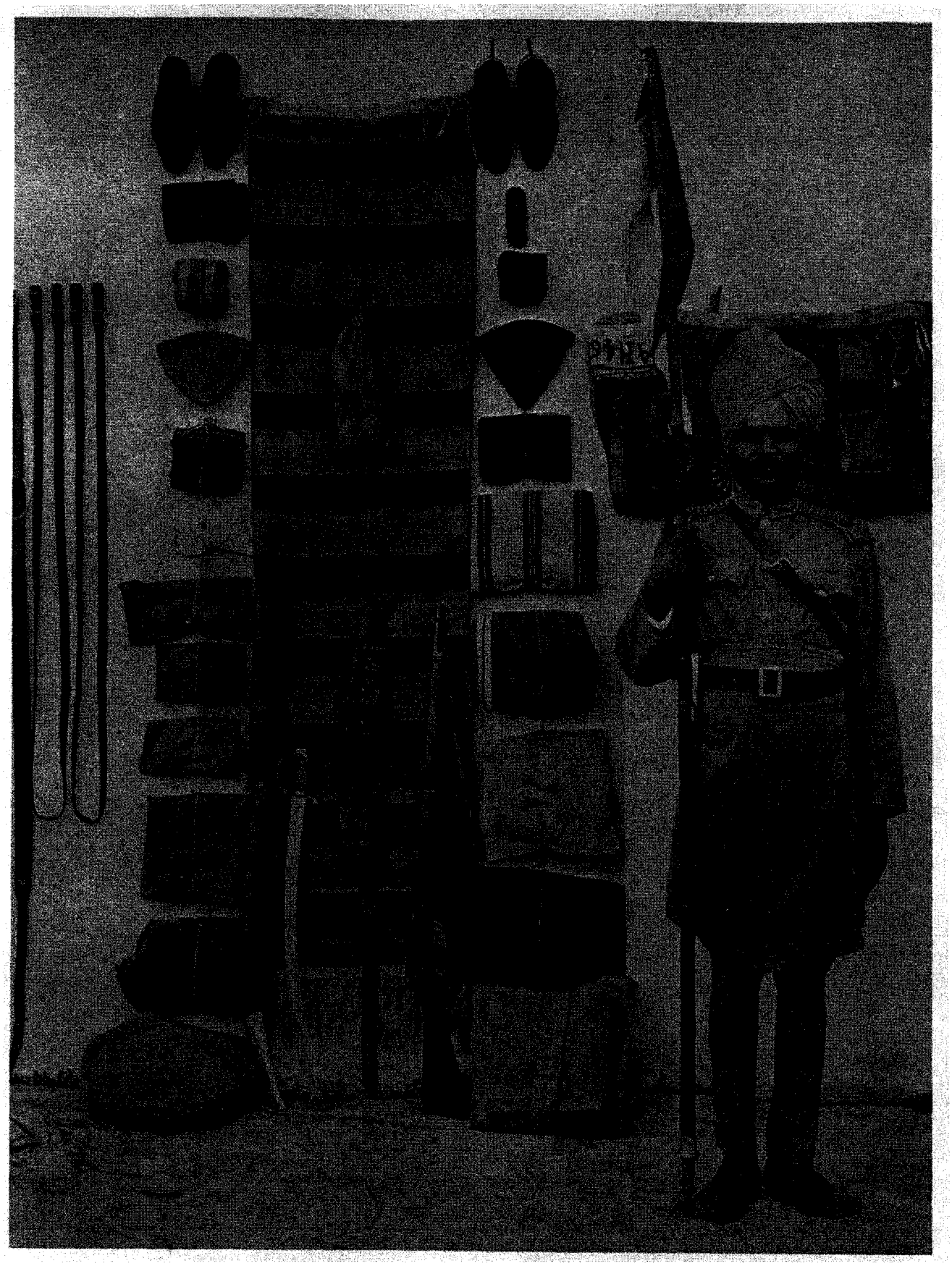

Photo 4.2.32. *Native lancer and equipment, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.33. *Lieutenant F.O. Oakes*
(1908, same comment as 4.2.6.)
Worswick's

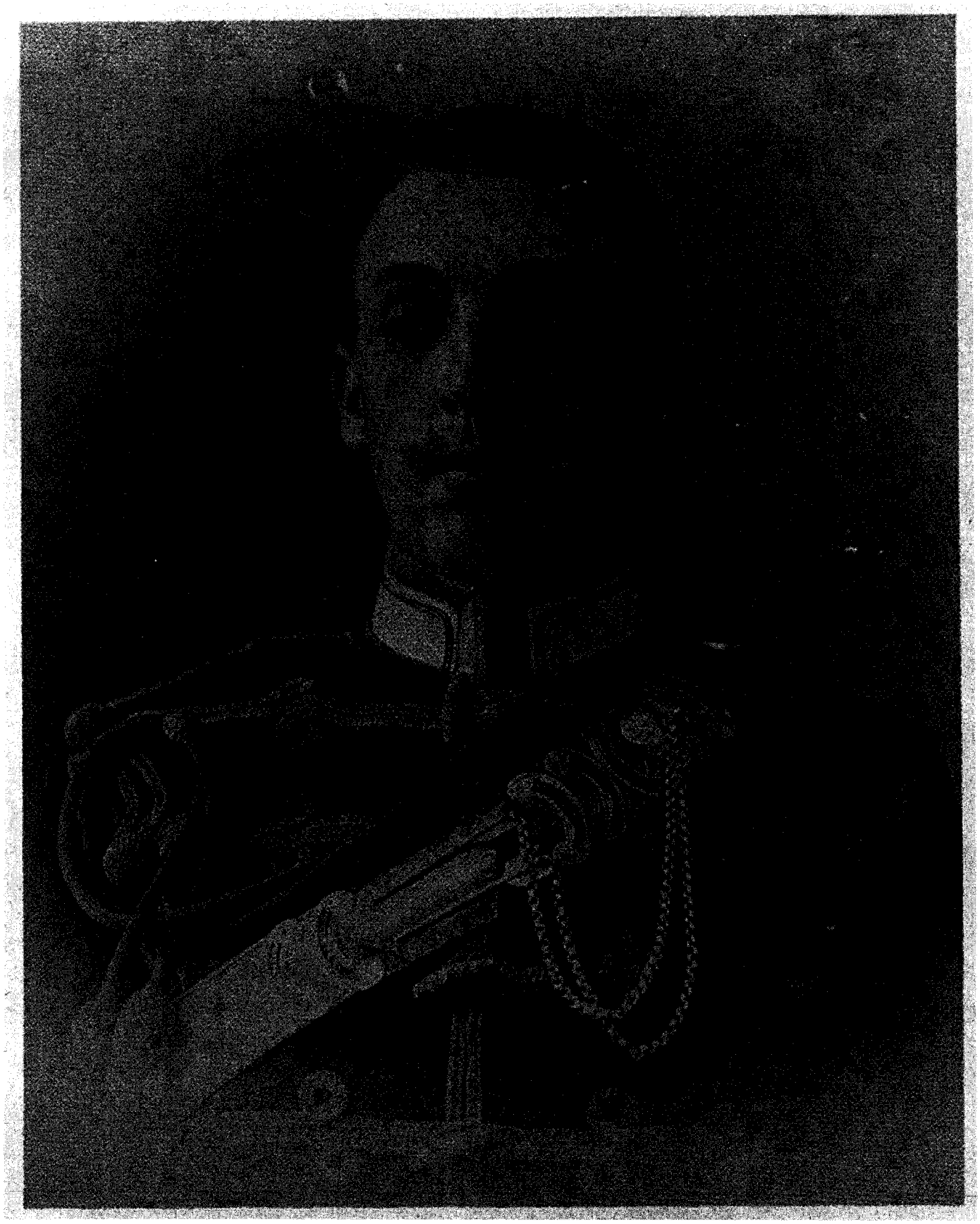

Photo 4.2.34. *Lieutenant F.O. Oakes*
(1908, same comment as 4.2.6.)
Worswick's

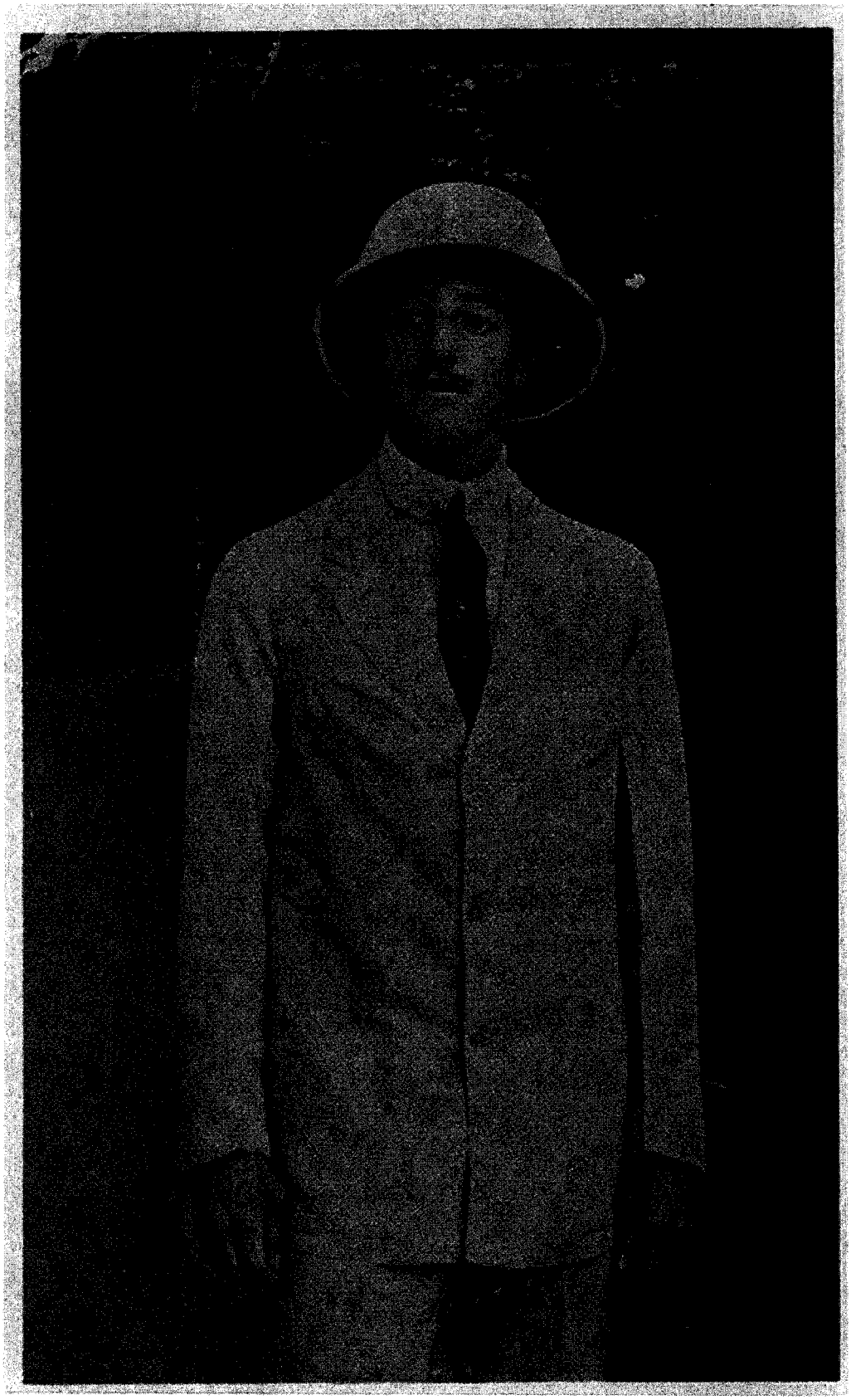

Photo 4.2.35. *Lieutenant F.O. Oakes*
(1908, same comment as 4.2.6.)
Worswick's

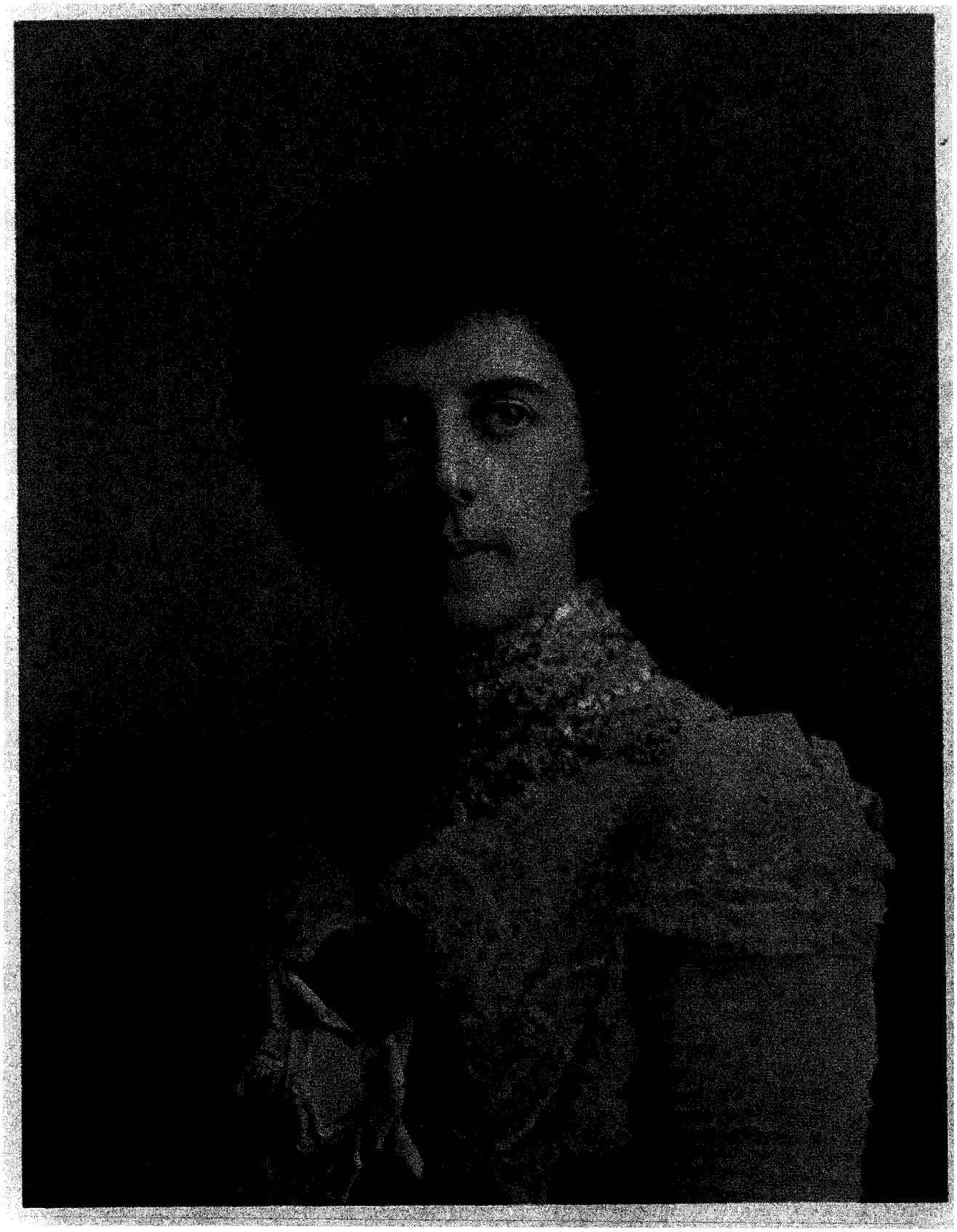

Photo 4.2.36. *Lady M. Jenkins*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.37. *Rajput prince*
Worswick's

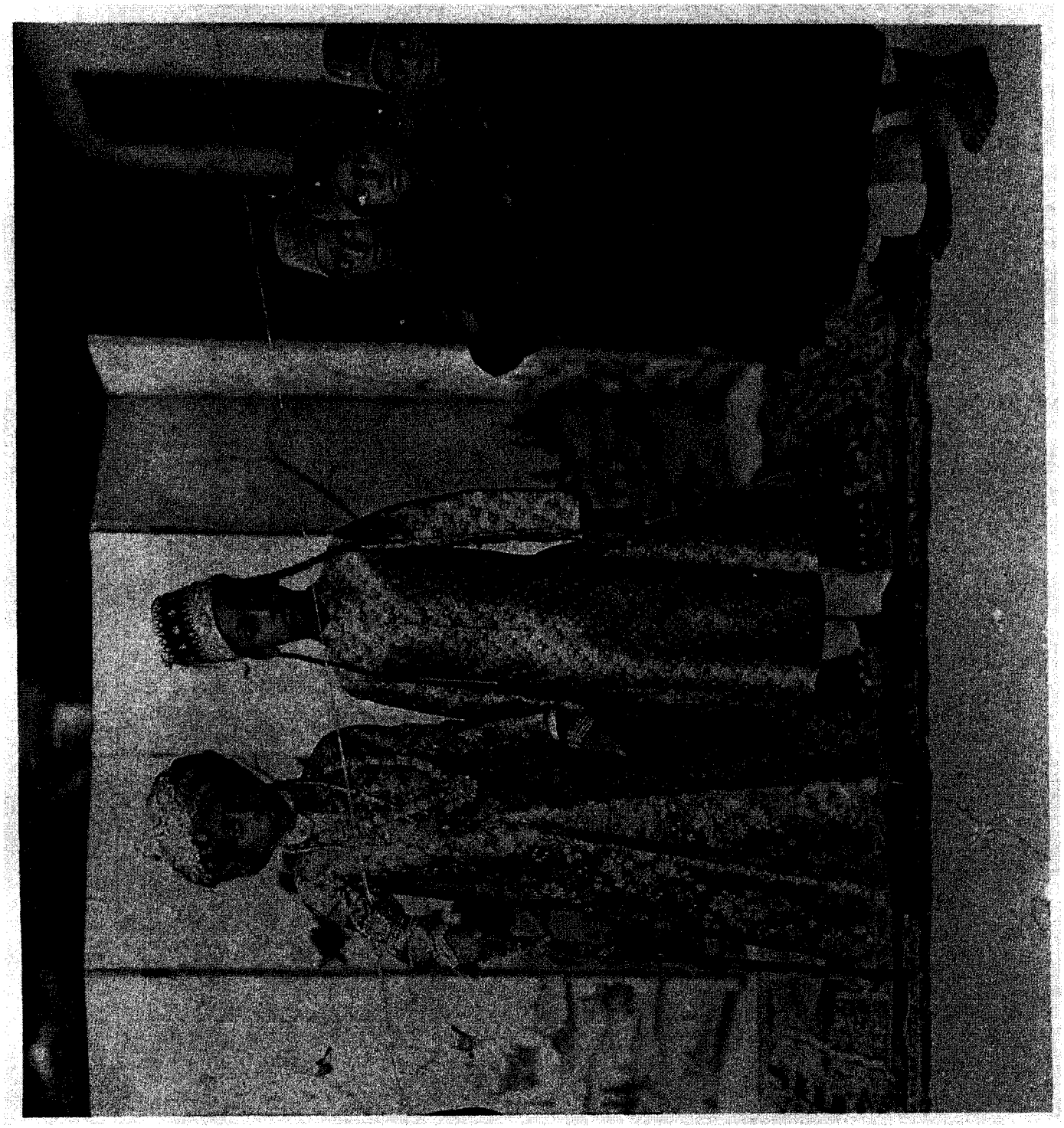

Photo 4.2.38. *Two princes, with three attendants*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.39. *Child*
Worswick's

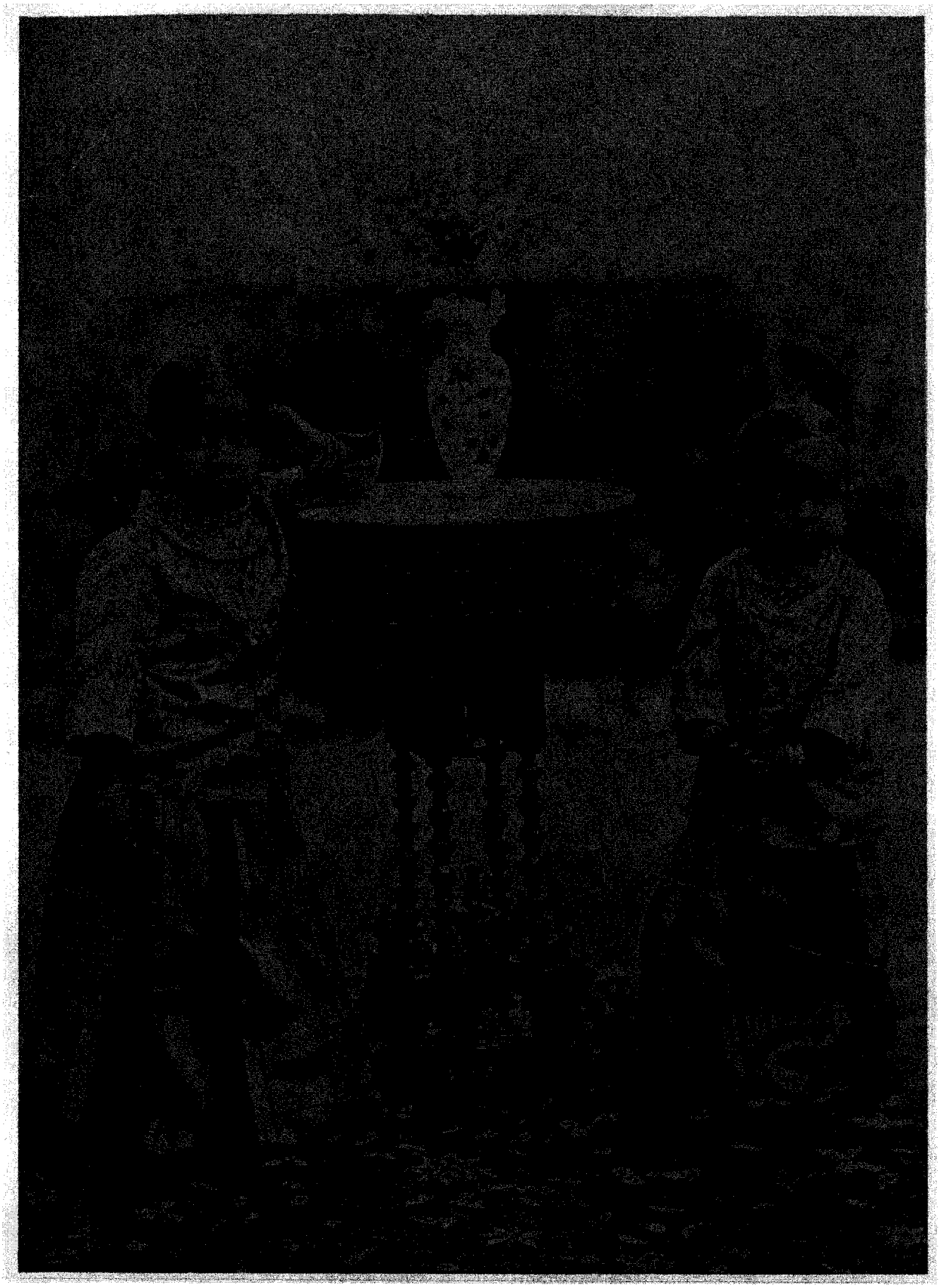

Photo 4.2.40. *The granddaughters of Raja Lala Deen Dayal, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

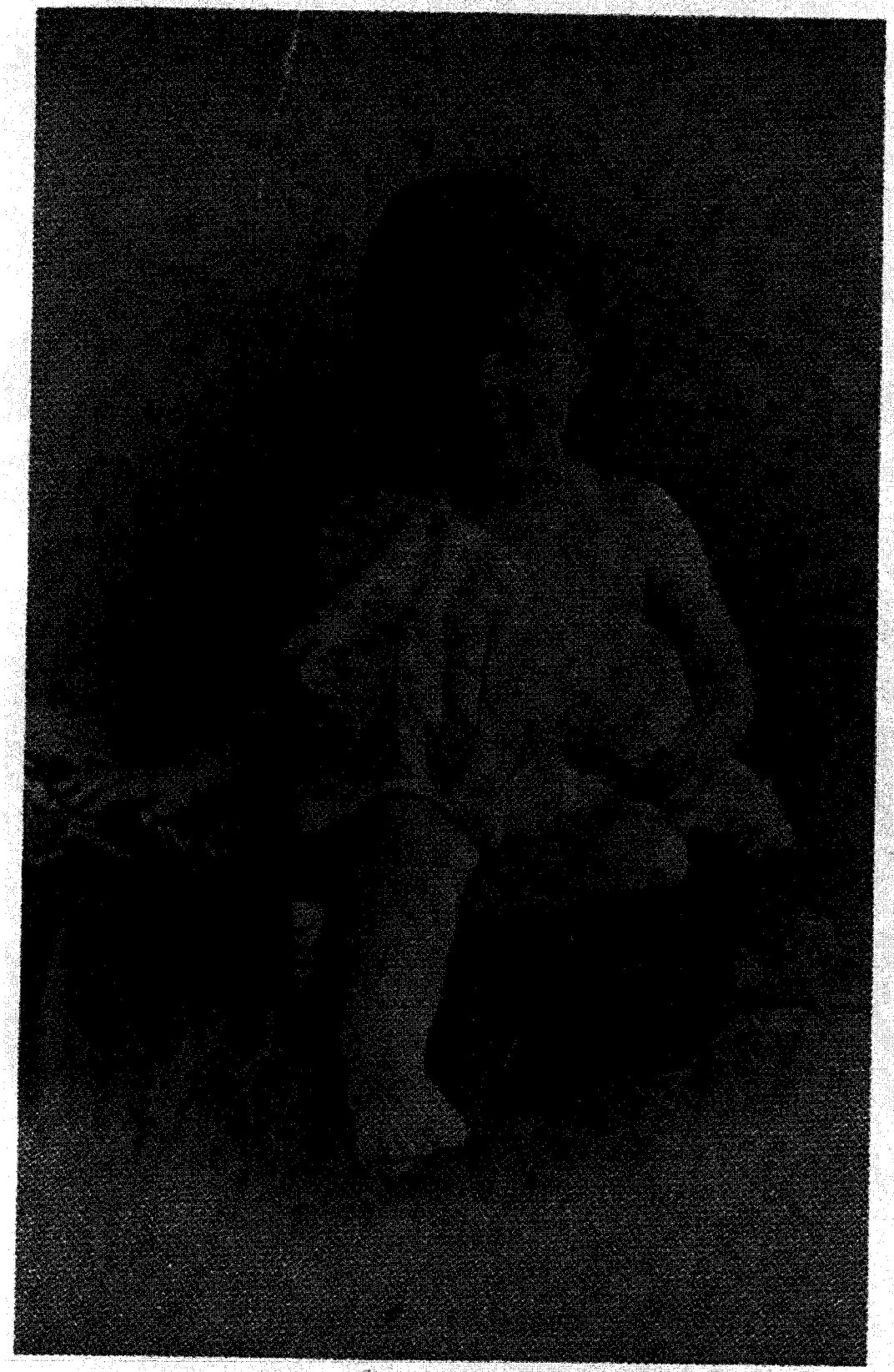

Photo 4.2.41. *Child*
Worswick's

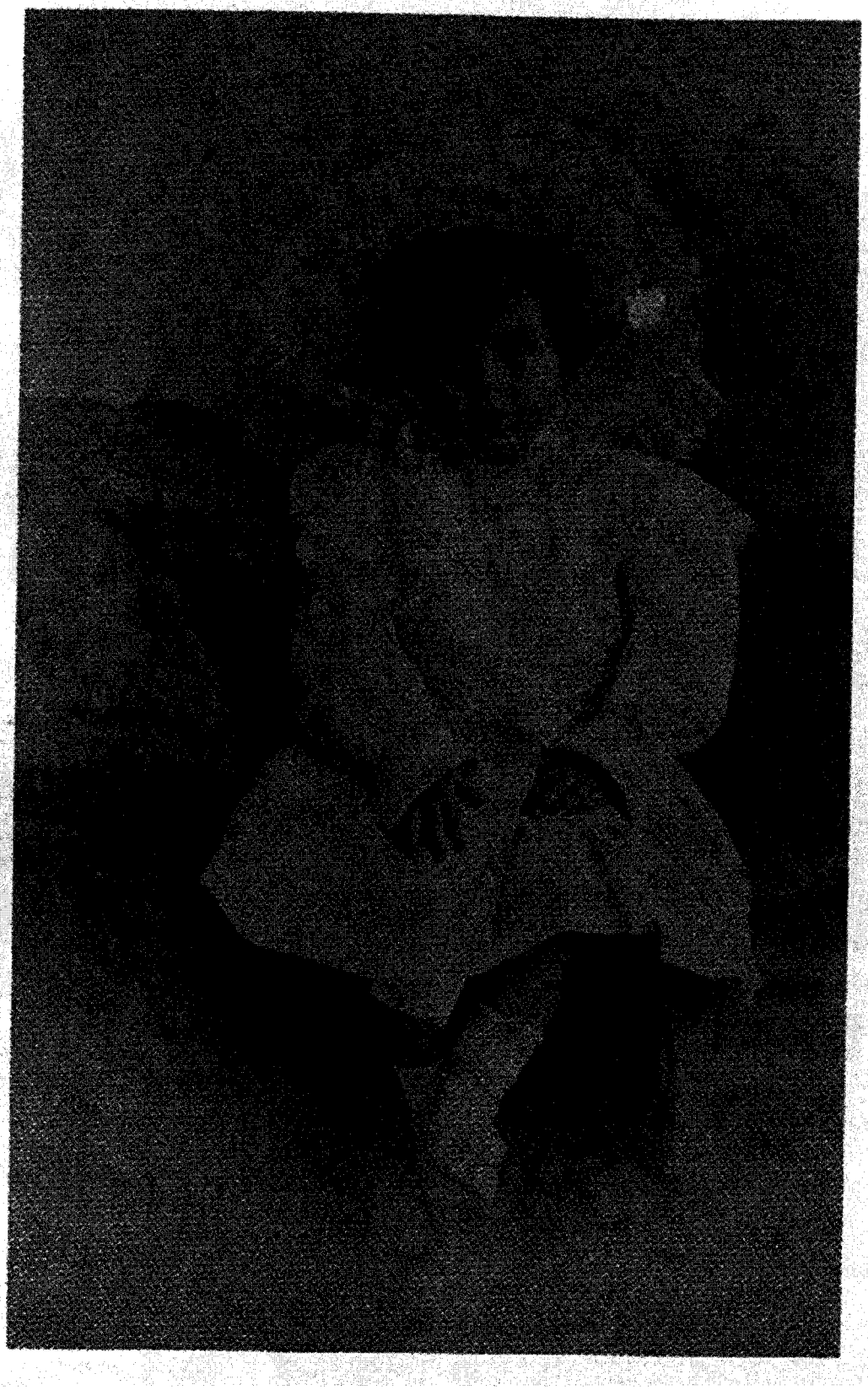

Photo 4.2.42. *Child*
Worswick's

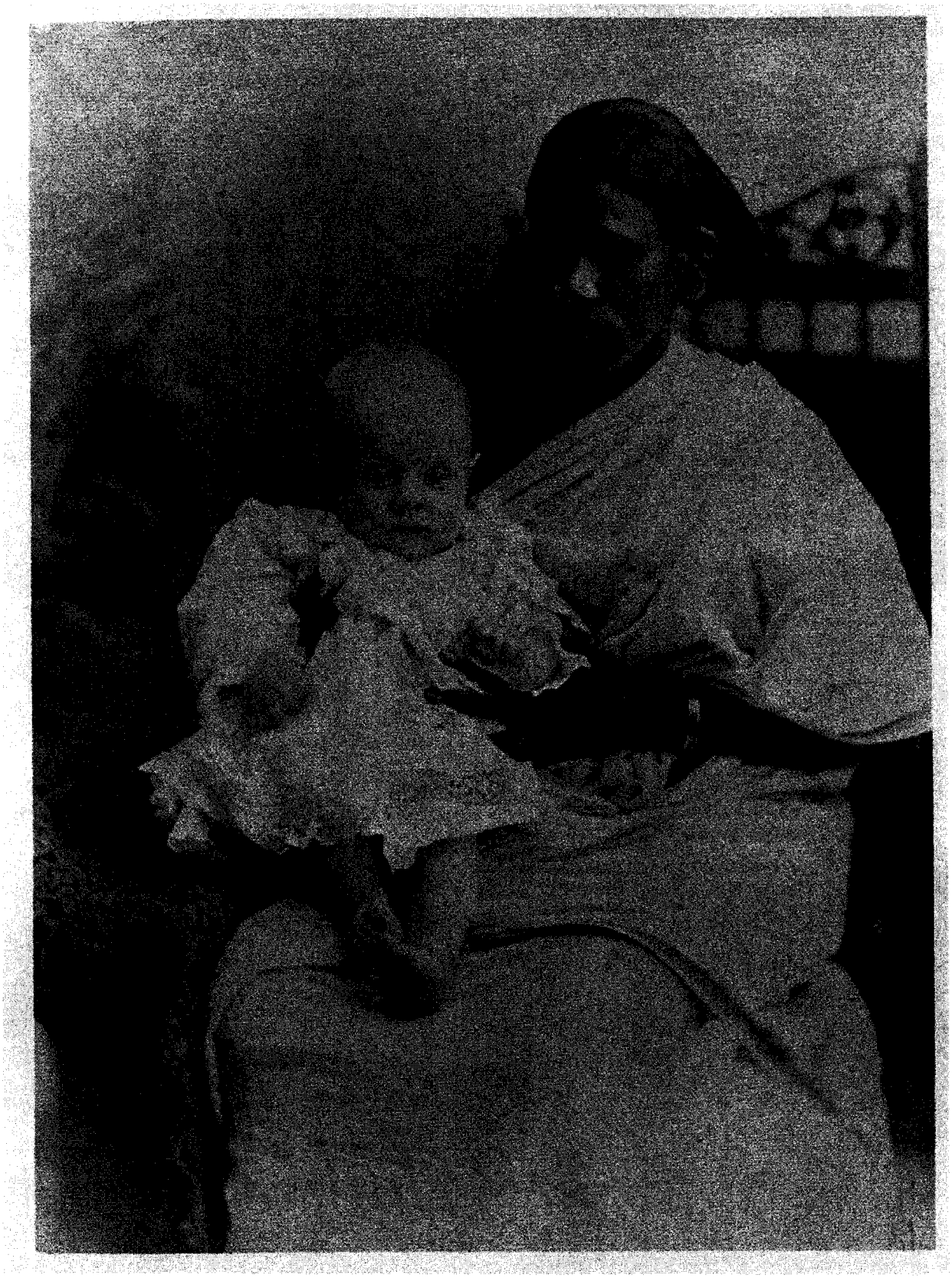

Photo 4.2.43. *Ayah (nursemaid), with European child*
Worswick's

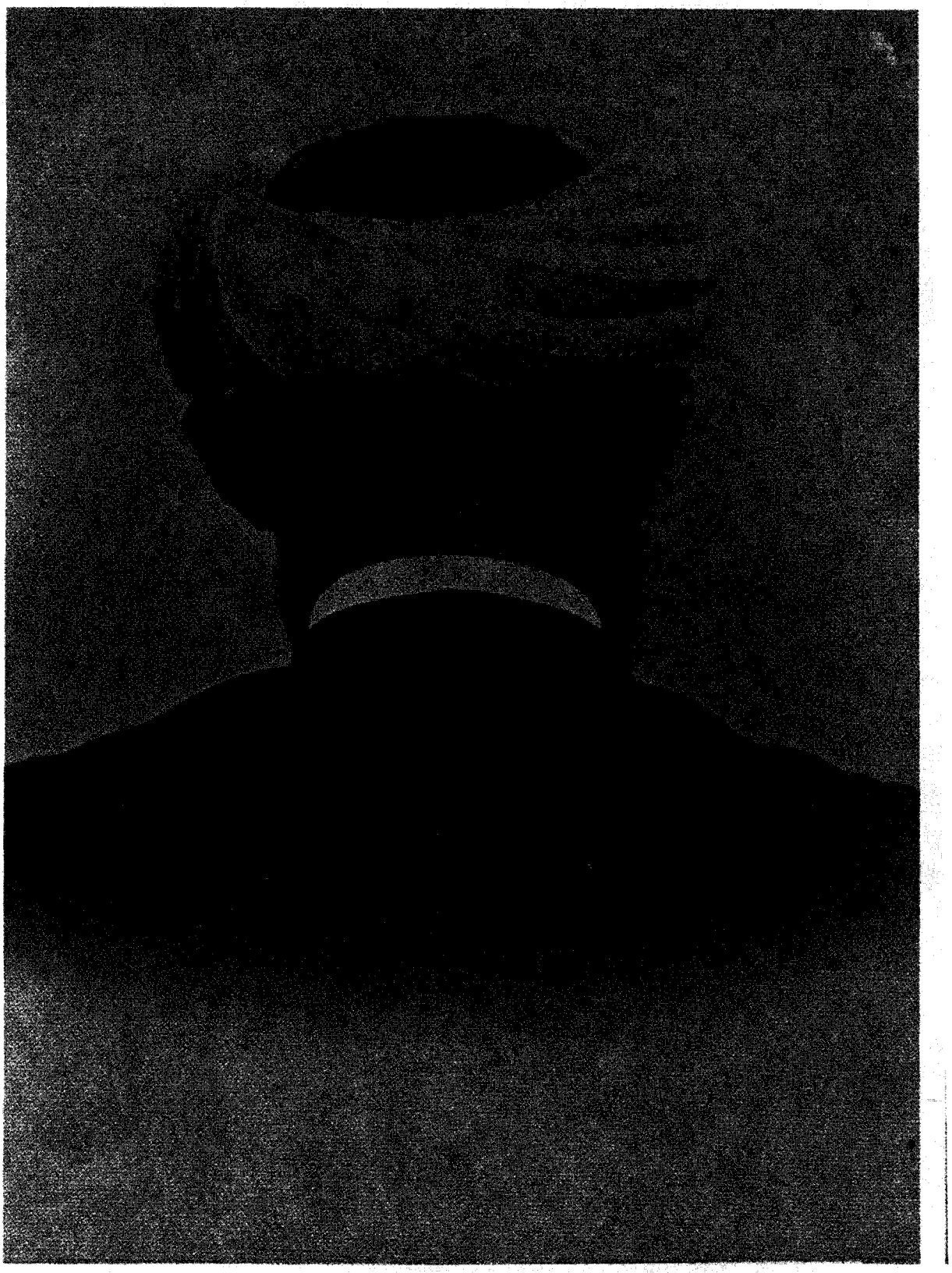

Photo 4.2.44. *Man with 'Bora' headdress*
Worswick's

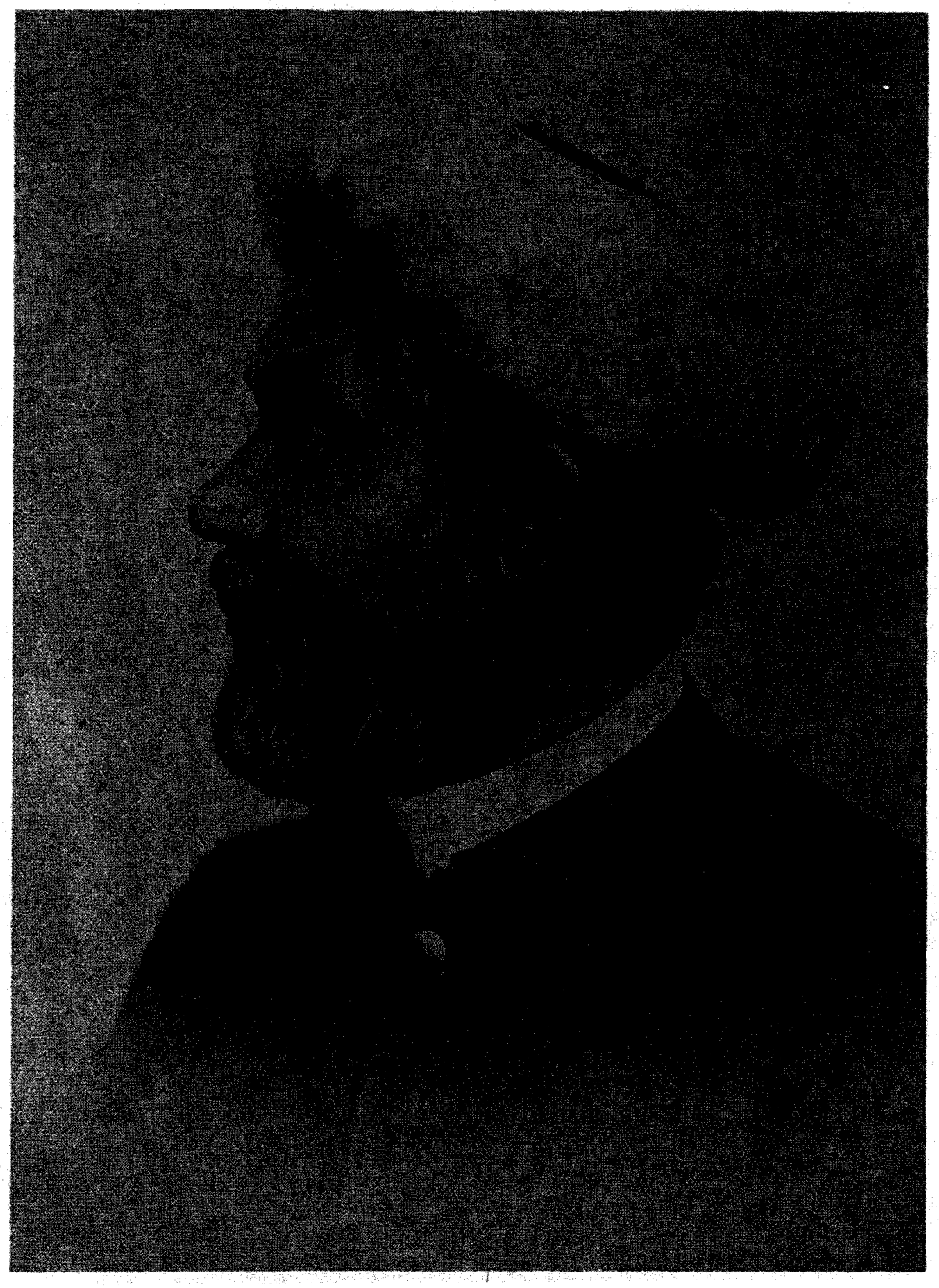

Photo 4.2.45. *Man with 'Bora' headdress*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.46. *Court functionary, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

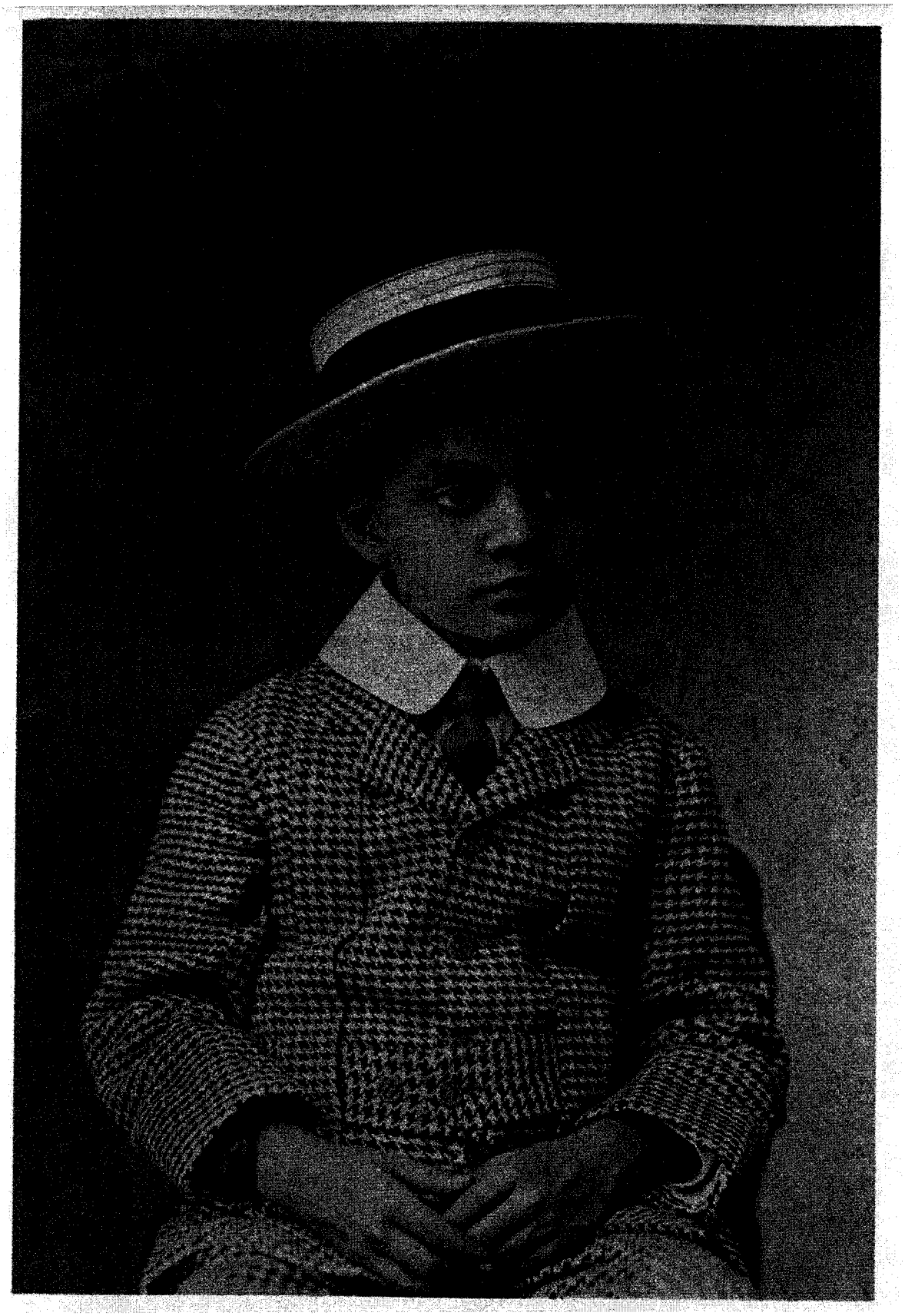

Photo 4.2.47. *Indian boy*
Worswick's

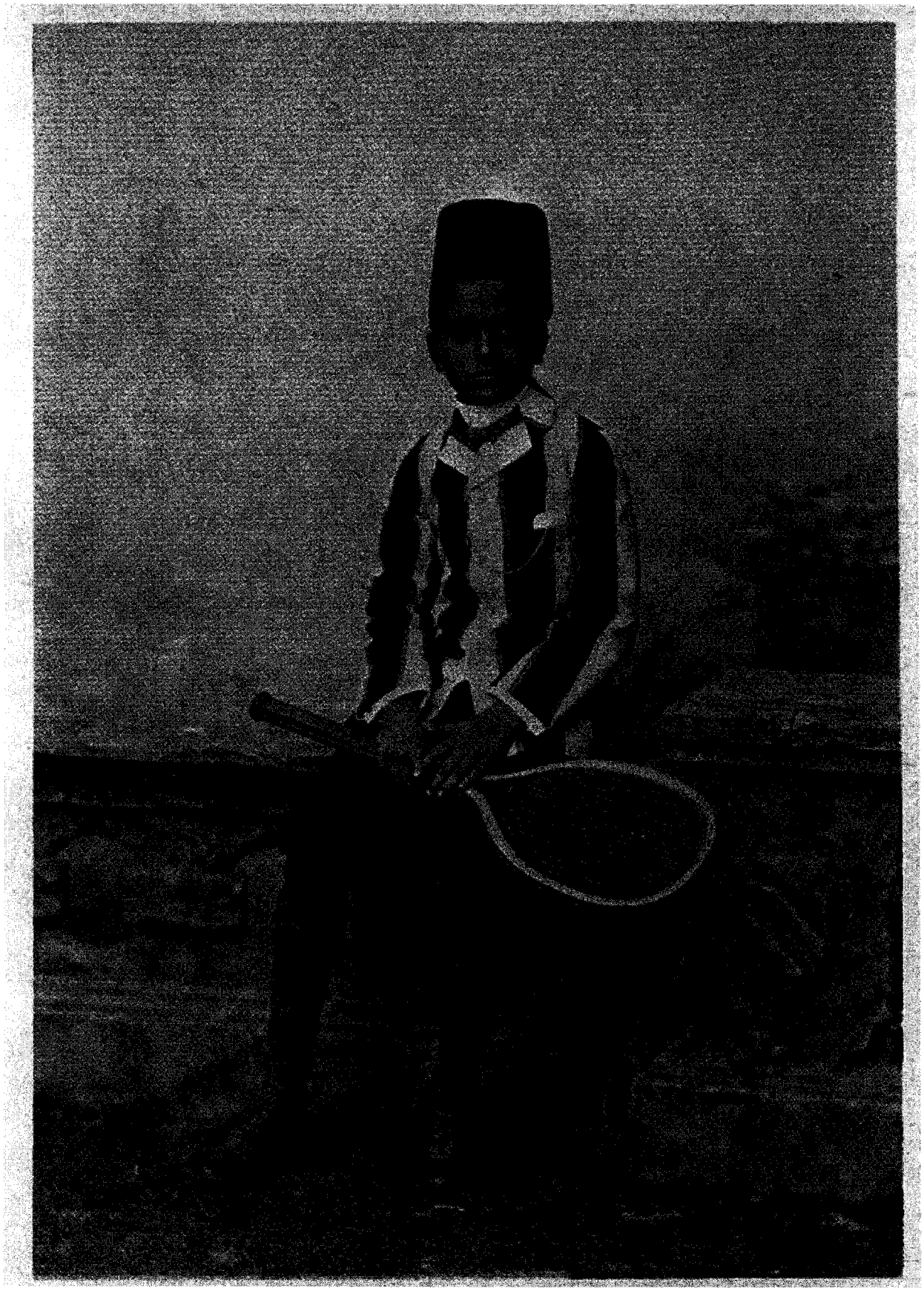

Photo 4.2.48. *Mahmud Ali,*
son of Nawab Intikabjong, Hyderabad
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.49. *Gulnar, an old actress*
Worswick's

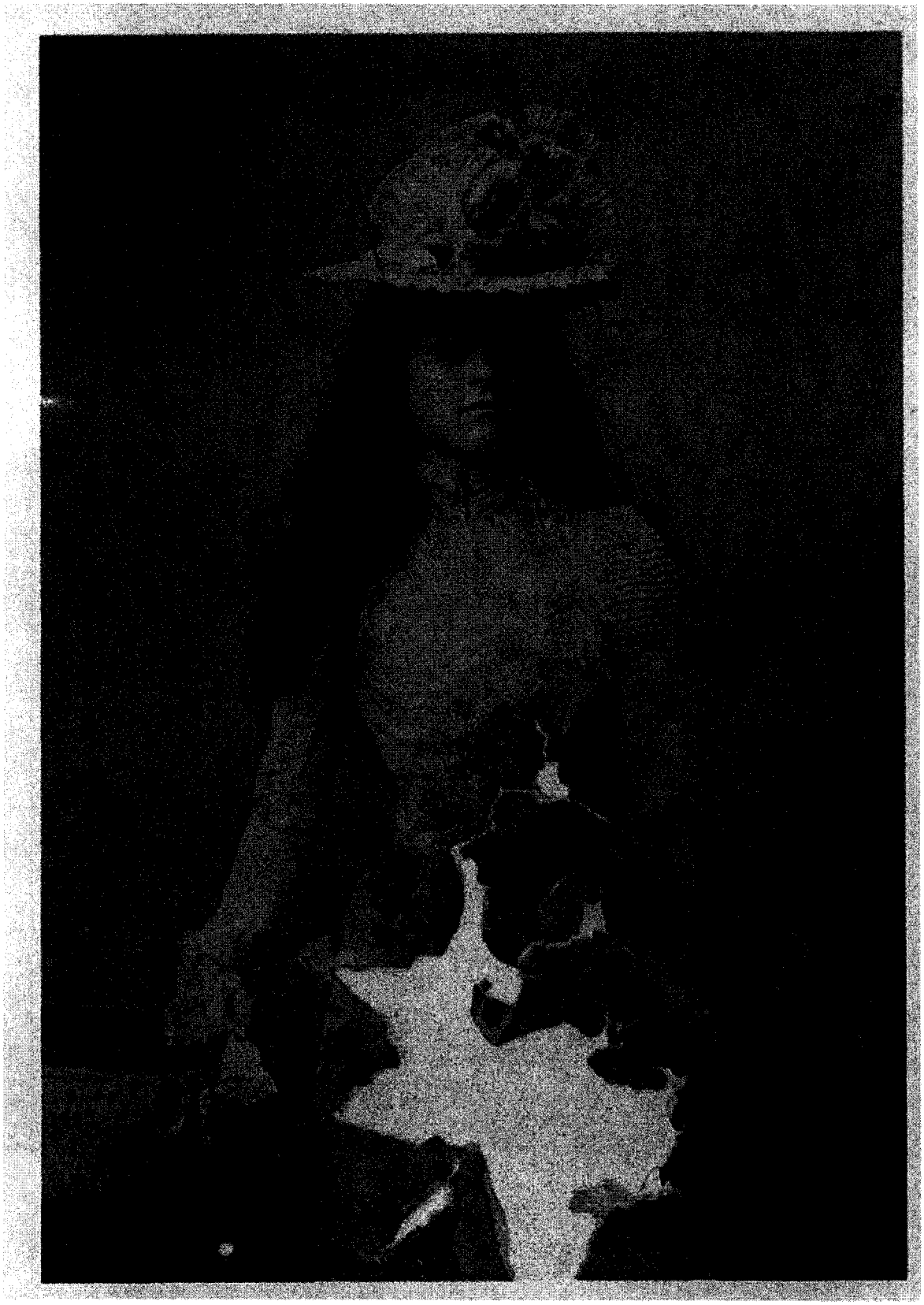

Photo 4.2.50. *Miss Cricheon, c/o W.H. King, Goul telegraph office*
Worswick's

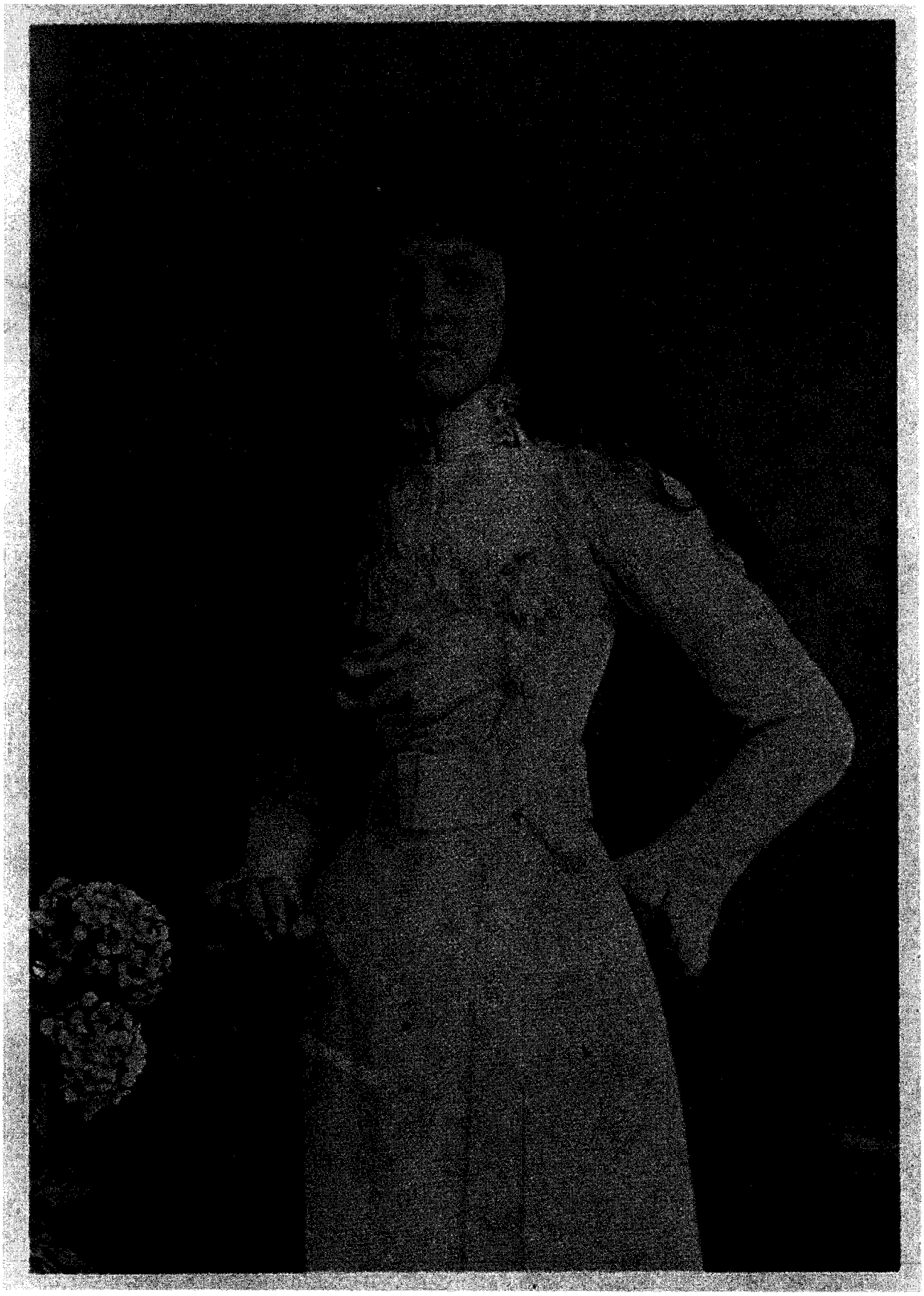

Photo 4.2.51. *Miss Cricheon, c/o W.H. King, Goul telegraph office*
Worswick's

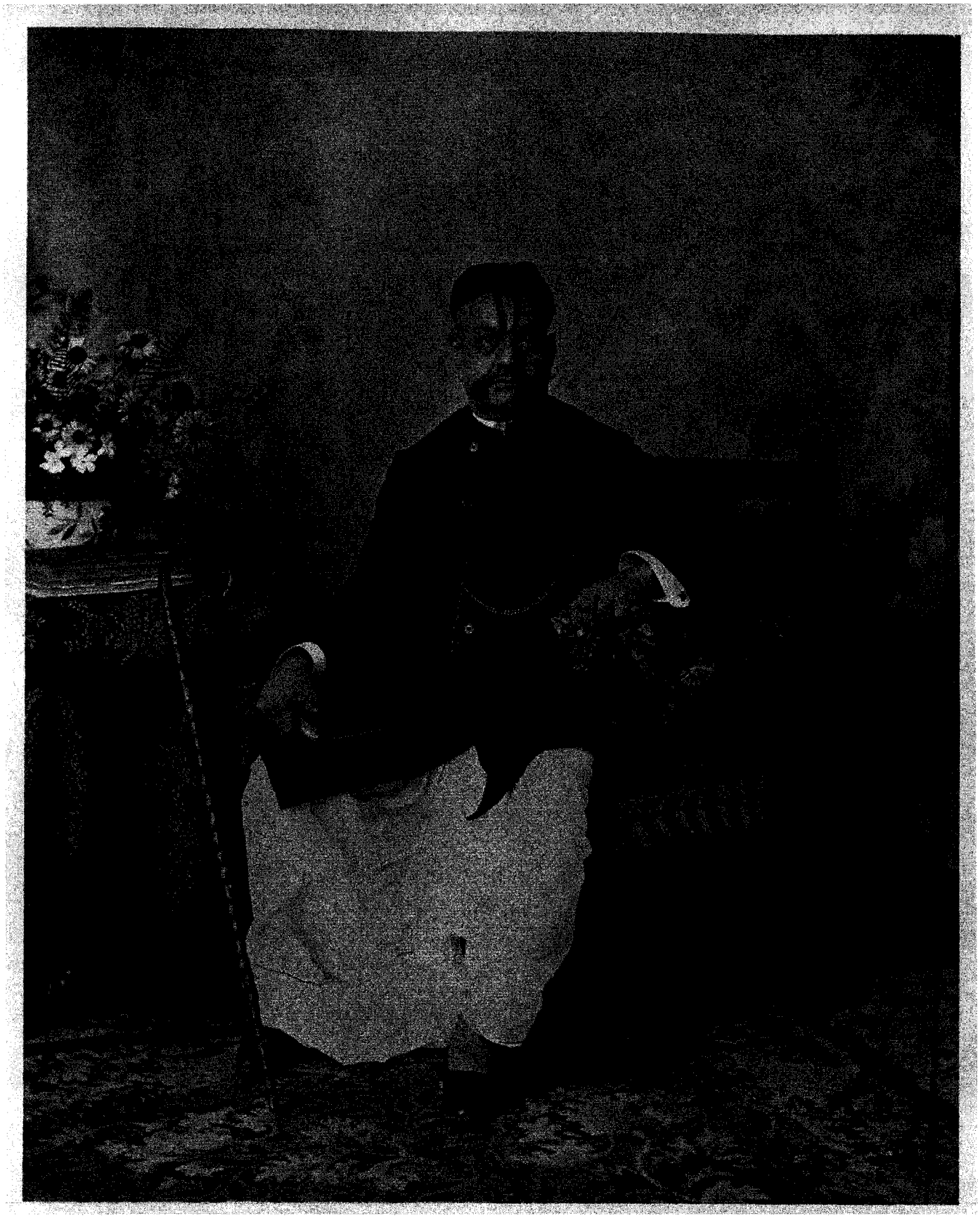

Photo 4.2.52. *The banker Raja Bagwan Dass*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.53. *Babu Murlindhar, a finance officer, with Pyarelal, a lawyer, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

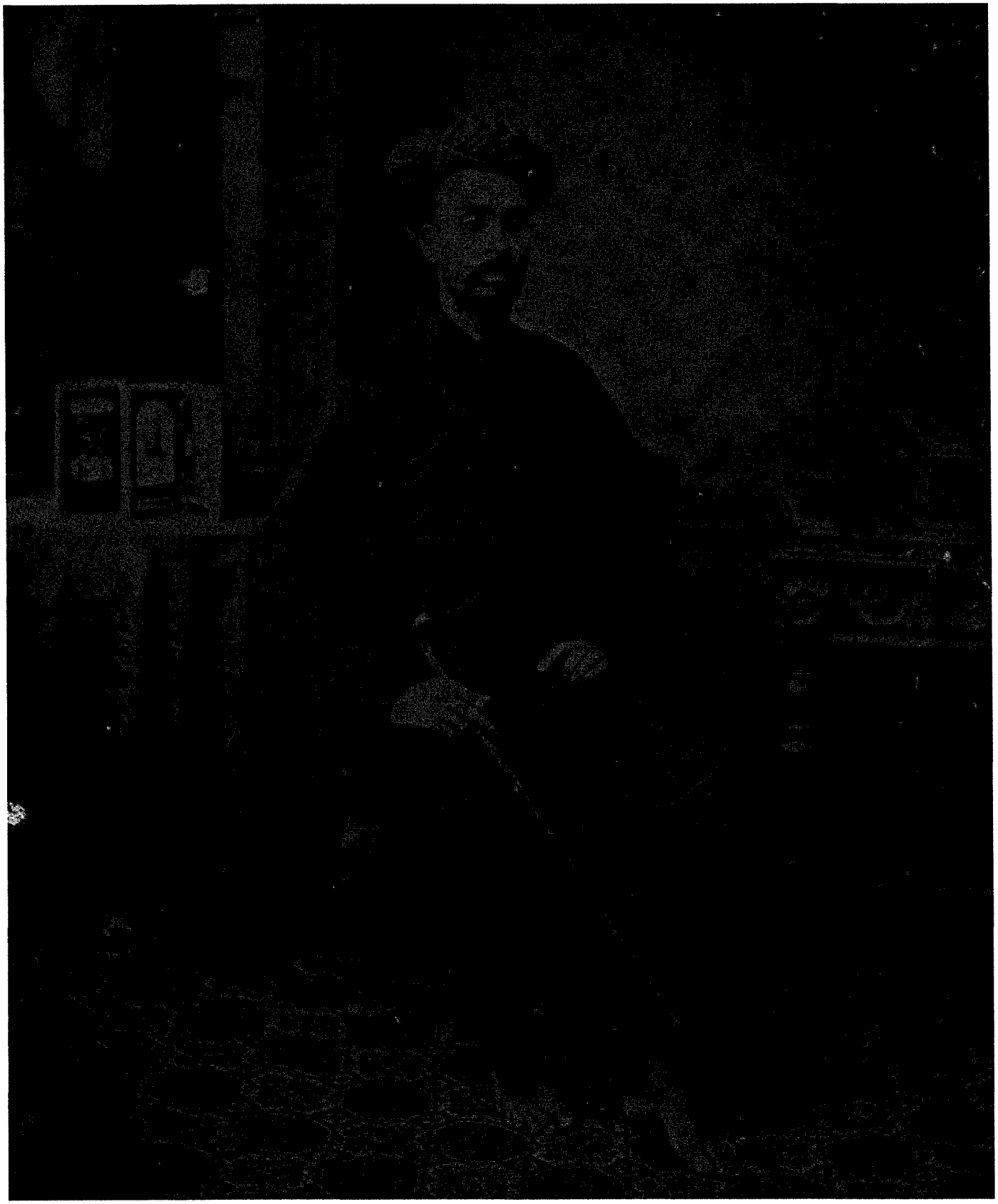

Photo 4.2.54. *Studio portrait, Bombay*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.55. *Studio portrait, Bombay*
Worswick's

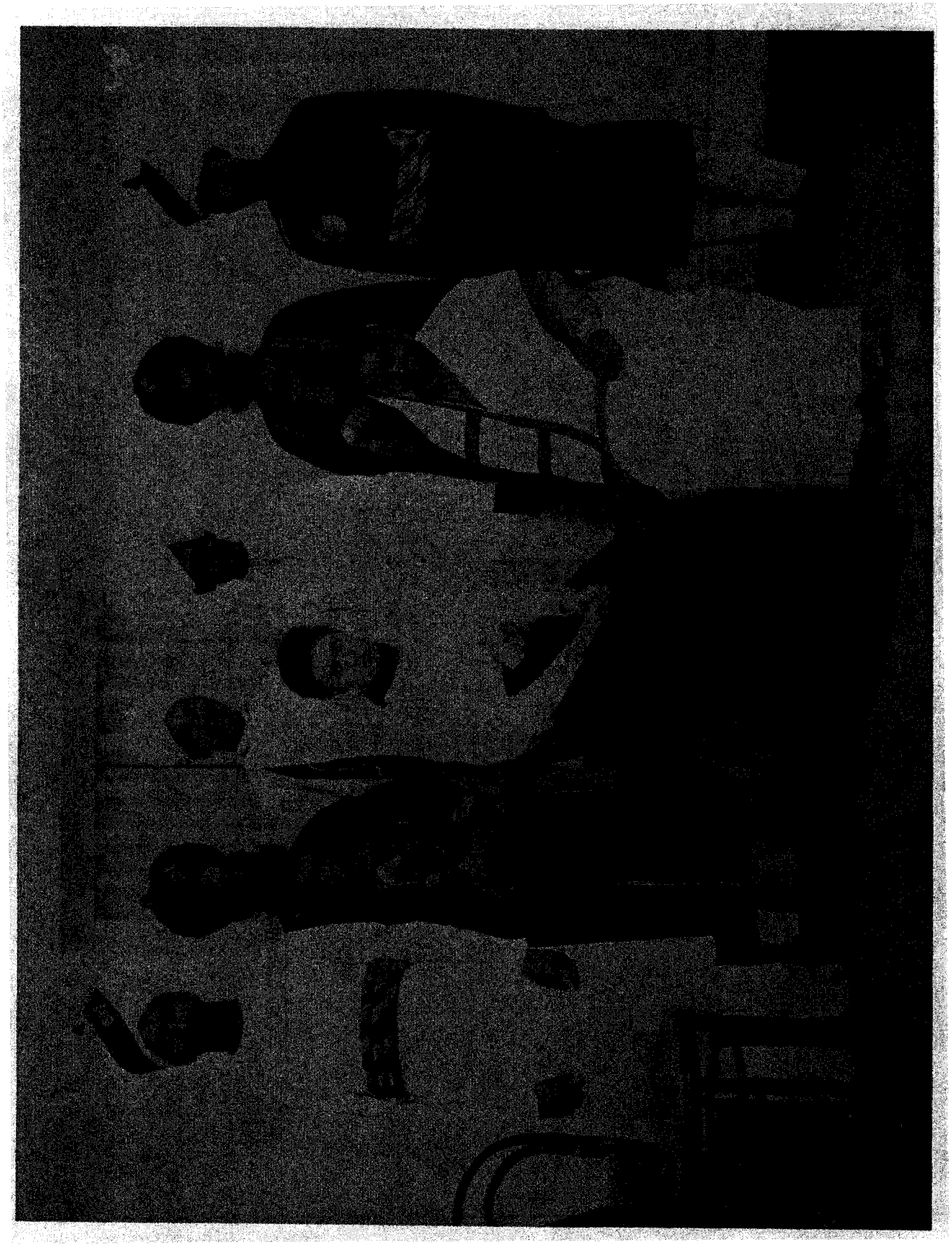

Photo 4.2.56. *European and Indian servants, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

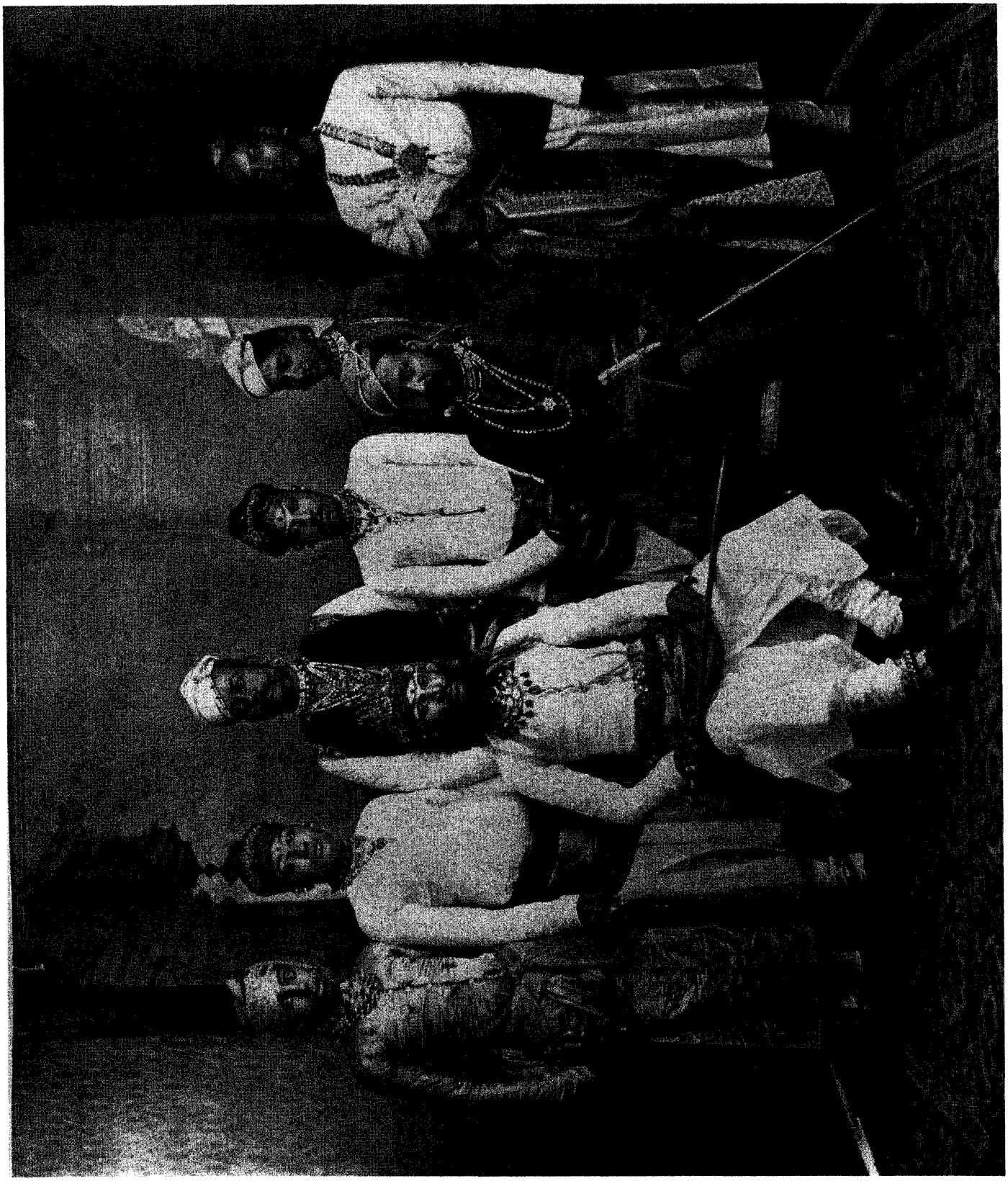

Photo 4.2.57. *Raghubir Singh,*
Maharaja of Bundi, with his courtiers
Worswick's

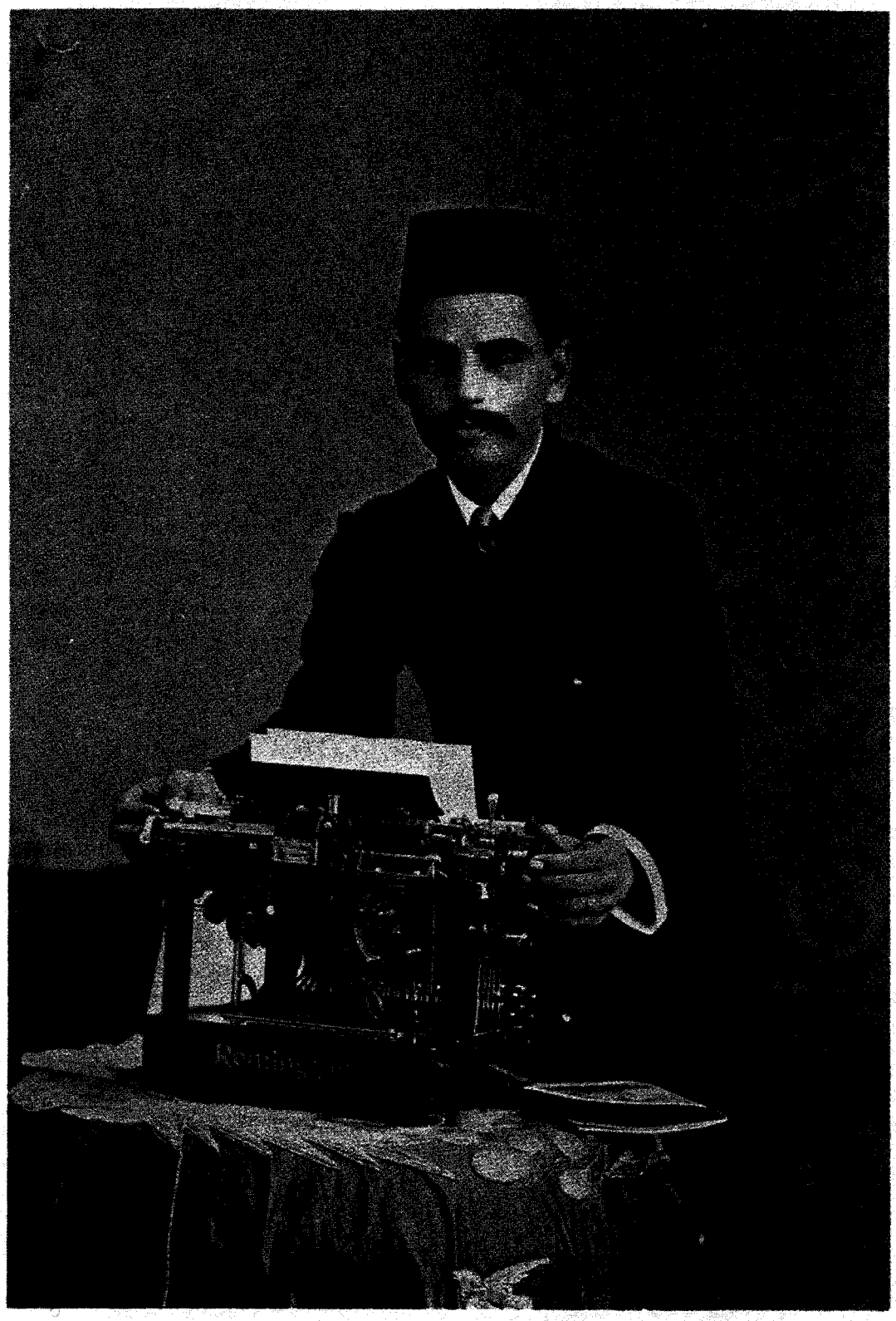

Photo 4.2.58. *Salesman and automatic writing machine*
Worswick's

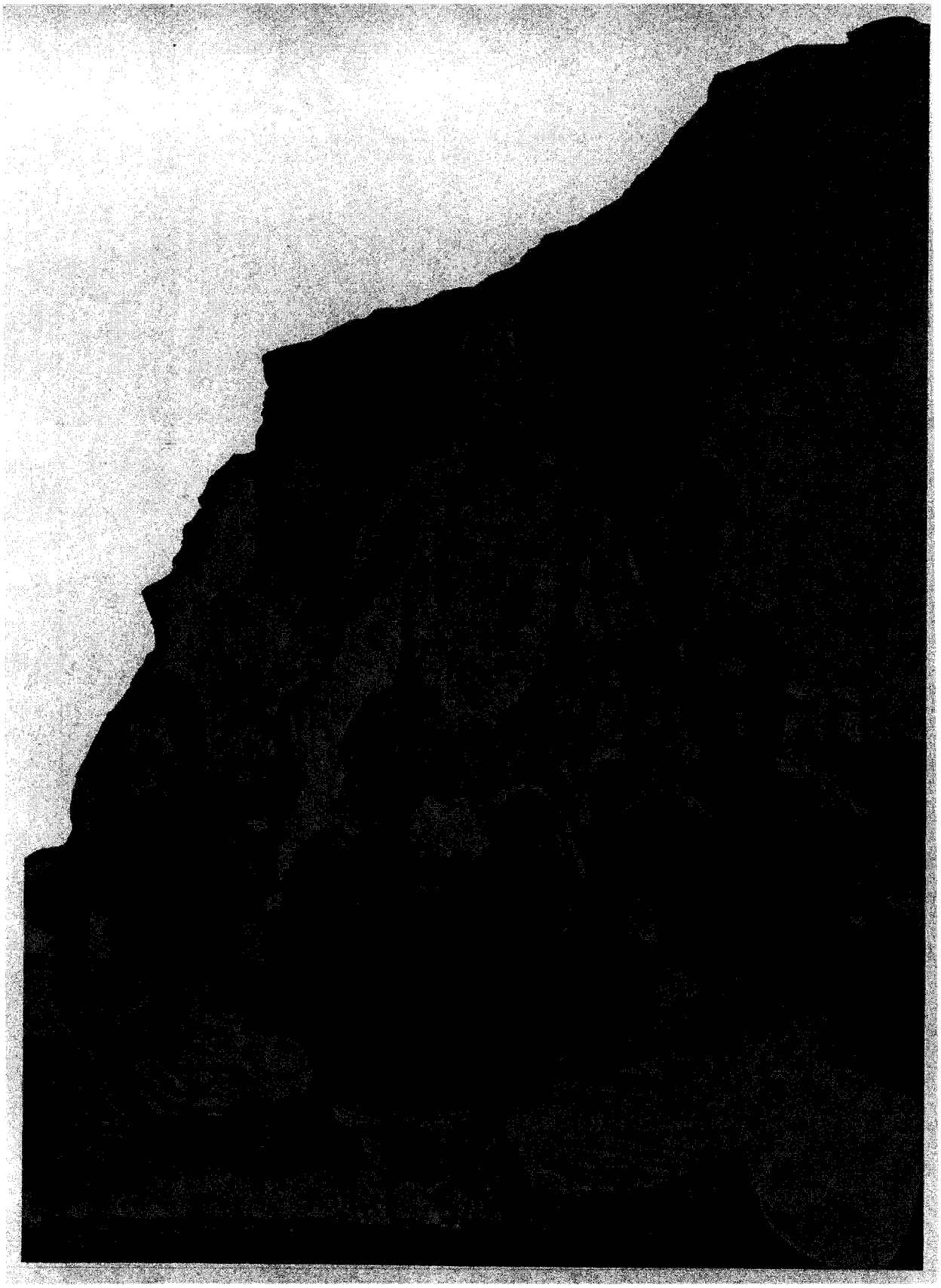

Photo 4.2.59. *Luchmiah Rungiah and attendants*
Worswick's

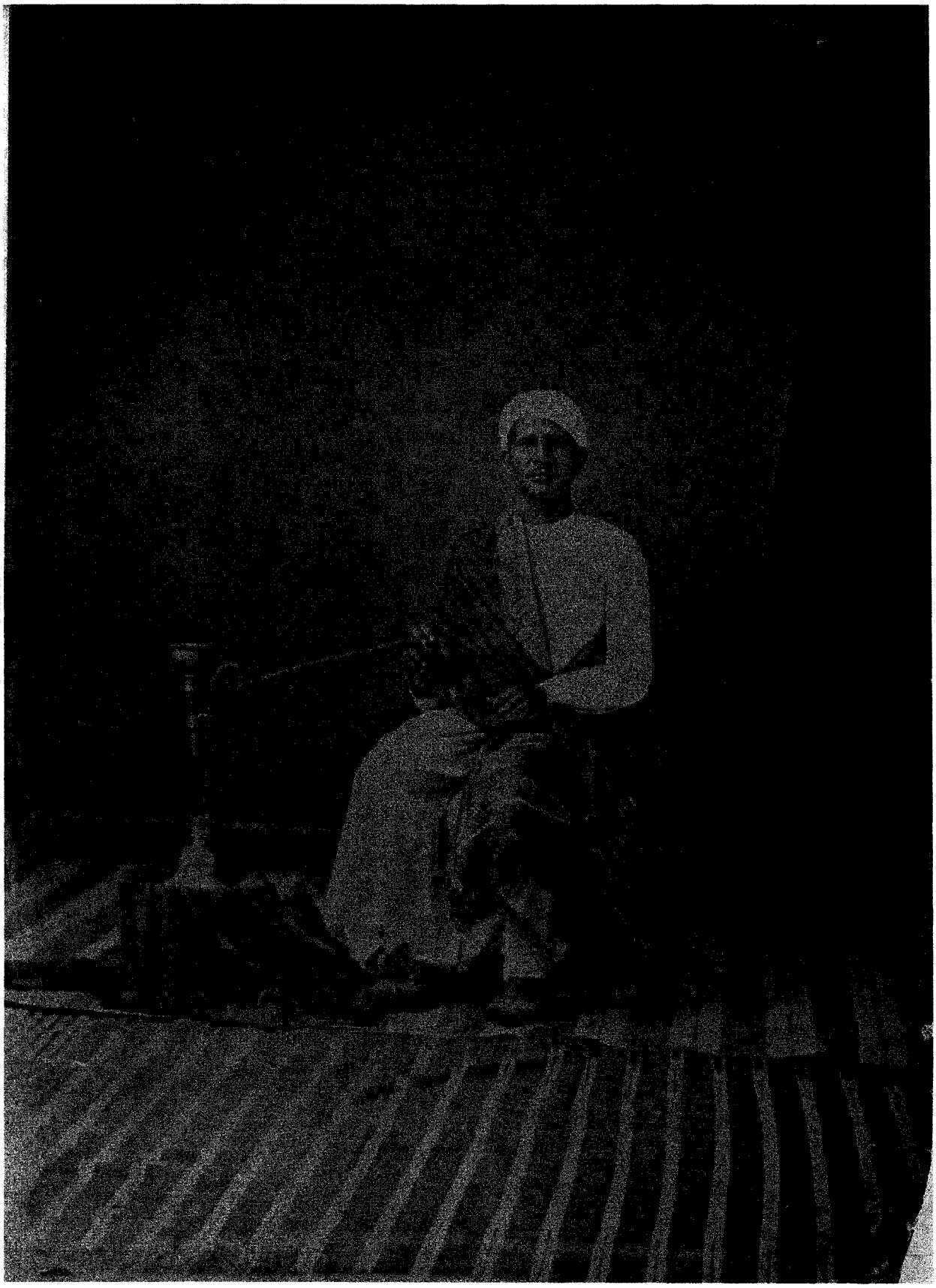

Photo 4.2.60. *Official*
Worswick's

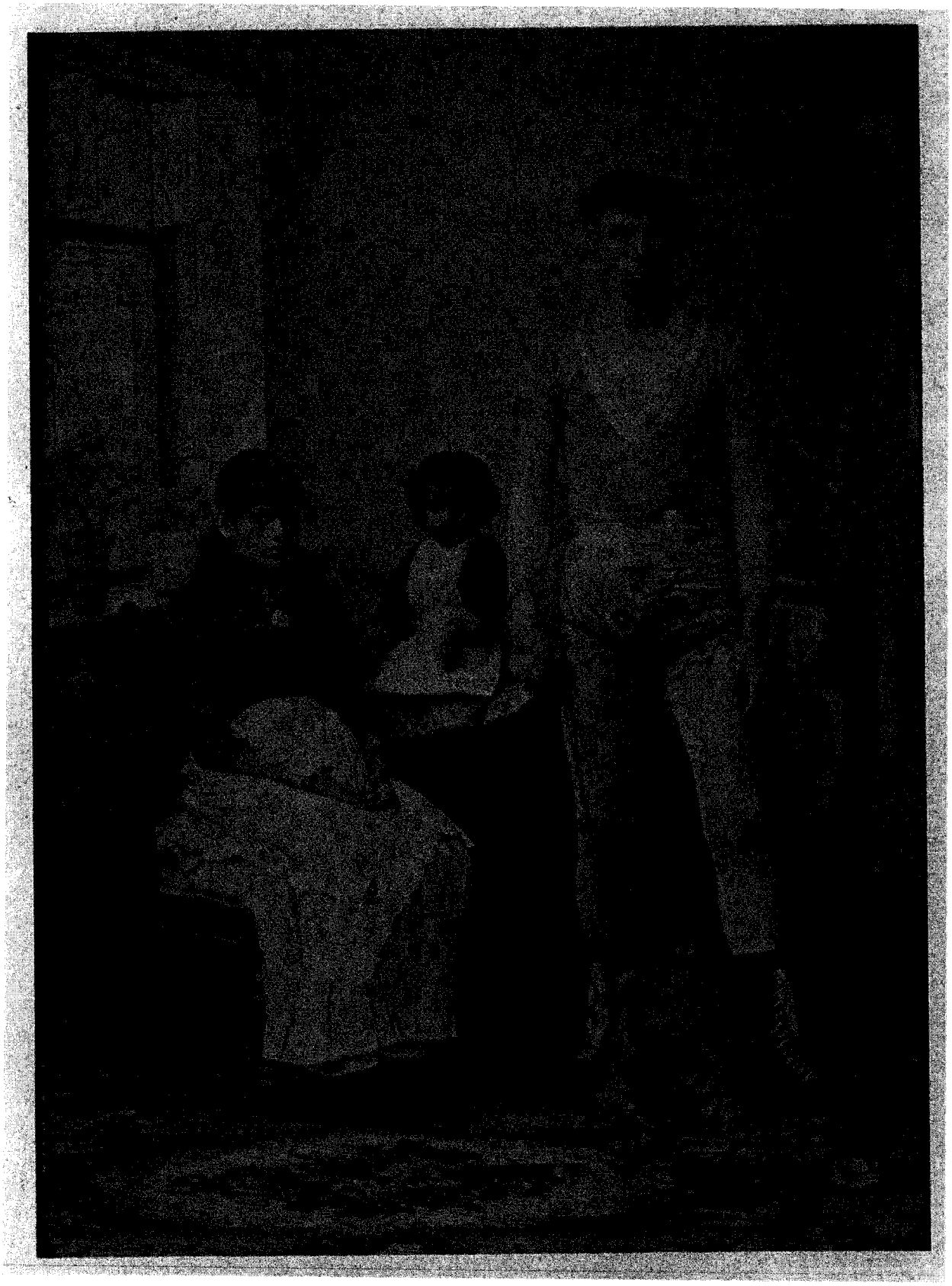

Photo 4.2.61. *Circus performers*
Worswick's

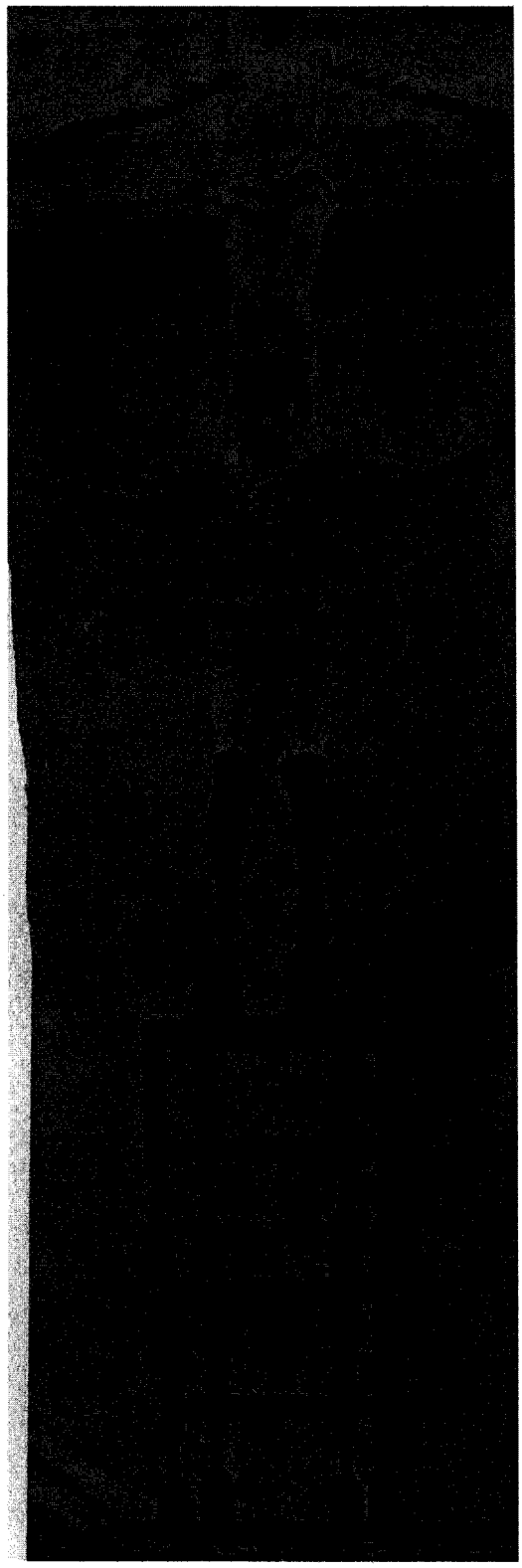

Photo 4.2.62. *Members of the Chateri Circus*
Worswick's

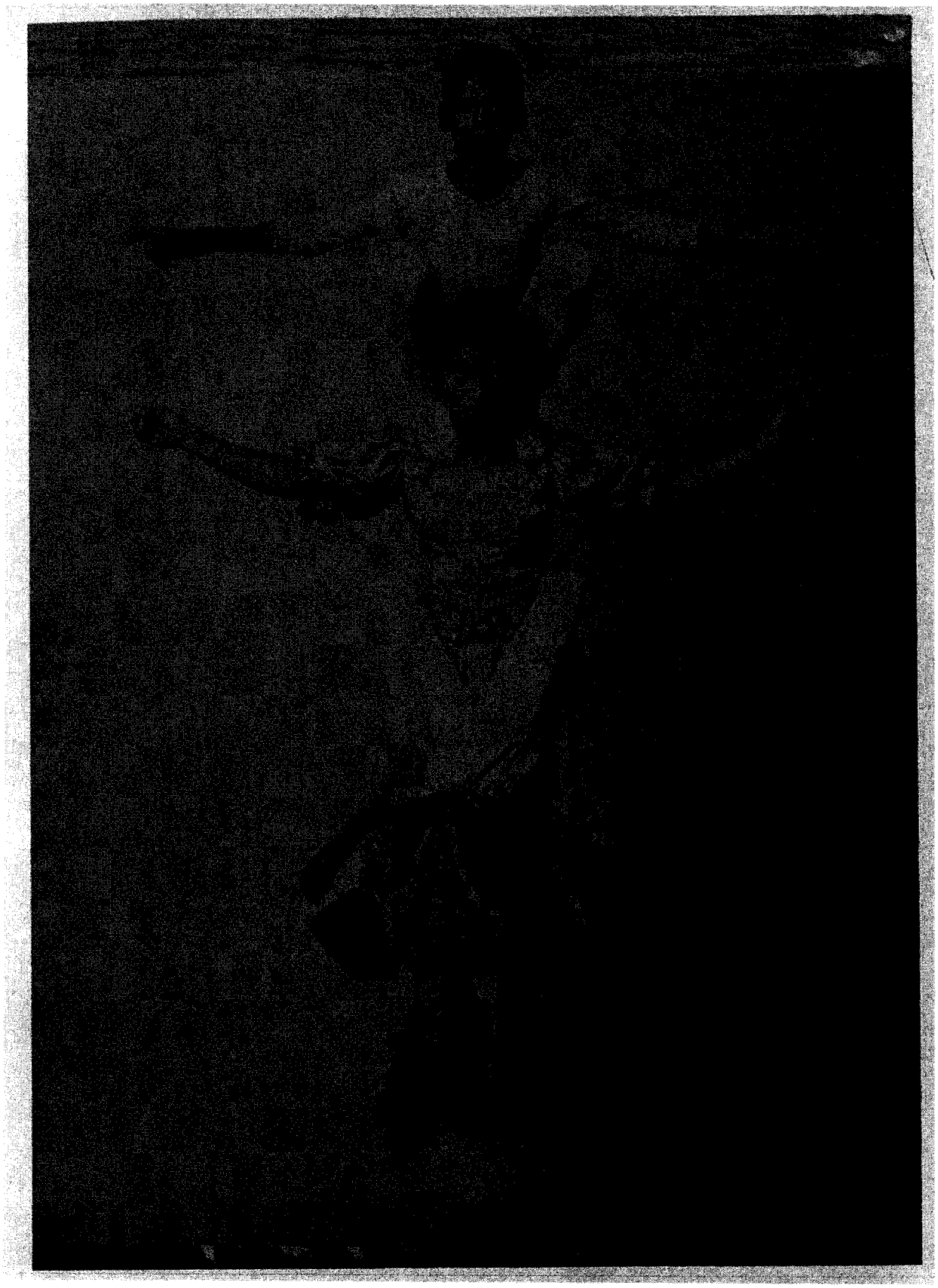

Photo 4.2.63. *Members of the Chateri Circus*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.64. *Tribal woman and child*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.65. *Fakir smoking 'ganja' (Indian hemp)*
Worswick's

Photo 4.2.66. *Man with daughter, one of H.H. the Nizam's relatives or courtiers*
Worswick's

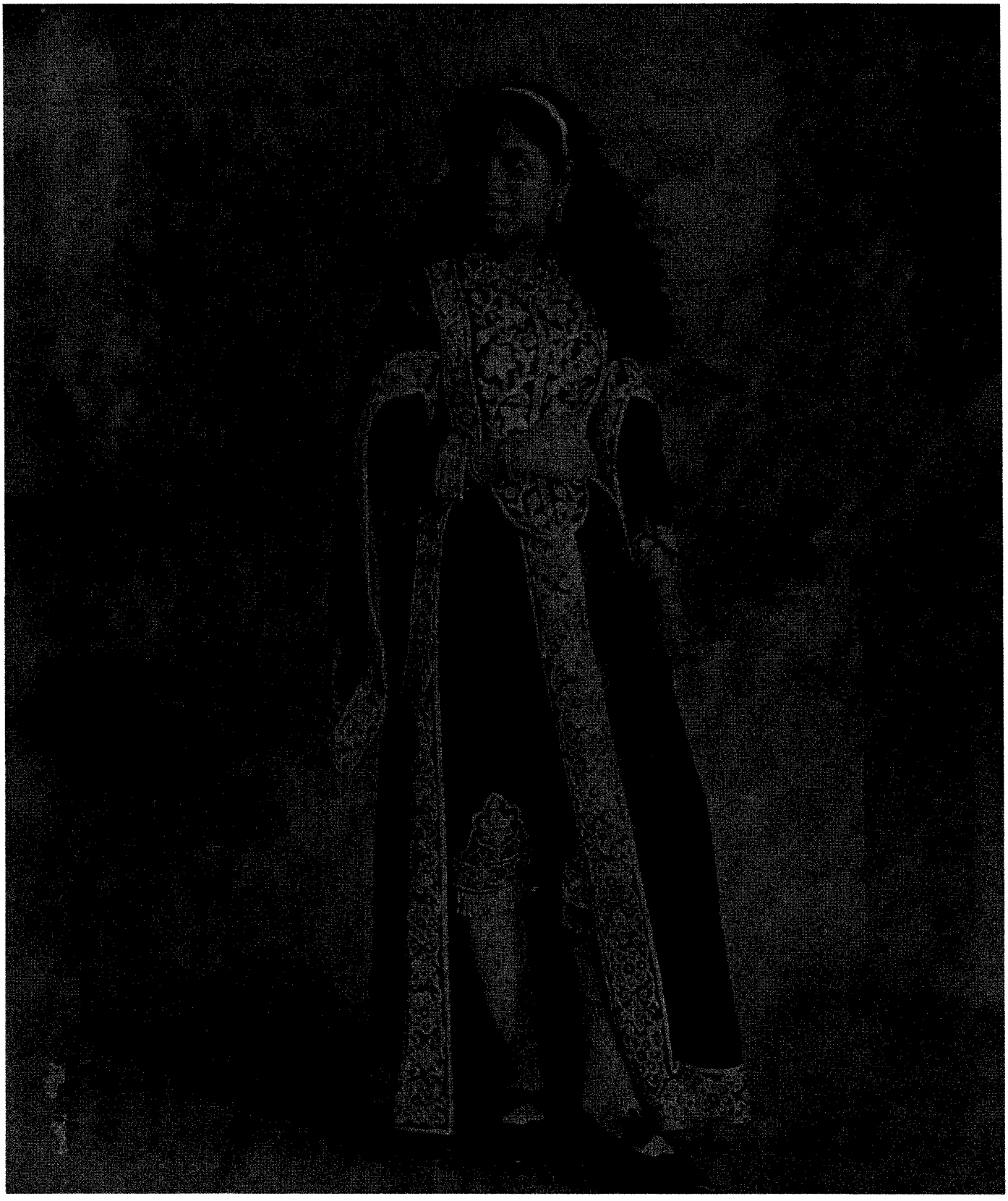

Photo 4.2.67. *Indian beauty, in Victorian-Mogul costume*
Worswick's

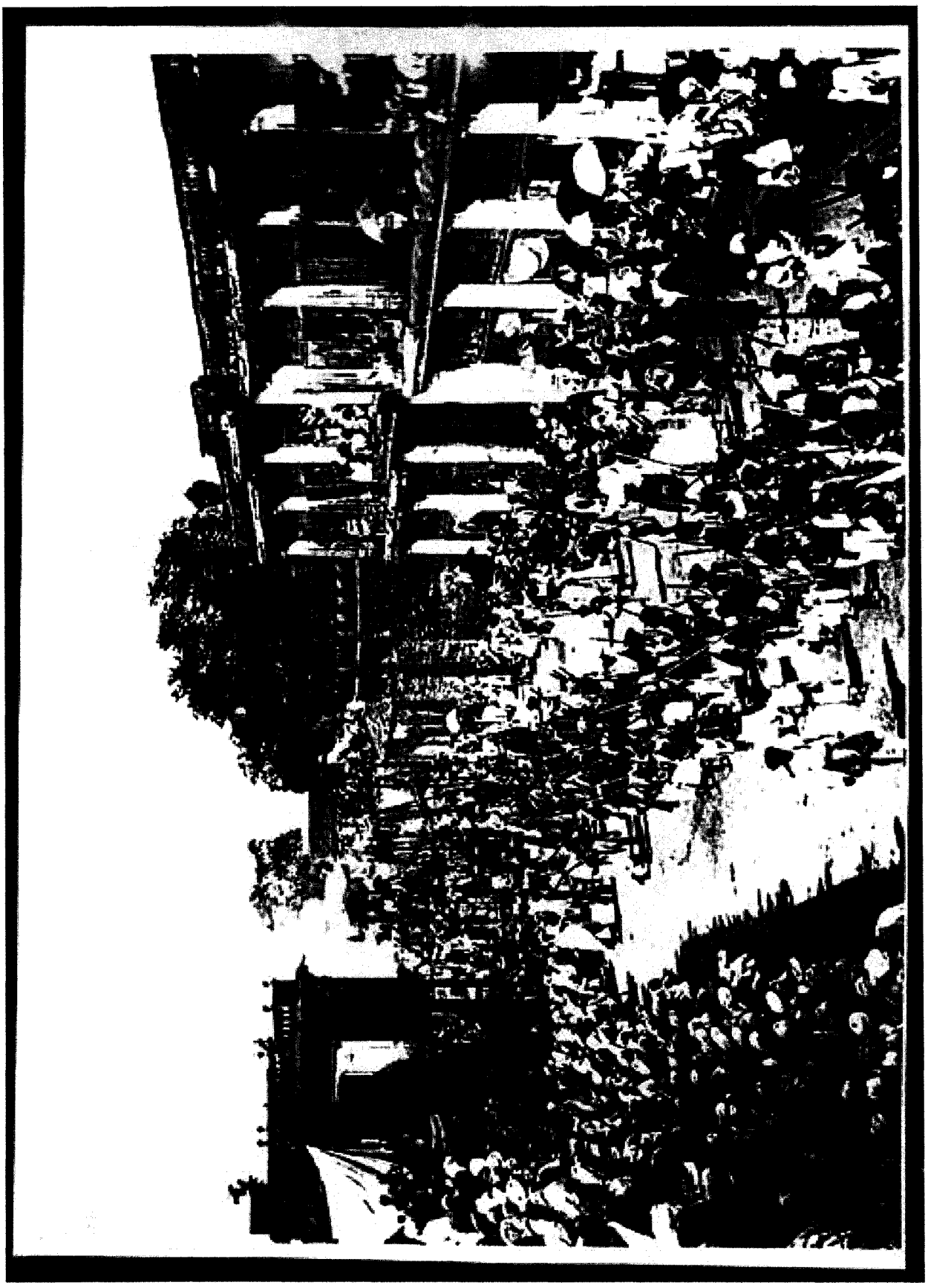

Photo 4.3.1. *Langar Procession, Hyderabad*
British Library

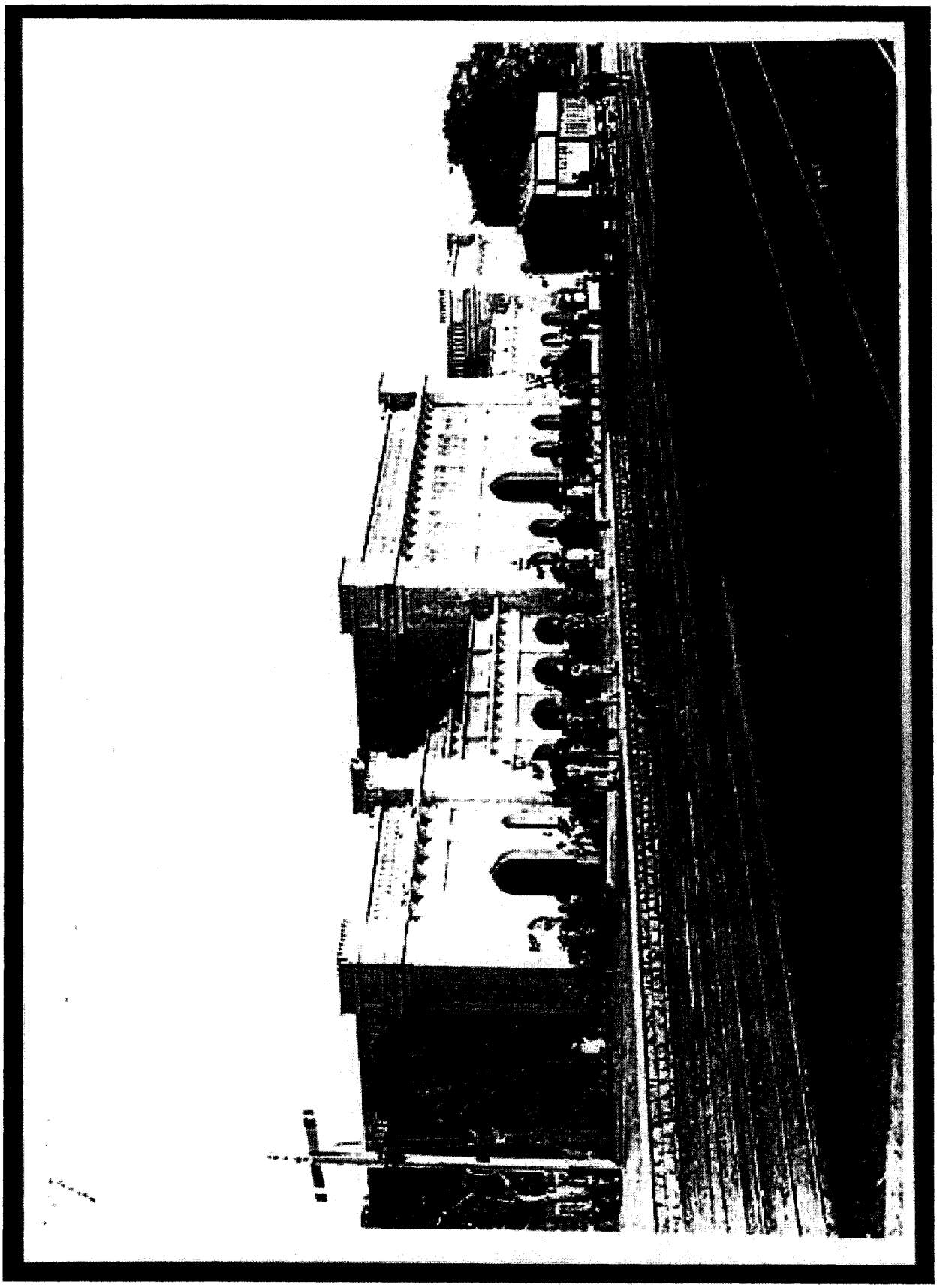

Photo 4.3.2. *Railway station, Hyderabad*
British Library

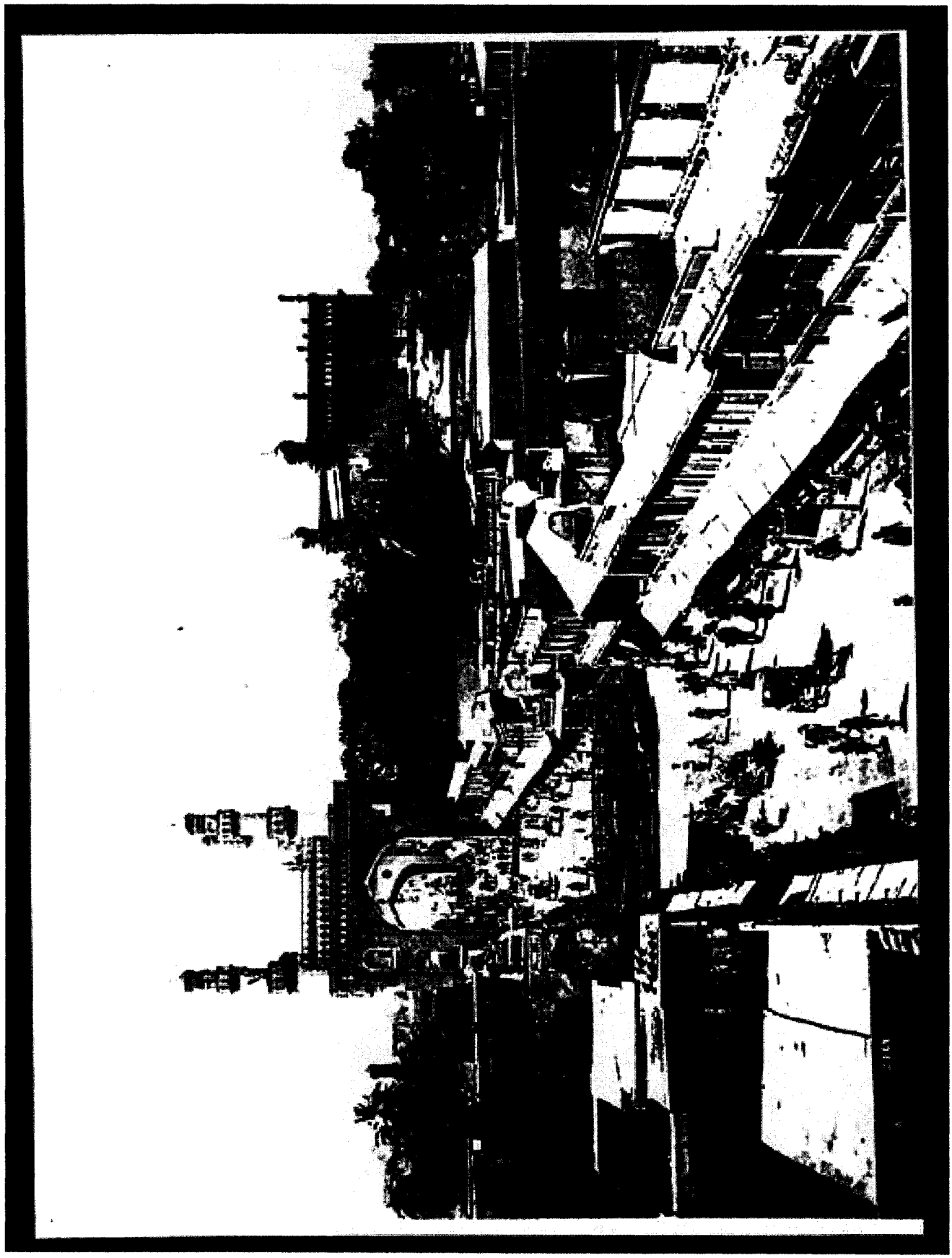

Photo 4.3.3. *Principal street, Hyderabad*
British Library

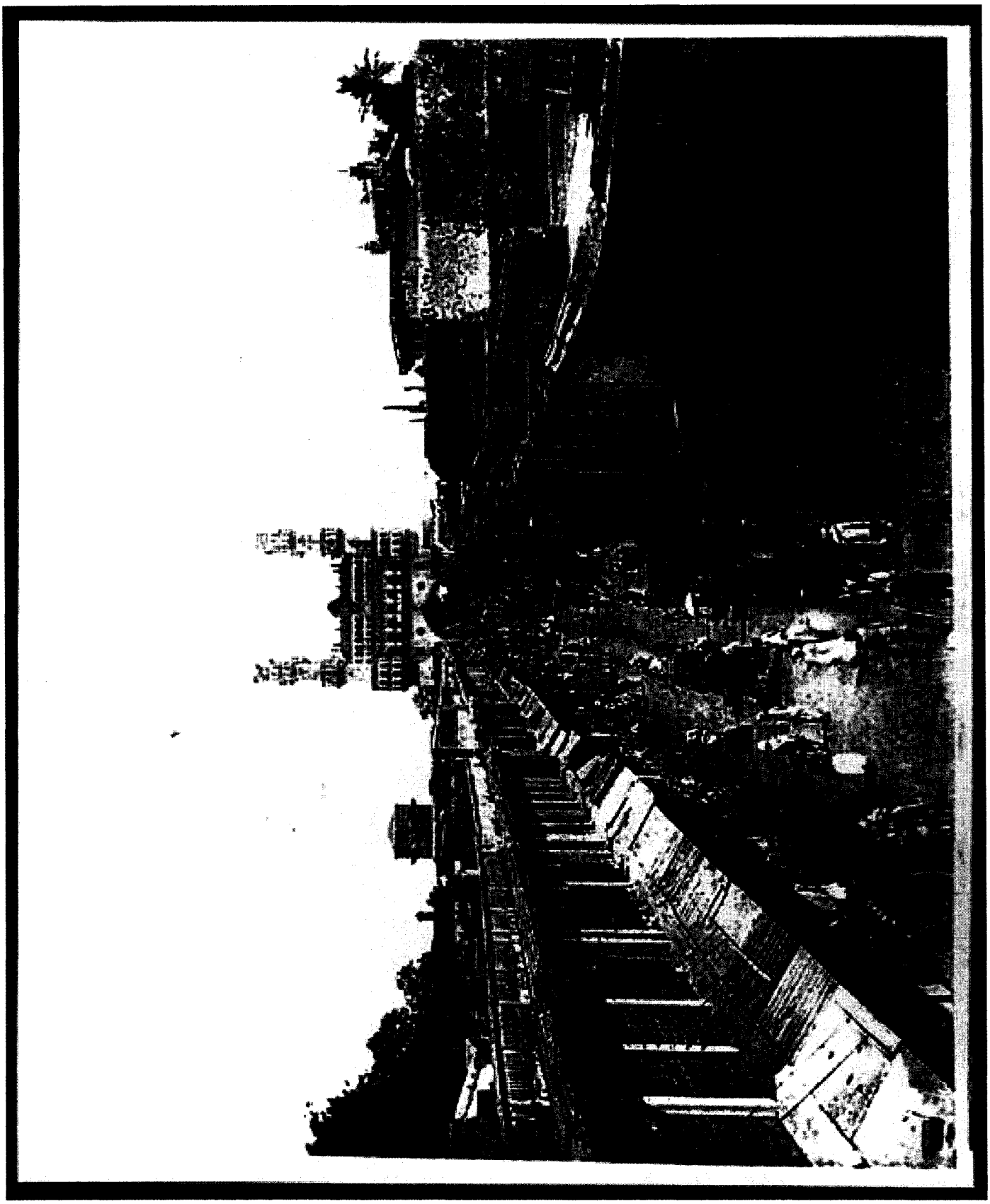

Photo 4.3.4. *Street view, Hyderabad*
British Library

Photo 4.3.5. *Camp of Sir Lepel Griffin, Agent to Governor General in Central India (1881-88)*
British Library

Photo 4.3.6. *Annual horse fair at Agar, W. Malwa*
British Library

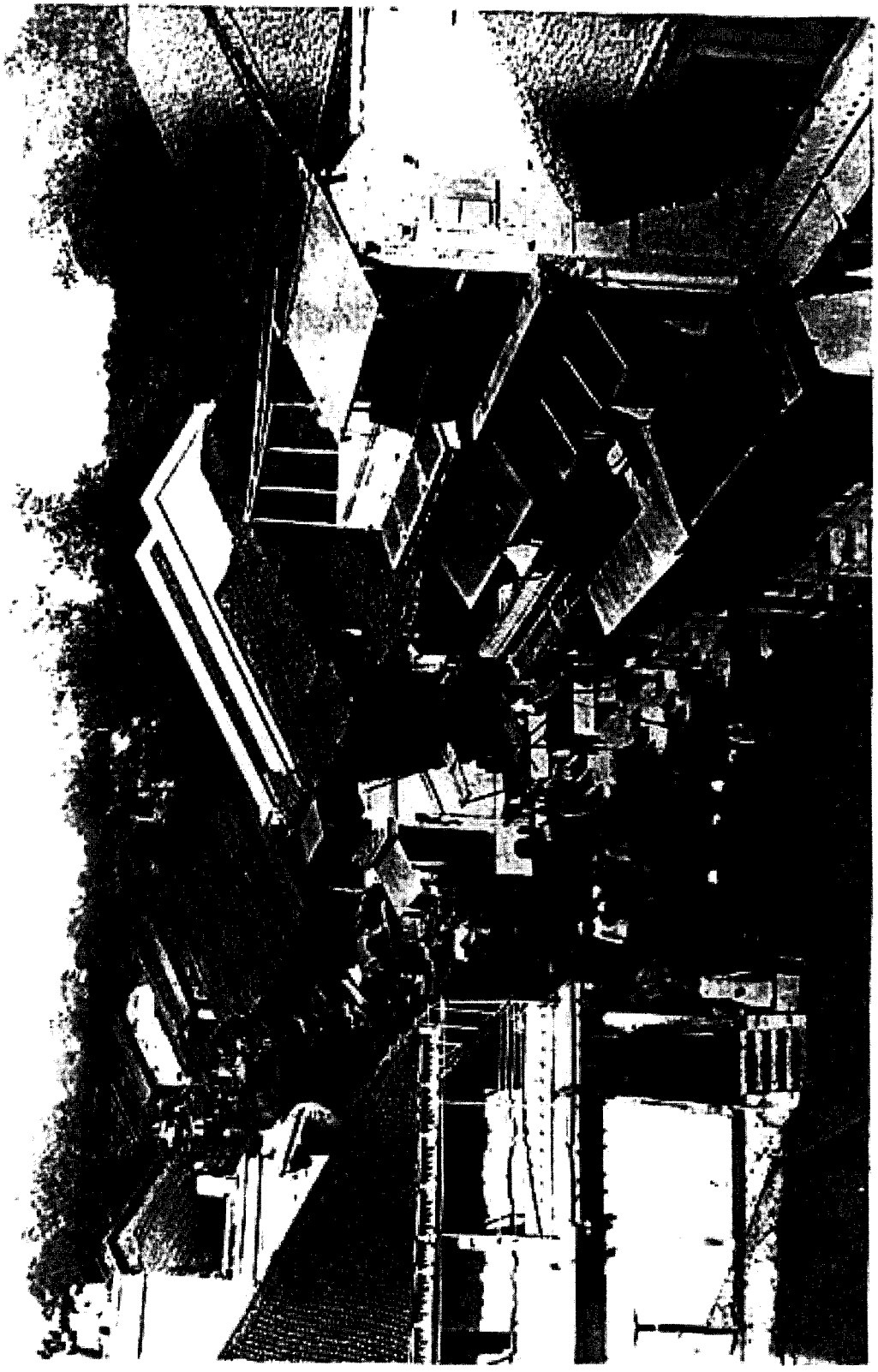

Photo 4.3.7. *Bazar, Dhar*
British Library

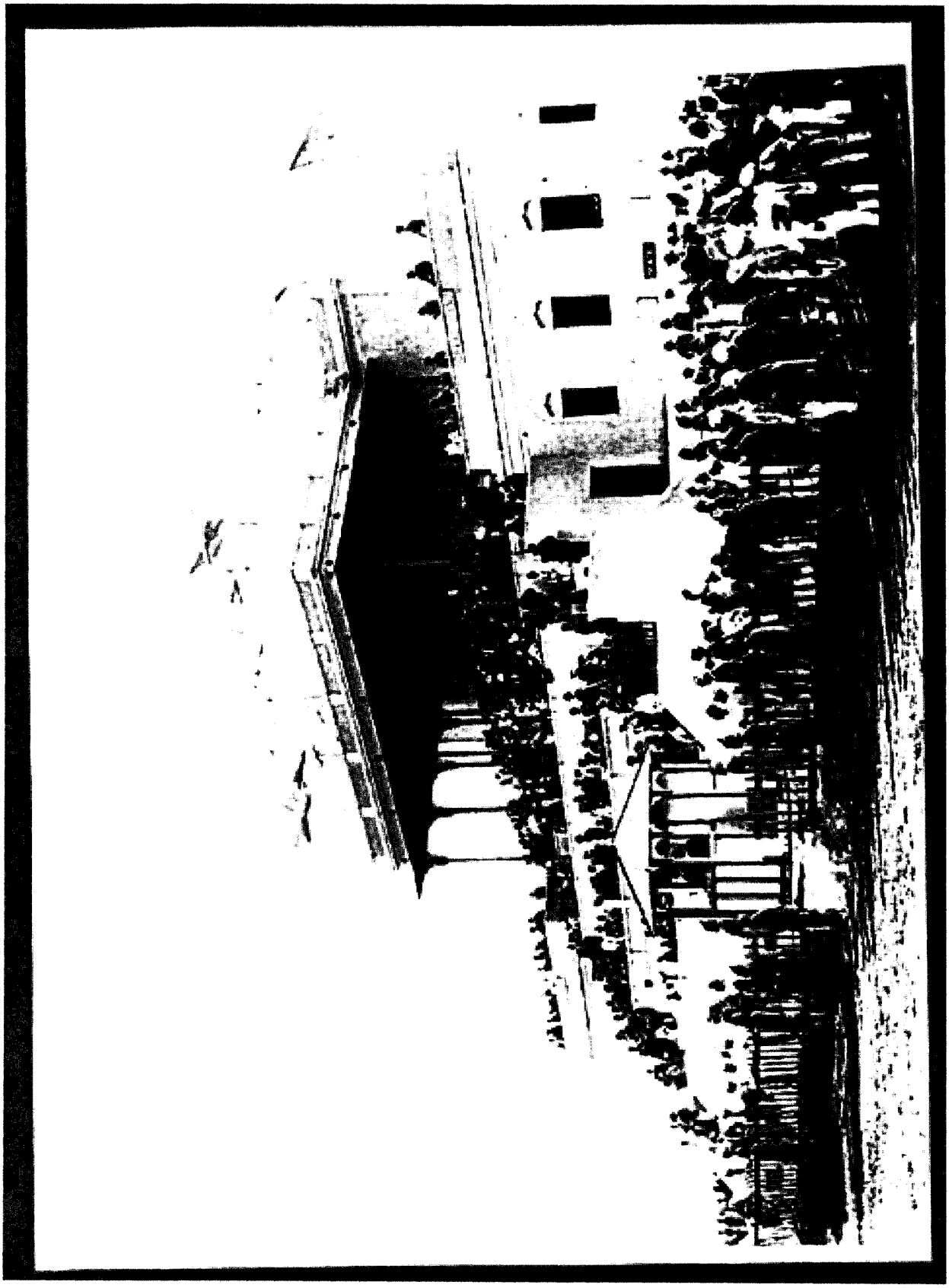

Photo 4.3.8. *Race stand, Malikpett, Hyderabad*
British Library

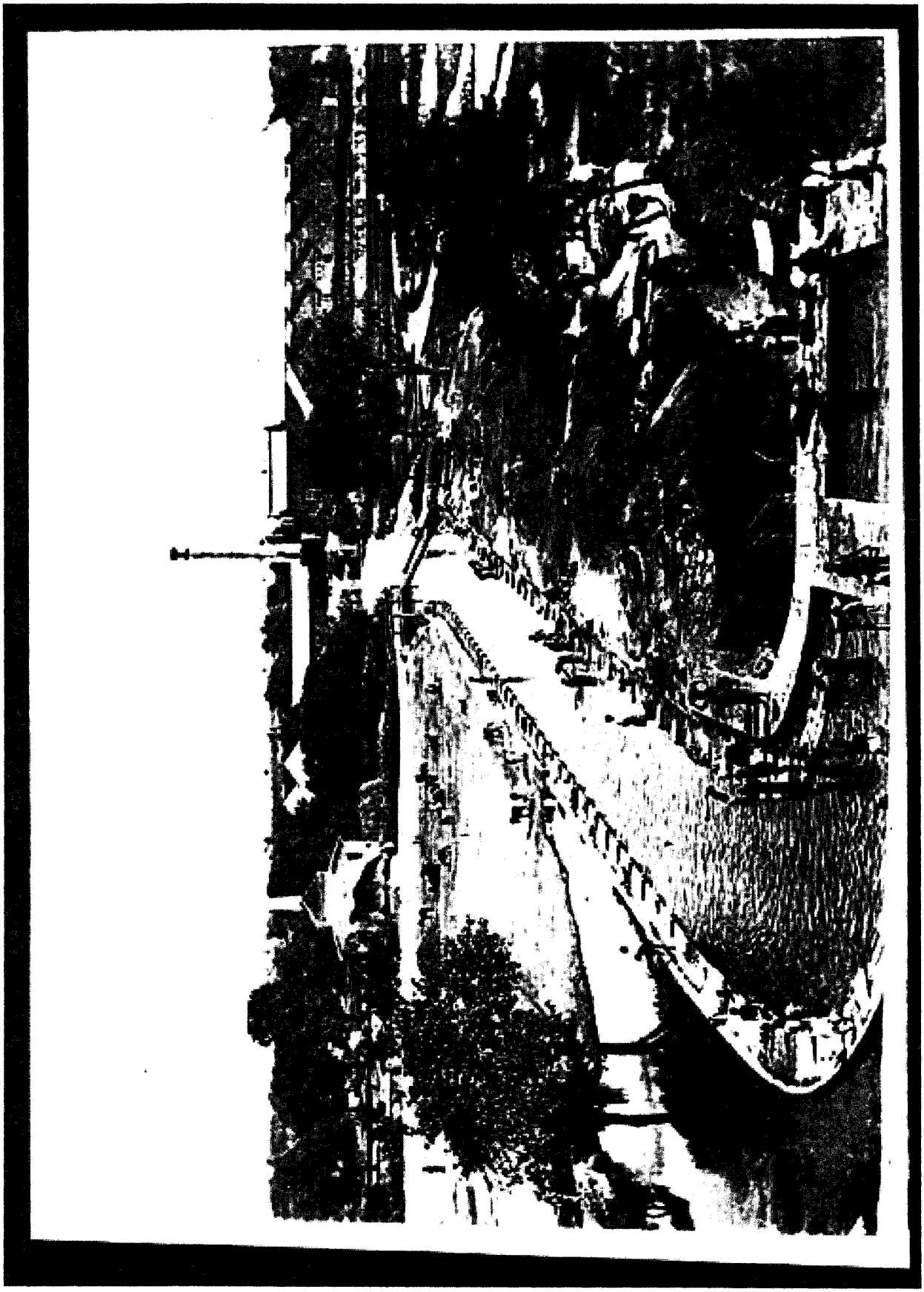

Photo 4.3.9. *The Mills, industry, Hyderabad*
British Library

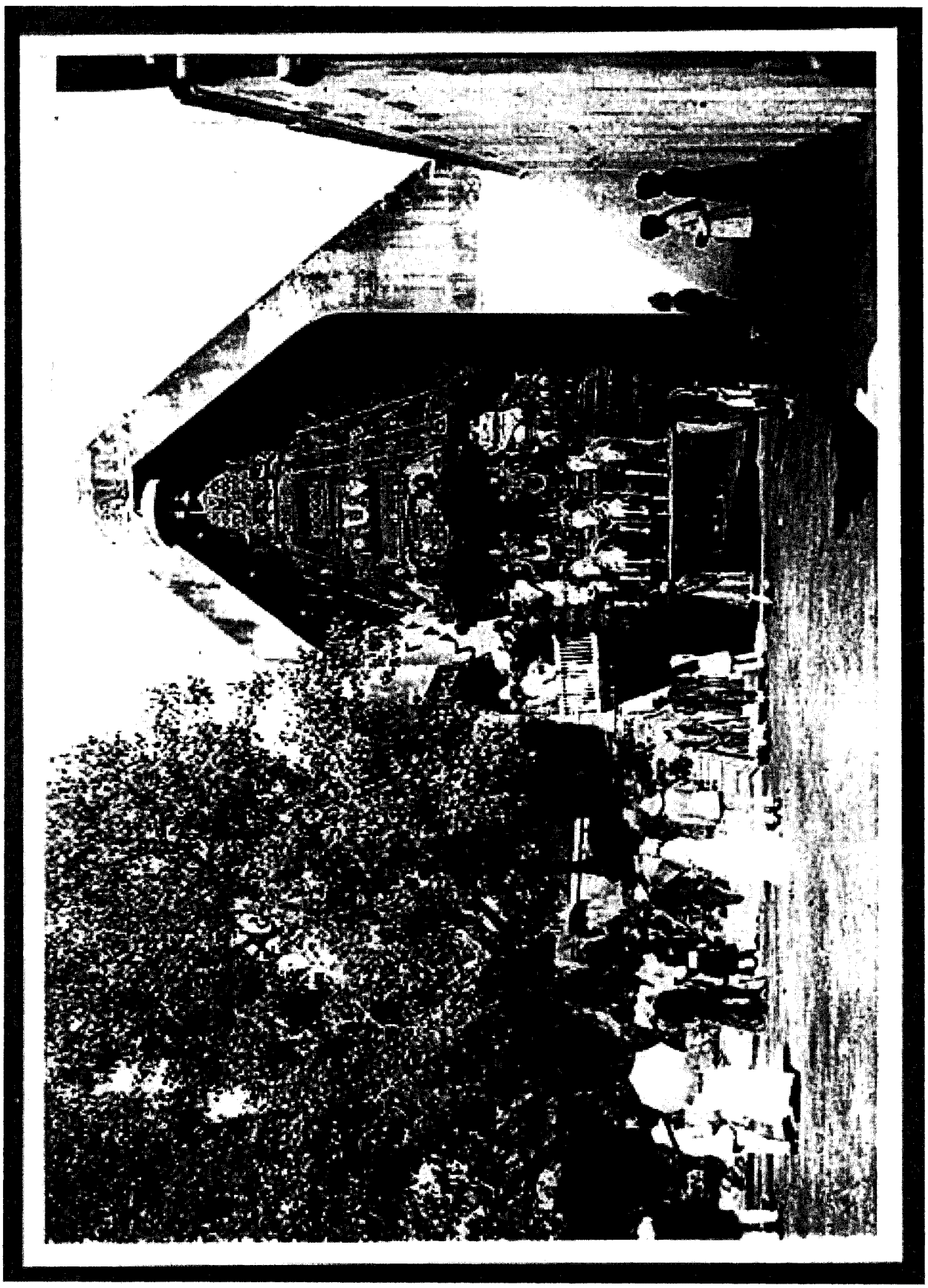

Photo 4.3.10. *Muttra: Jaganath Car*
British Library

Photo 4.3.11. *Elephants: Curzon party going up Sanchi Hill*
British Library

Photo 4.3.12. *Burning Ghat, Benares*
British Library

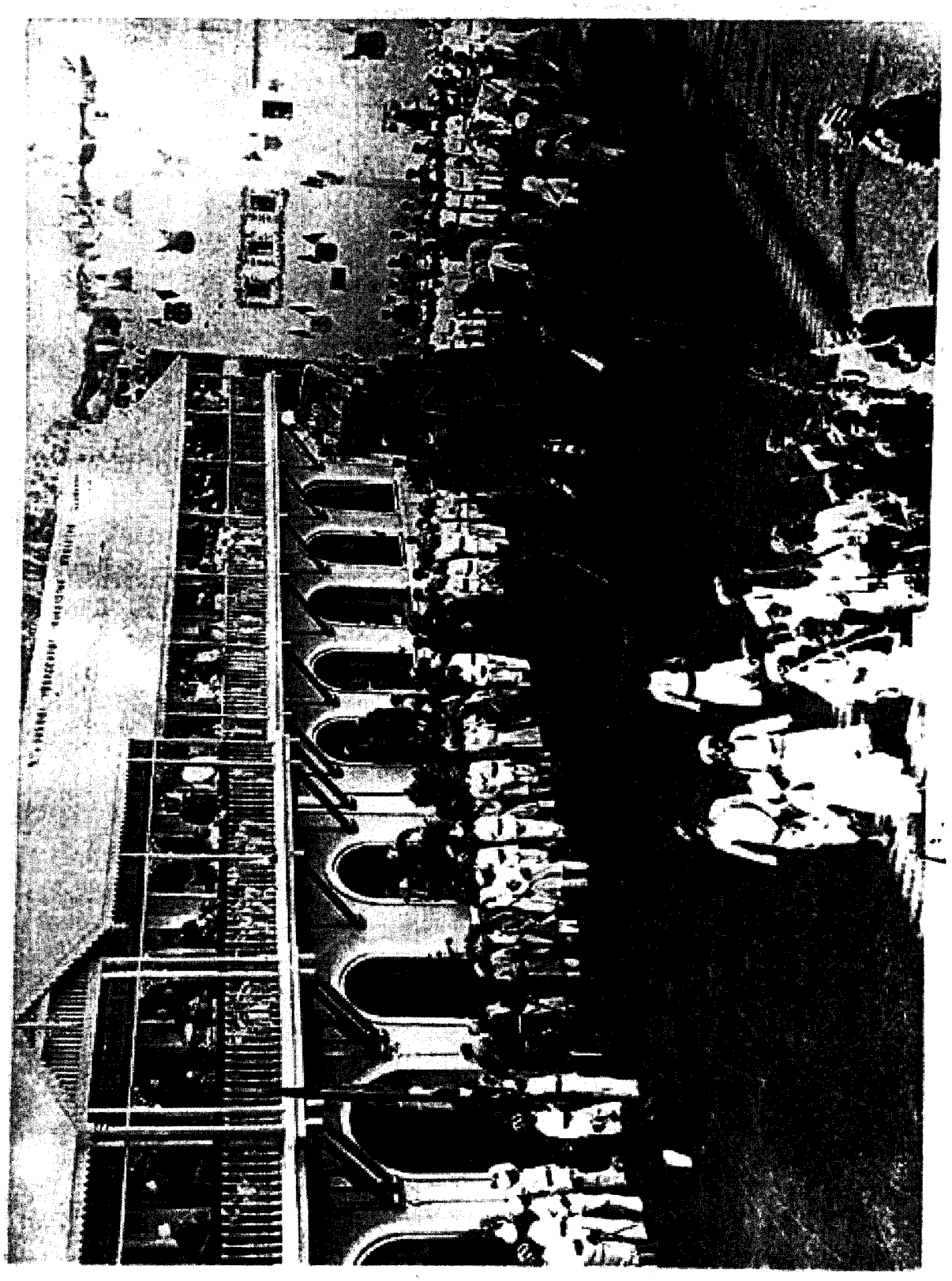

Photo 4.3.13. *Viceregal visit to Hyderabad: the Kotwal Saluting Mott bungalow*
British Library

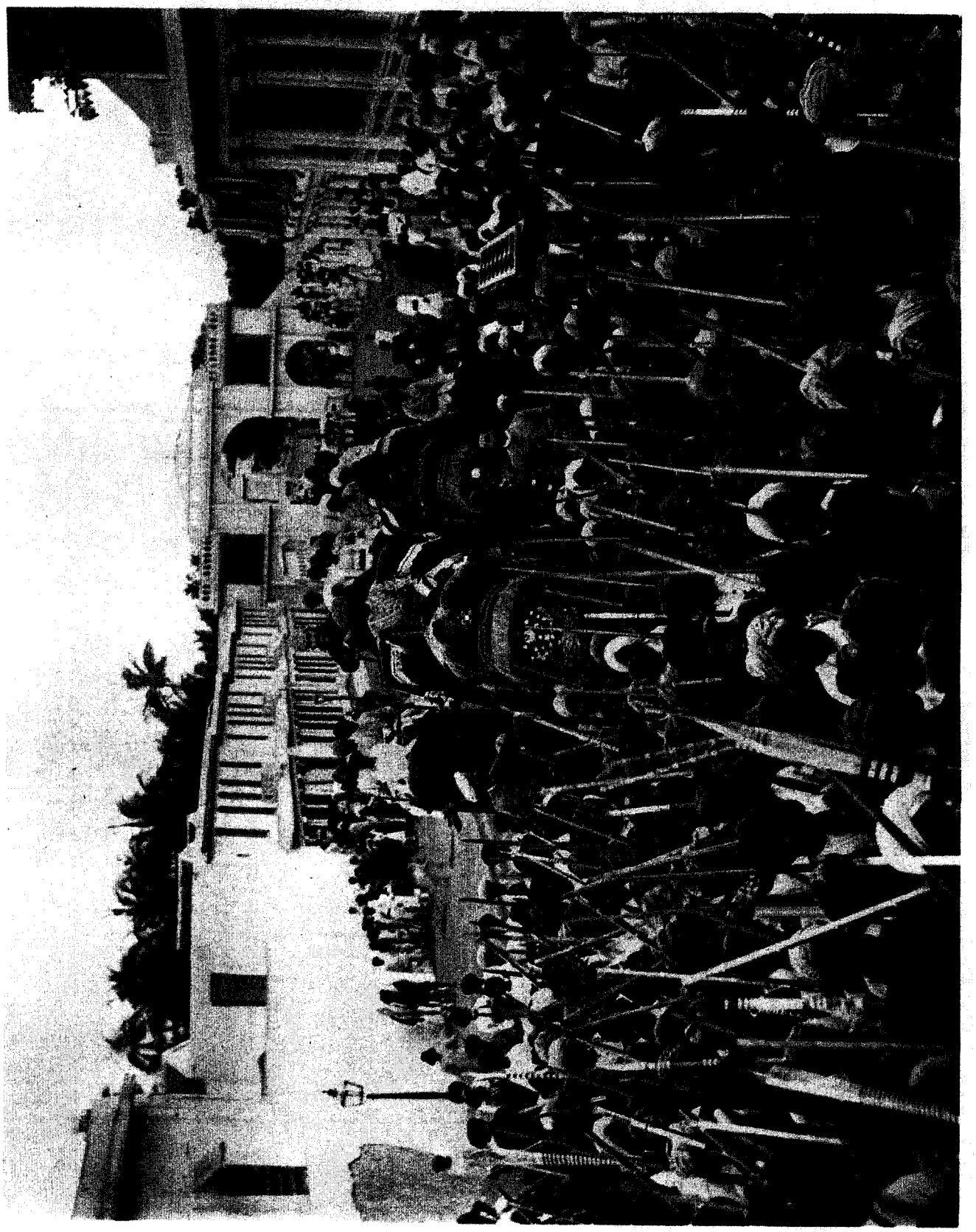

Photo 4.3.14. *Sir Mahbub Ali Khan, the sixth Nizam of Hyderabad, with a contingent of his Arab irregular soldiers*
Worswick's

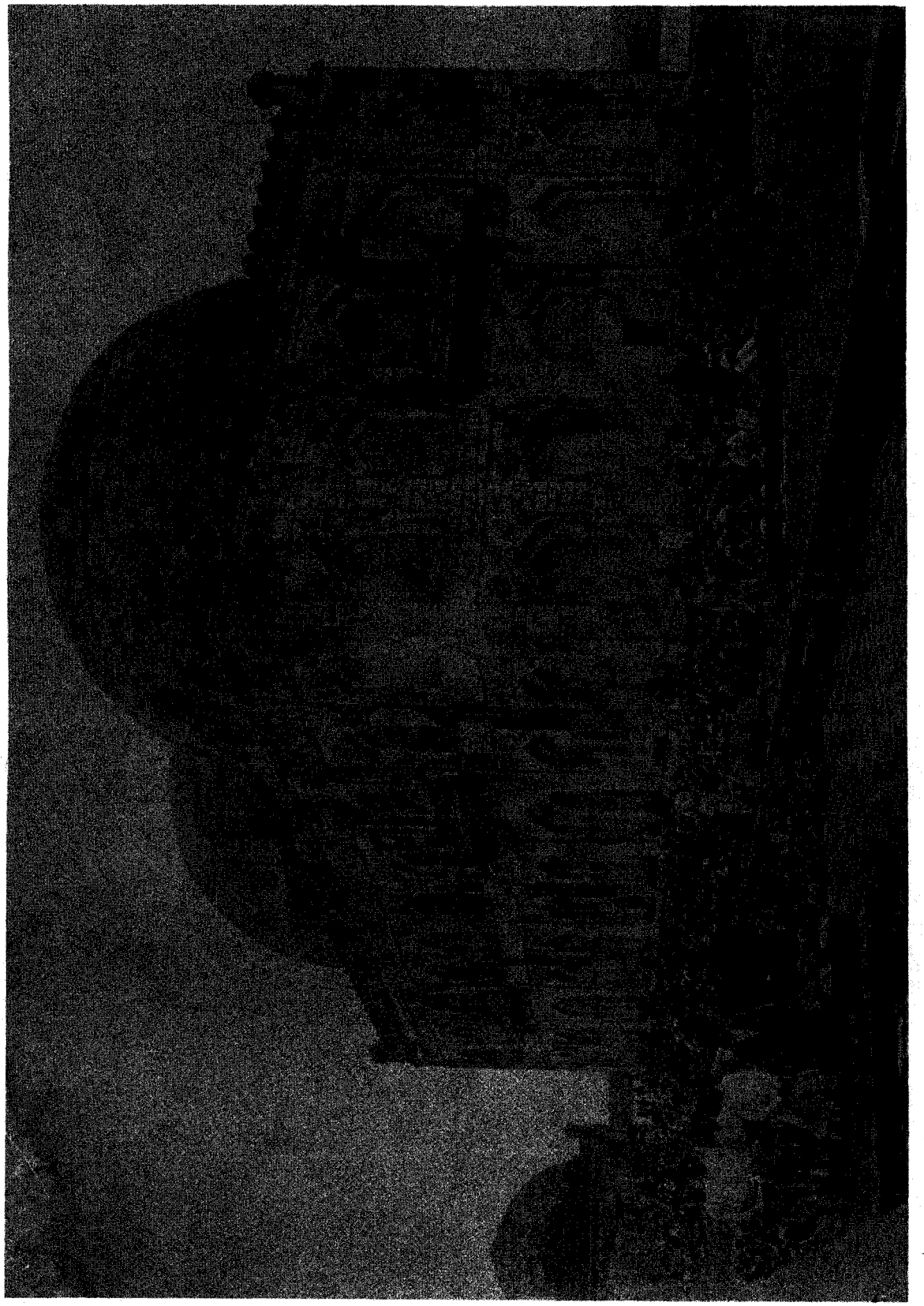

Photo 4.3.15. *Tomb, Bijapur*
Worswick's

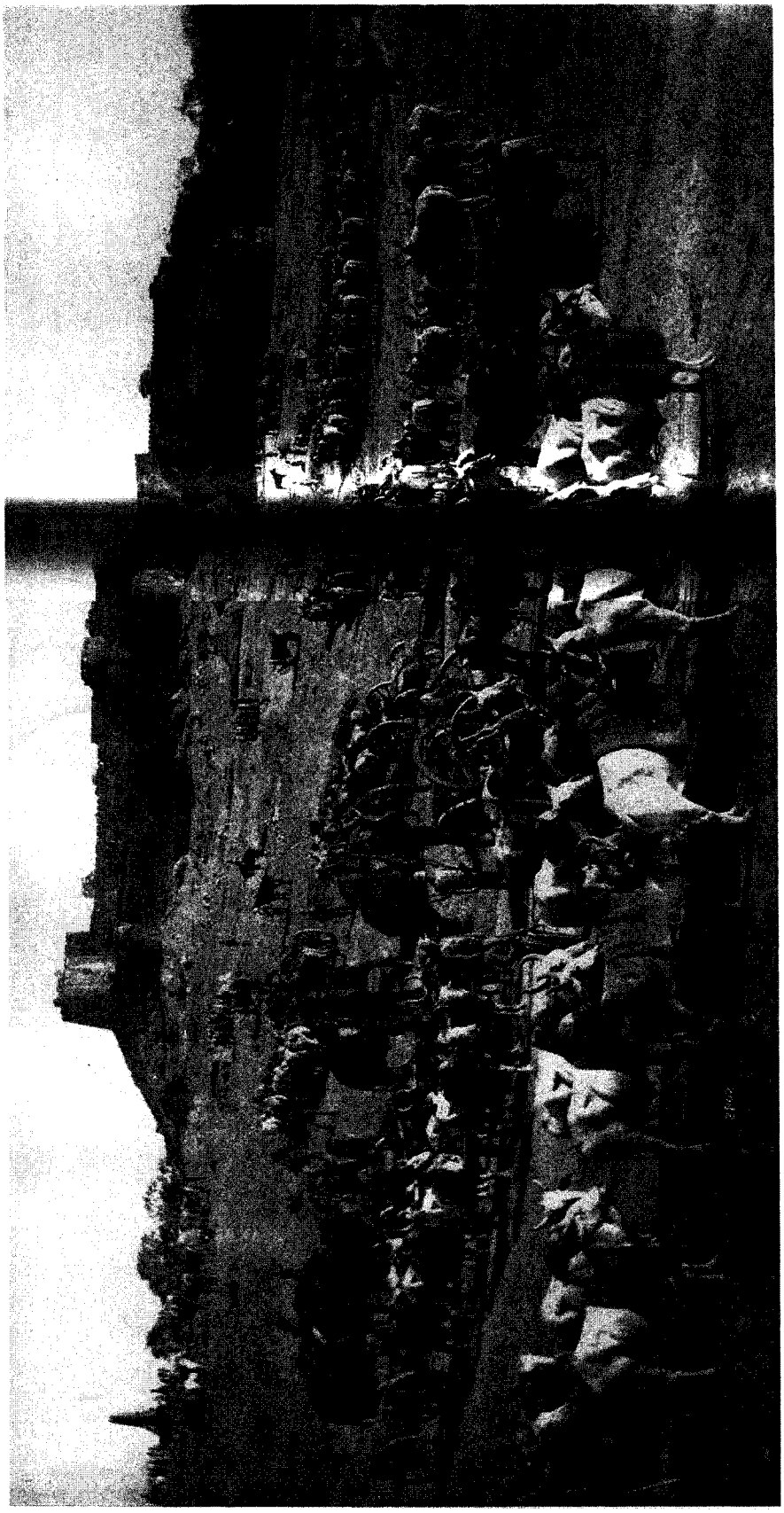

Photo 4.3.16. *British baggage train, Jhansi Fort*
Worswick's

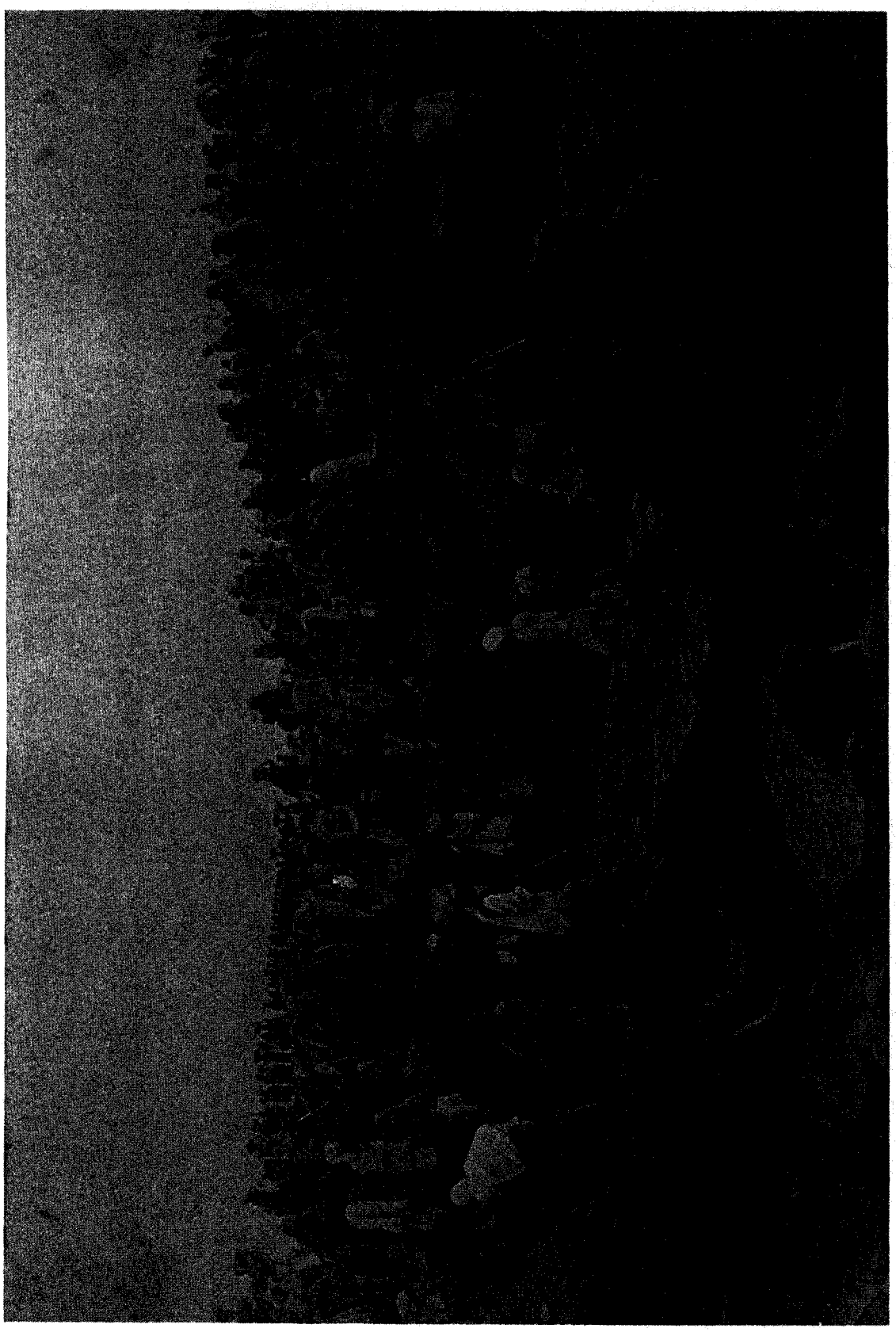

Photo 4.3.17. *Famine relief work, the Nizam's dominions*
(During a time of famine, local governments would undertake extensive public works projects in order to feed victims of drought.)
Worswick's

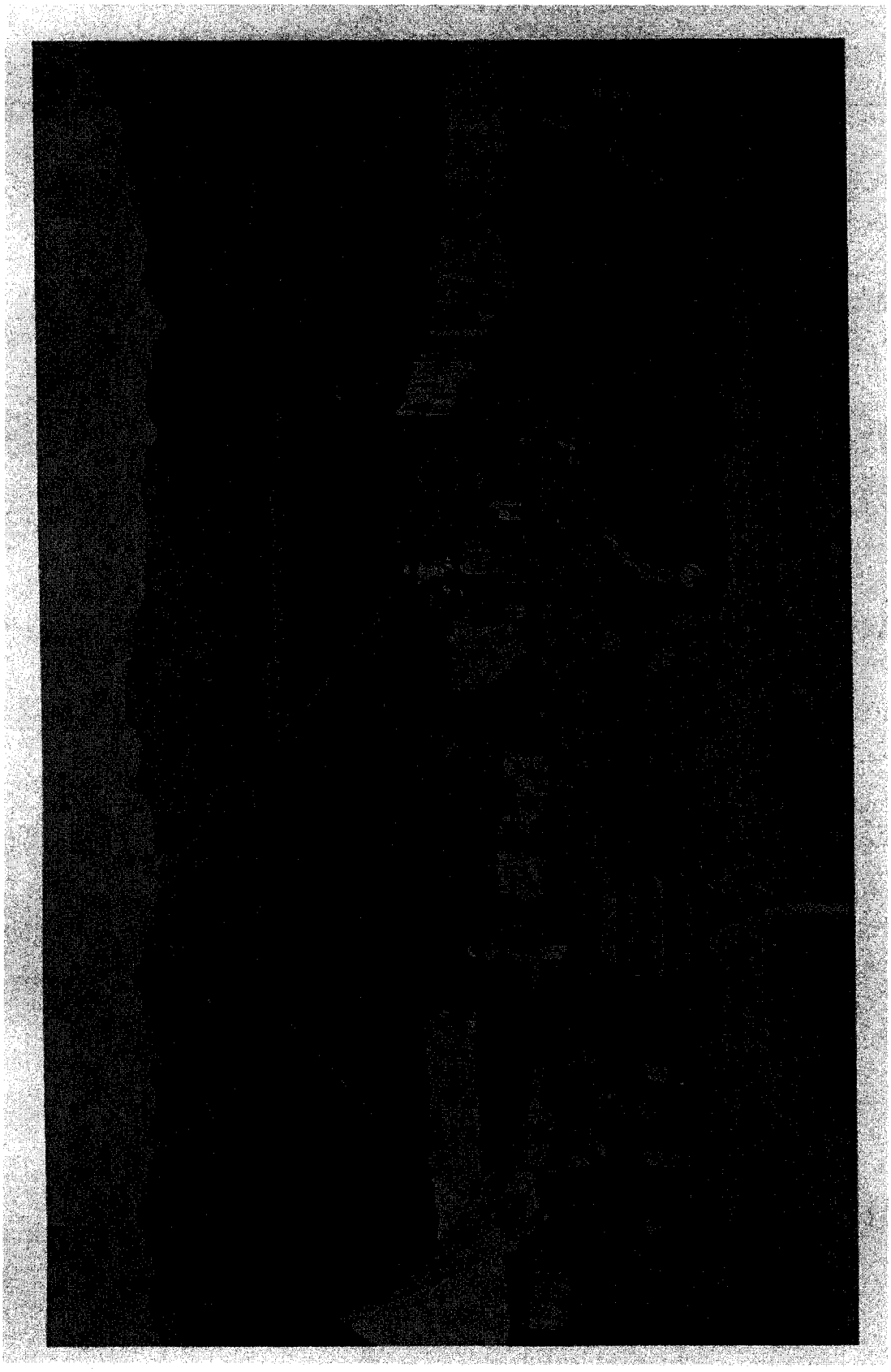

Photo 4.3.18. *Diamond fields*
(panel of a three-plate panorama), Partial
Worswick's

Photo 4.3.19. *"The Retreat," Panipat Maneuvers*
Worswick's

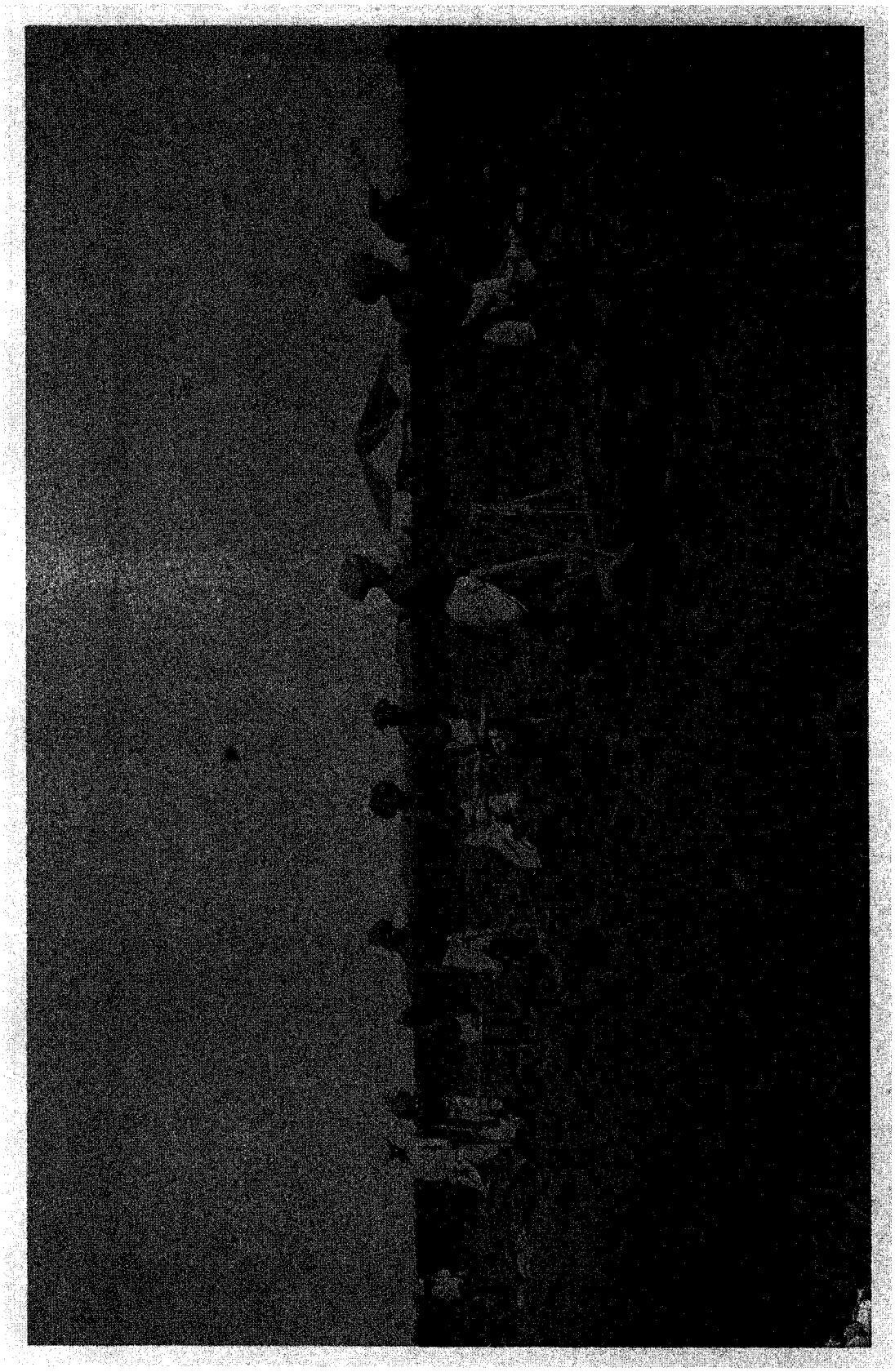

Photo 4.3.20. *Famine relief work, the Nizam's dominions*
Worswick's

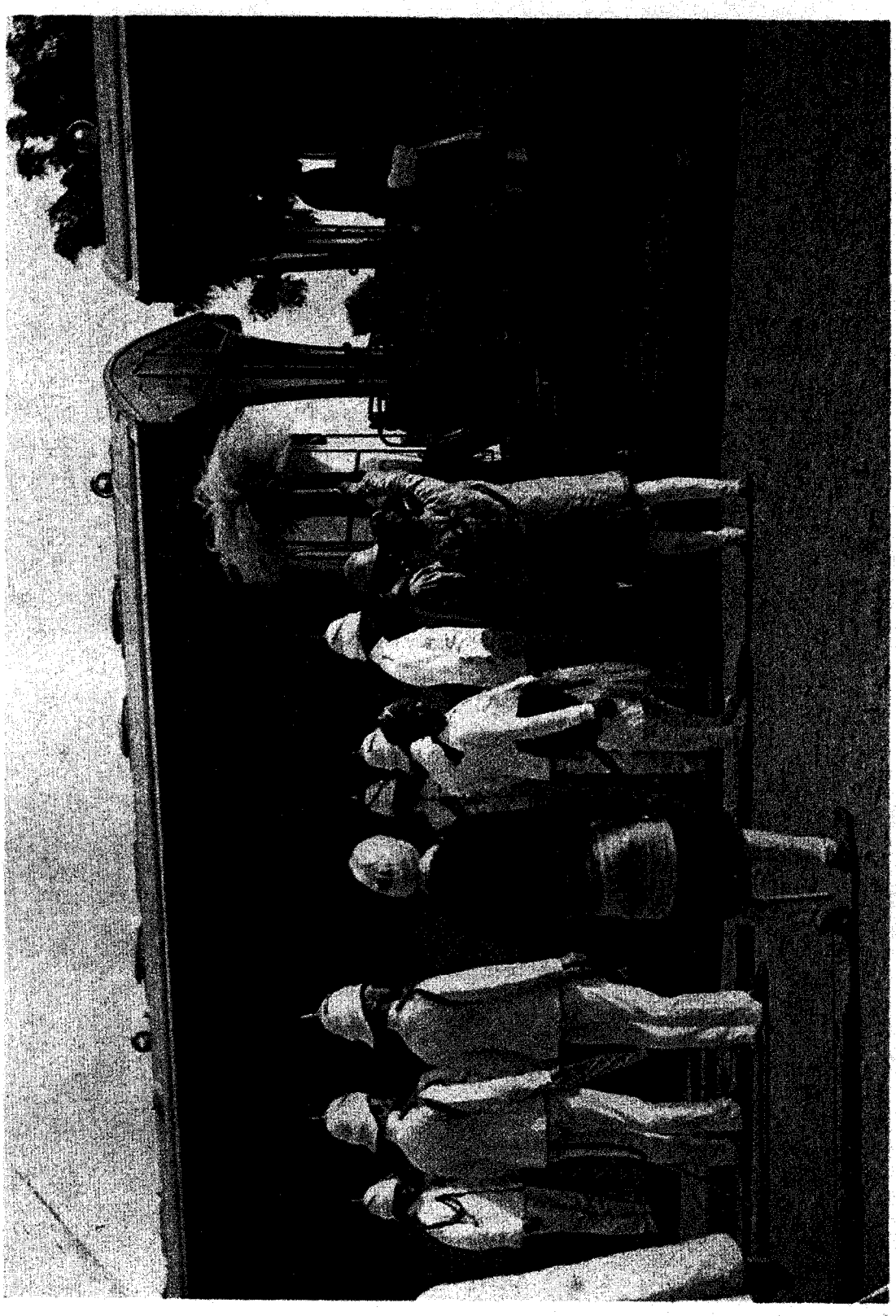

Photo 4.3.21. *British official boarding train*
Worswick's

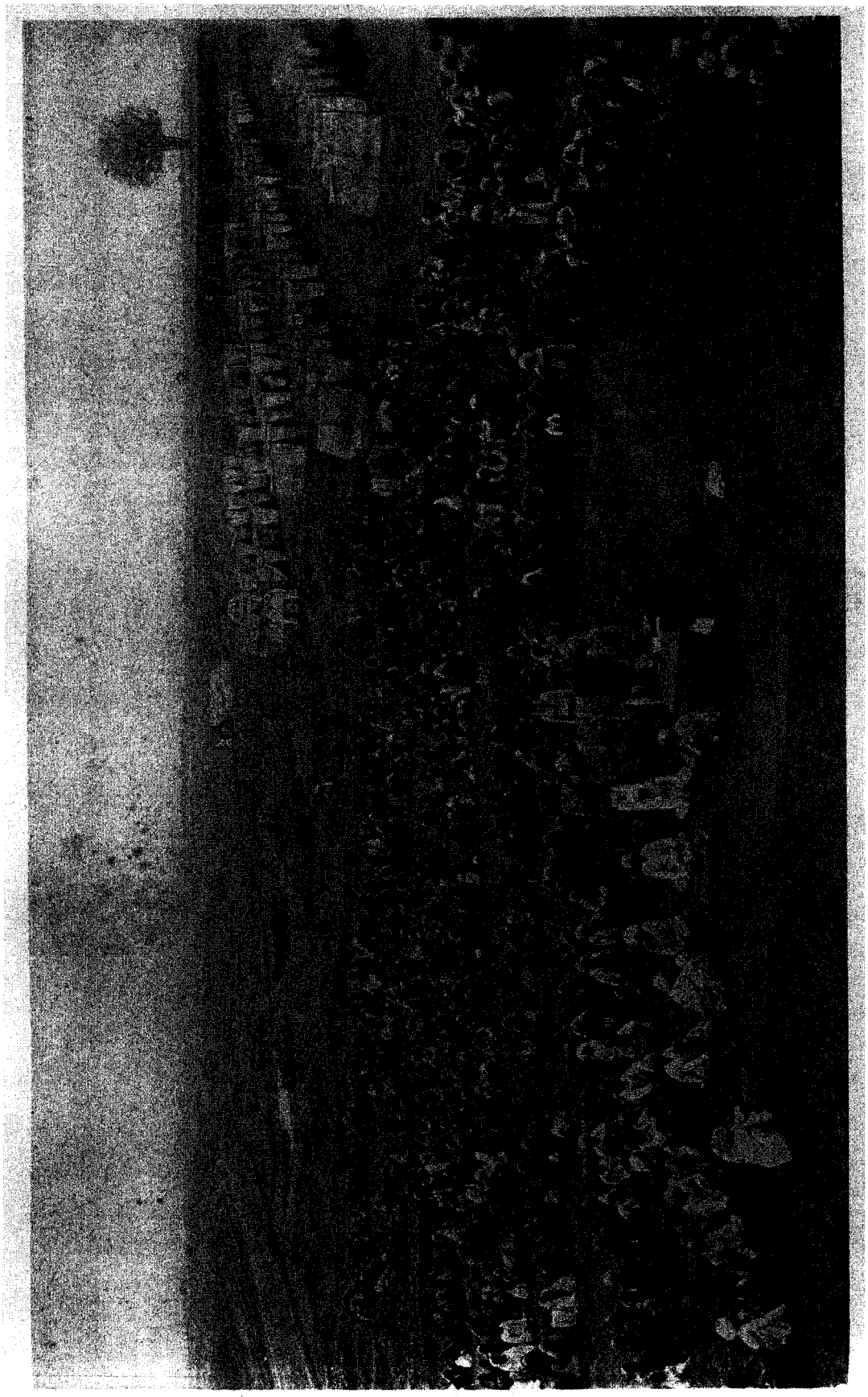

Photo 4.3.22. *Famine relief camp, the Nizam's dominions*
(The government of the Nizam set up model camps for the care and feeding of famine victims within his domain.)
Worswick's

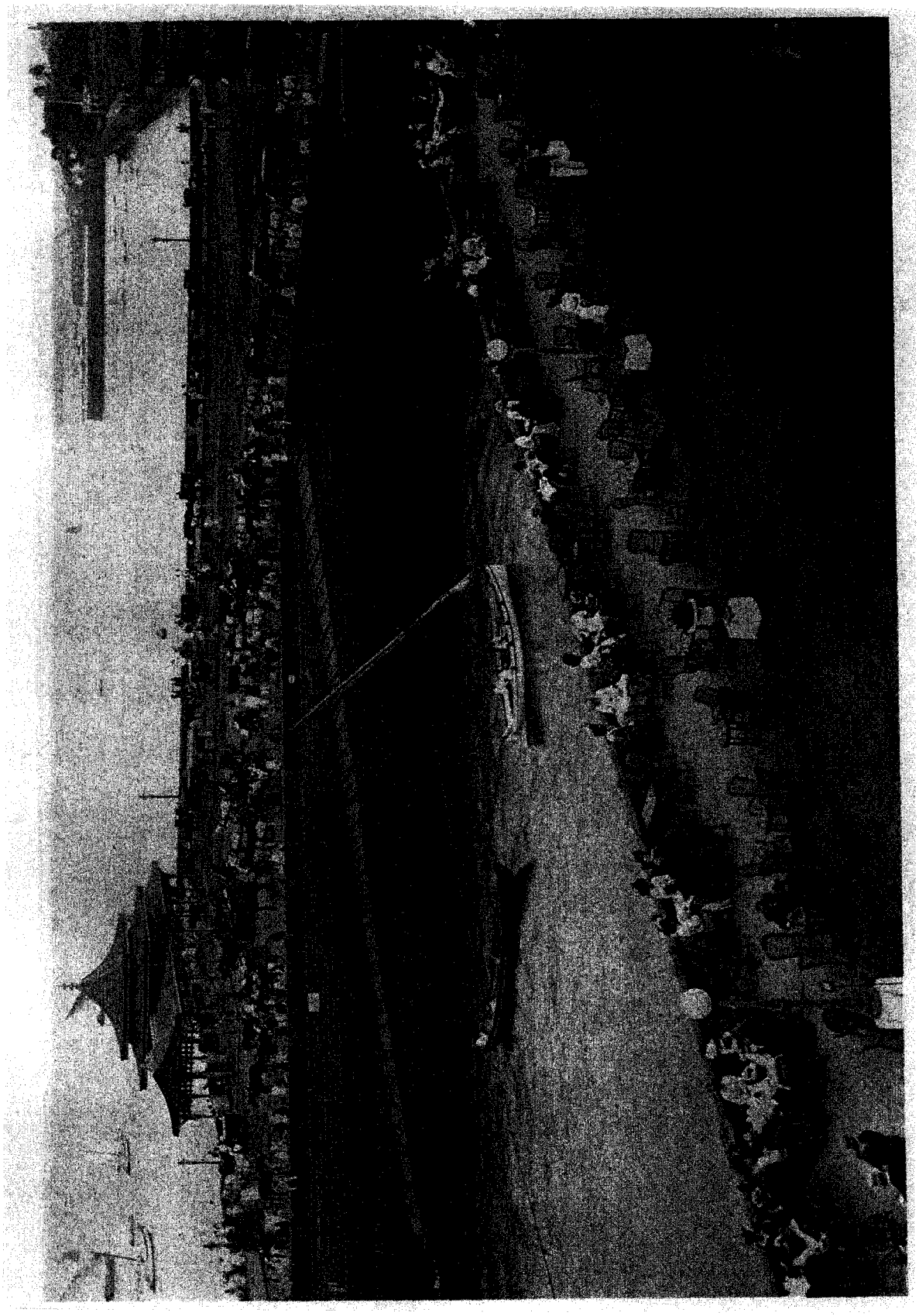

Photo 4.3.23. *The Gateway of India, view from the yacht club, Bombay*
Worswick's

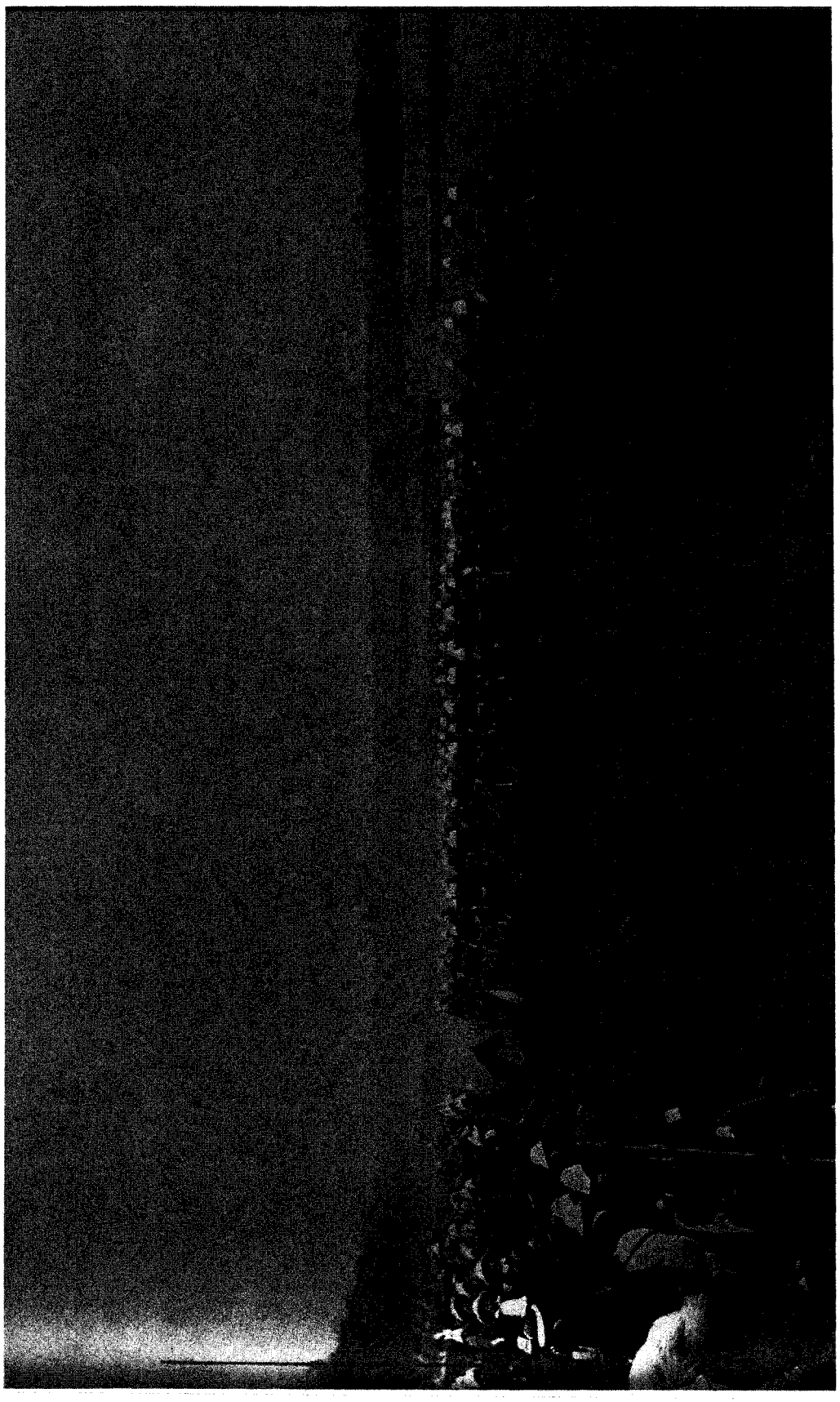

Photo 4.3.24. *New Year's Parade Past, 49th Battery, Royal Artillery*
Worswick's

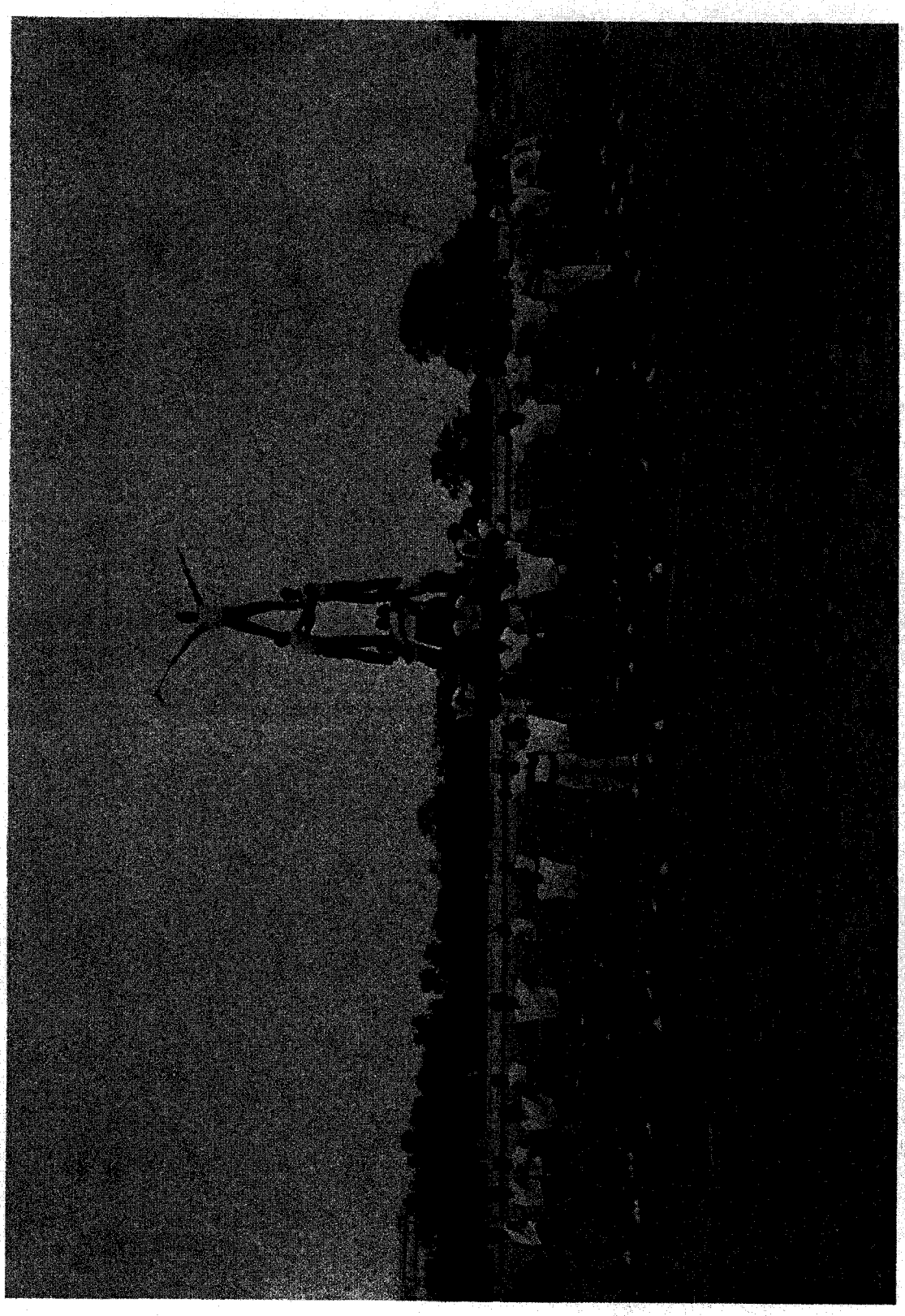

Photo 4.3.25. *Military gymnastic exercises, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

Photo 4.3.26. *Military gymnastic exercises, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

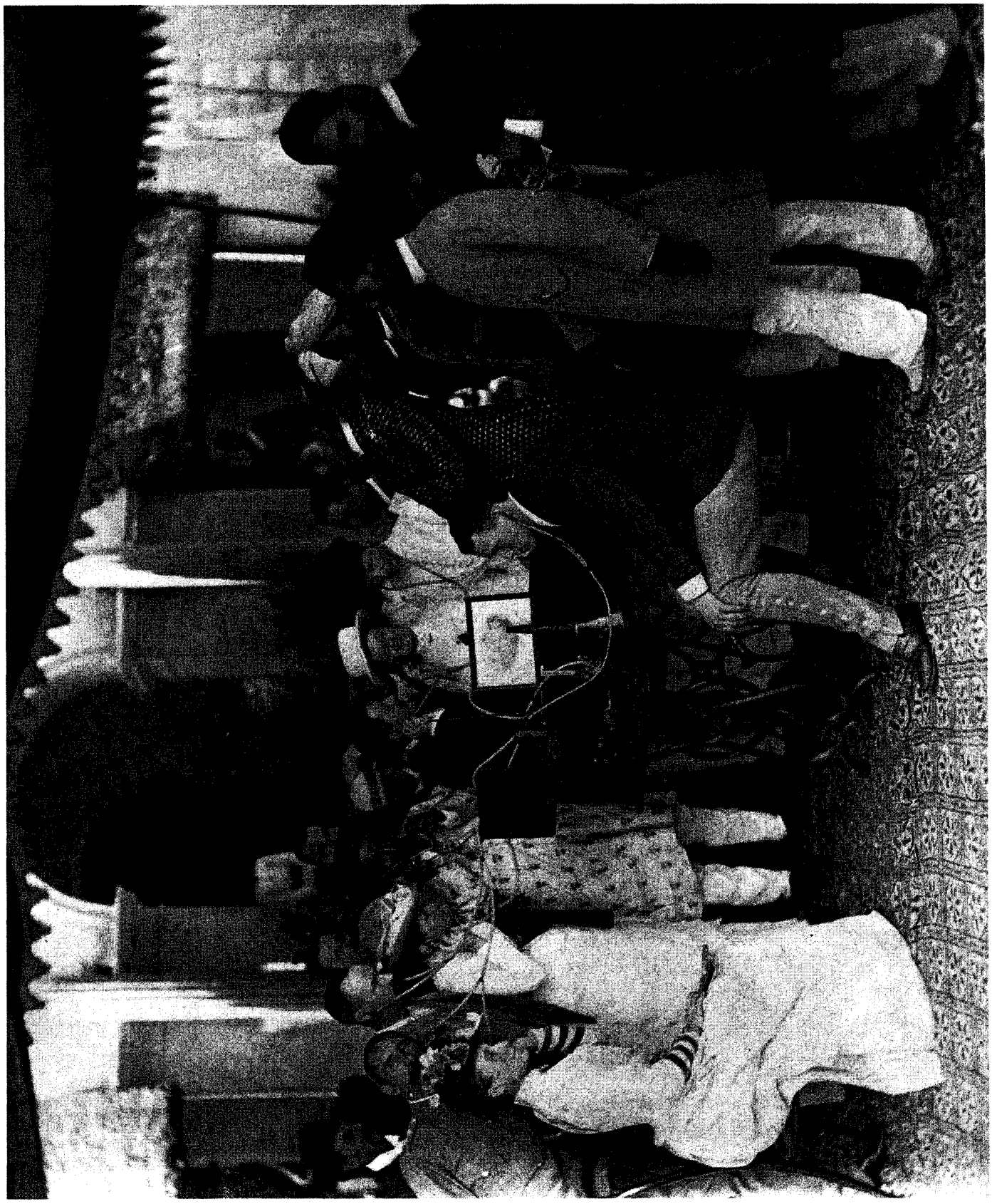

Photo 4.3.27. *Demonstration of the new American treadle phonograph, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

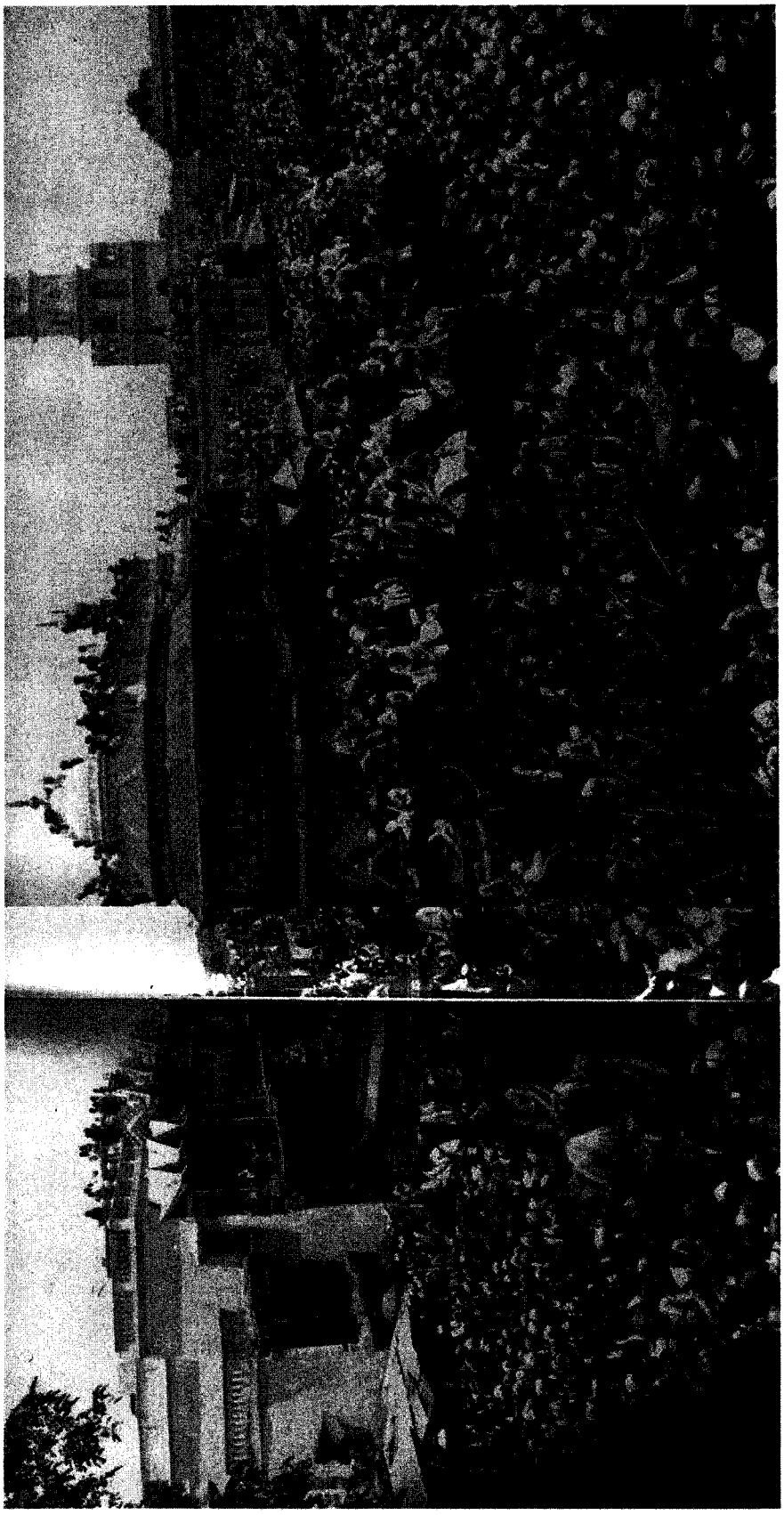

Photo 4.3.28. *The Lunger festival in honour of Mohammed Shah*
(He built much of Hyderabad in the sixteenth century.
30,000 troops of H.H. the Nizam's army parade past the city palace
(which was surrounded by 2.5 miles of walls);
inside 7,000 servants waited on Sir Mahbub Ali Khan, Hyderabad.)
Worswick's

Photo 4.3.29. *Sacred banks of the Nerbudda, near Okarnath*
Worswick's

Photo 4.3.30. *South Indian scene*
Worswick's

Photo 4.3.31. *Lake near Indore*
Worswick's

Photo 4.3.32. *Holy temple and ghat, Okarnath*
Worswick's

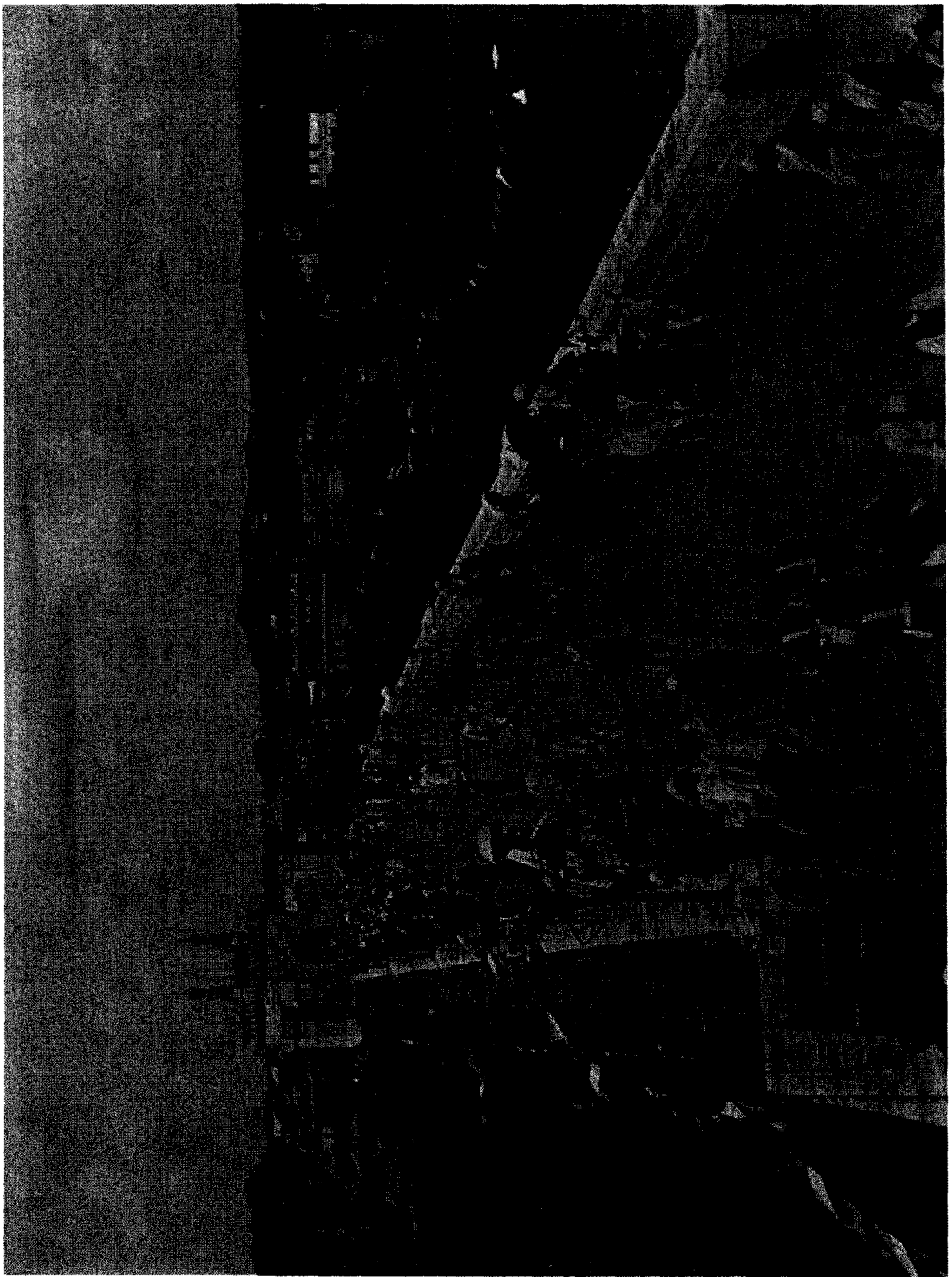

Photo 4.3.33. *Purana Pul, Hyderabad*
British Library

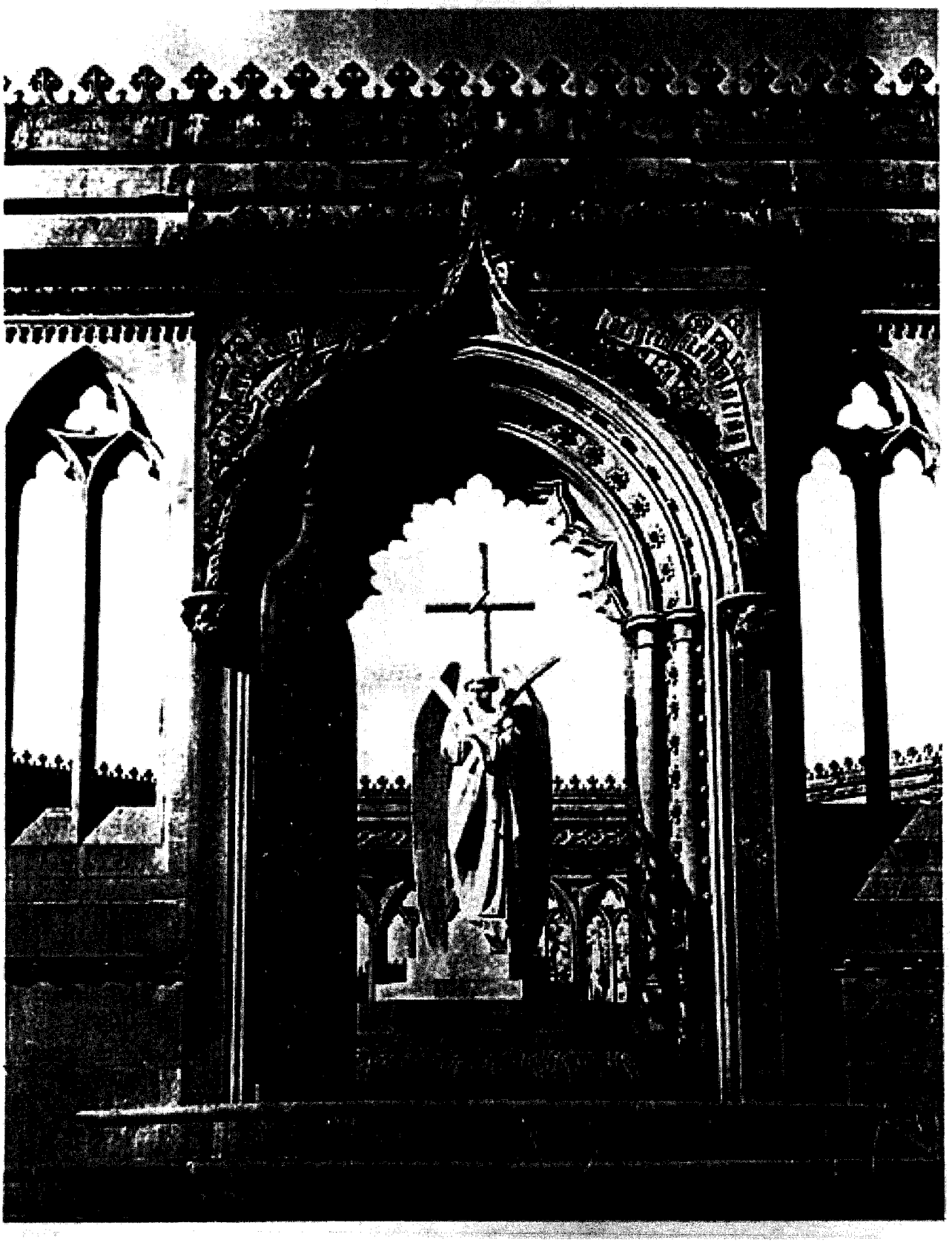

Photo 4.4.1. *Cawnpore Mutiny Memrial Well: Angel statue*
British Library

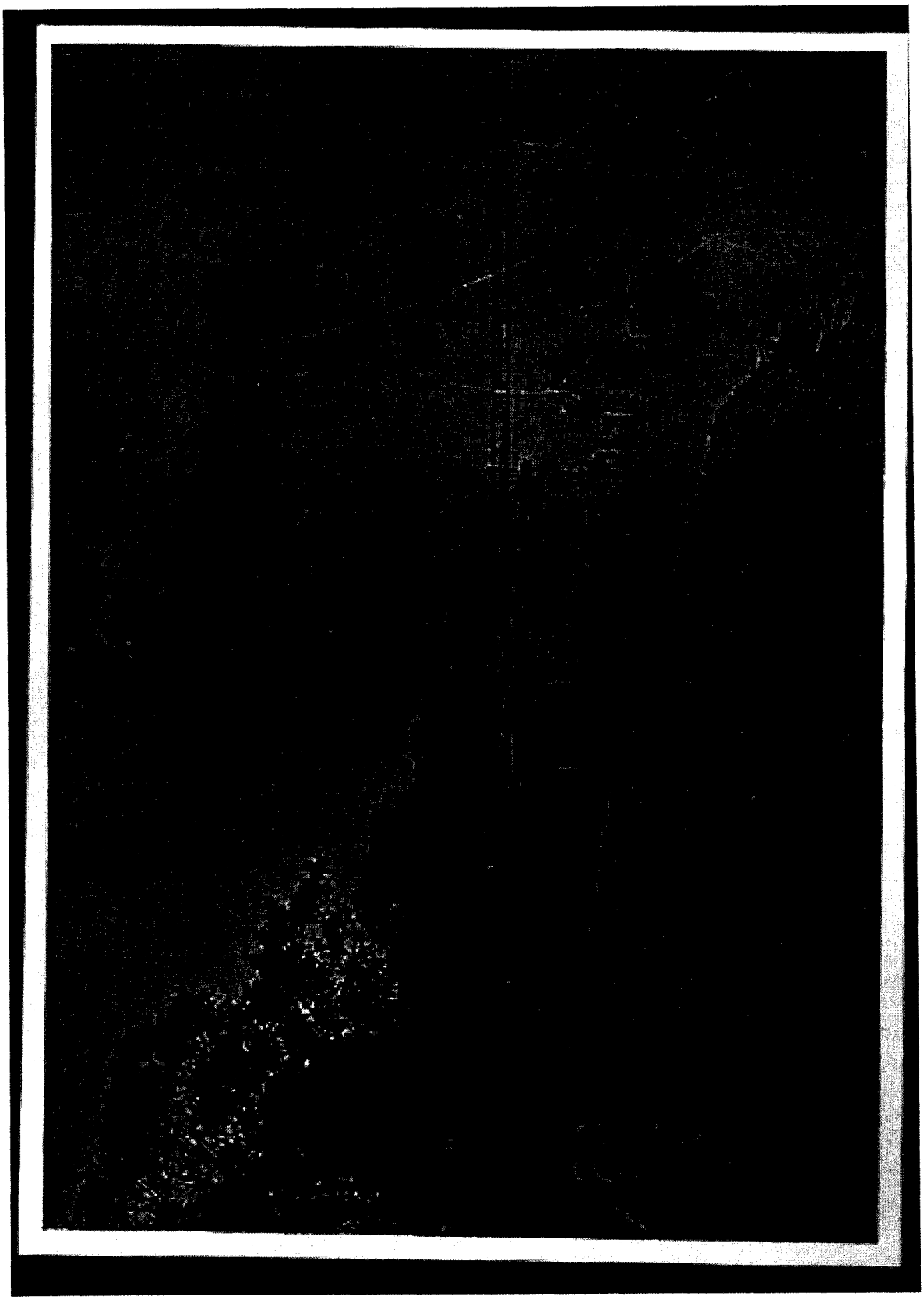

Photo 4.4.2. *Cawnpore Sati Chaura Ghat*
(Massacre Ghat)
British Library

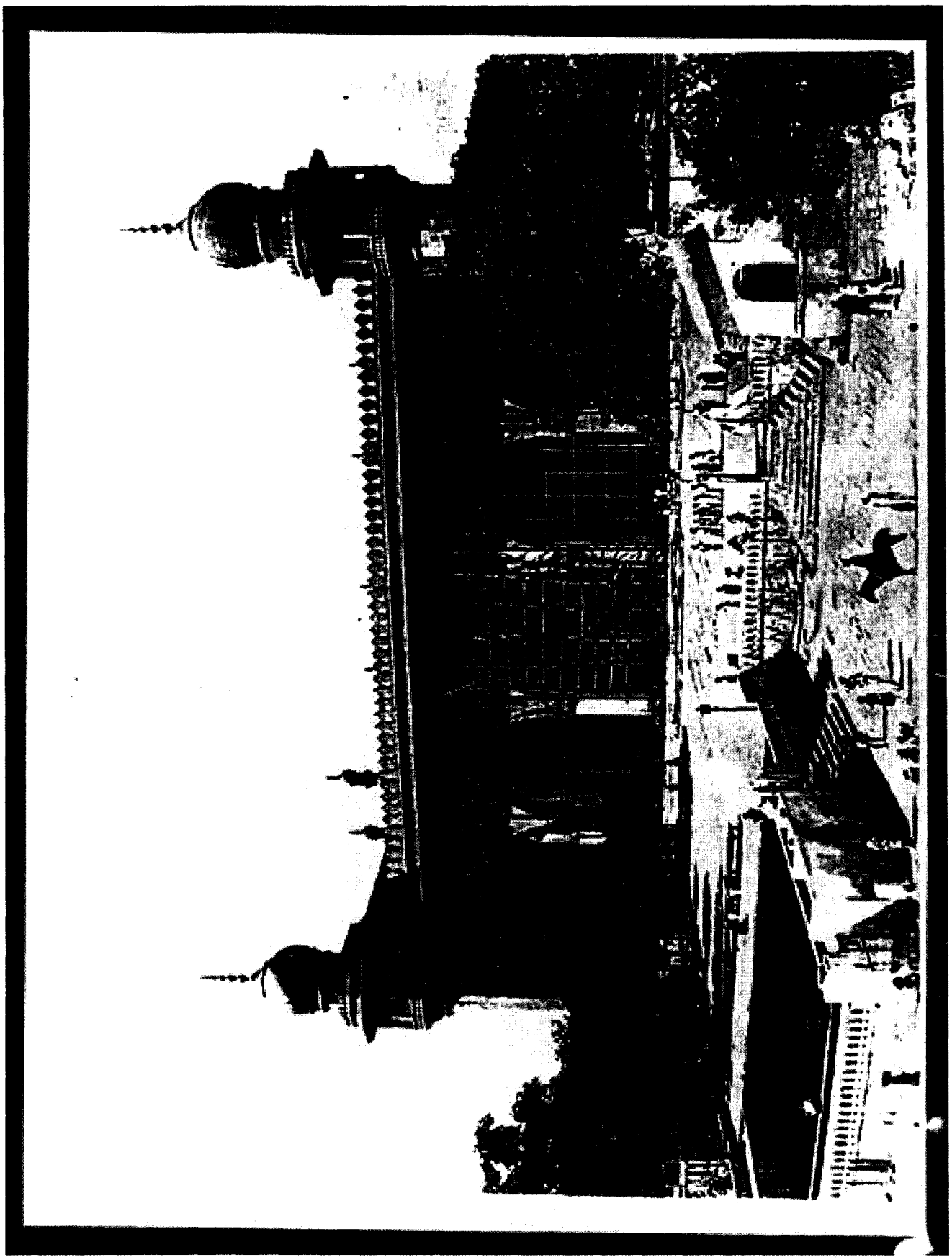

Photo 4.4.3. *Mosque: Mecca Masjid, Hyderabad*
British Library

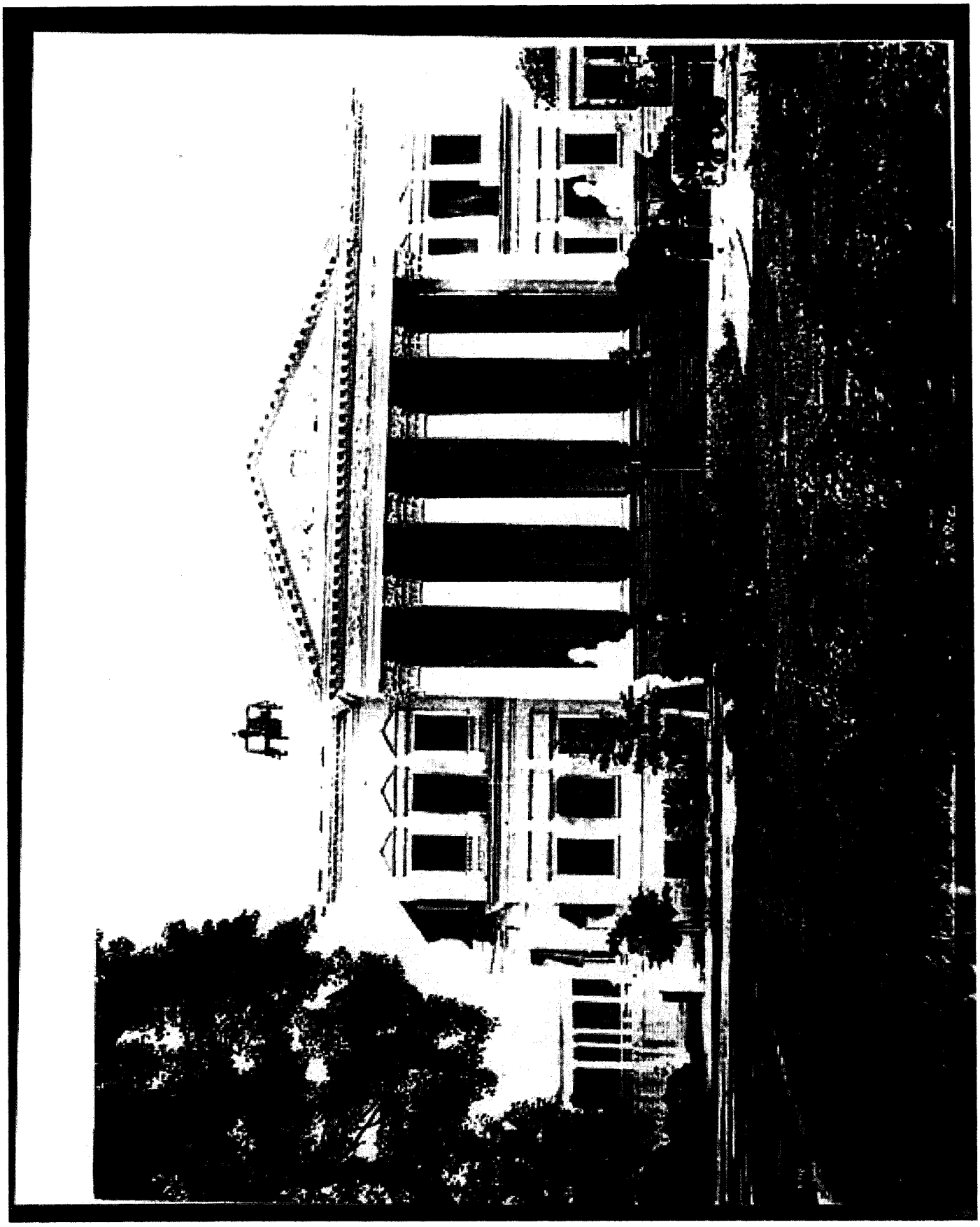

Photo 4.4.4. *The Residency Chaderghat, Hyderabad*
British Library

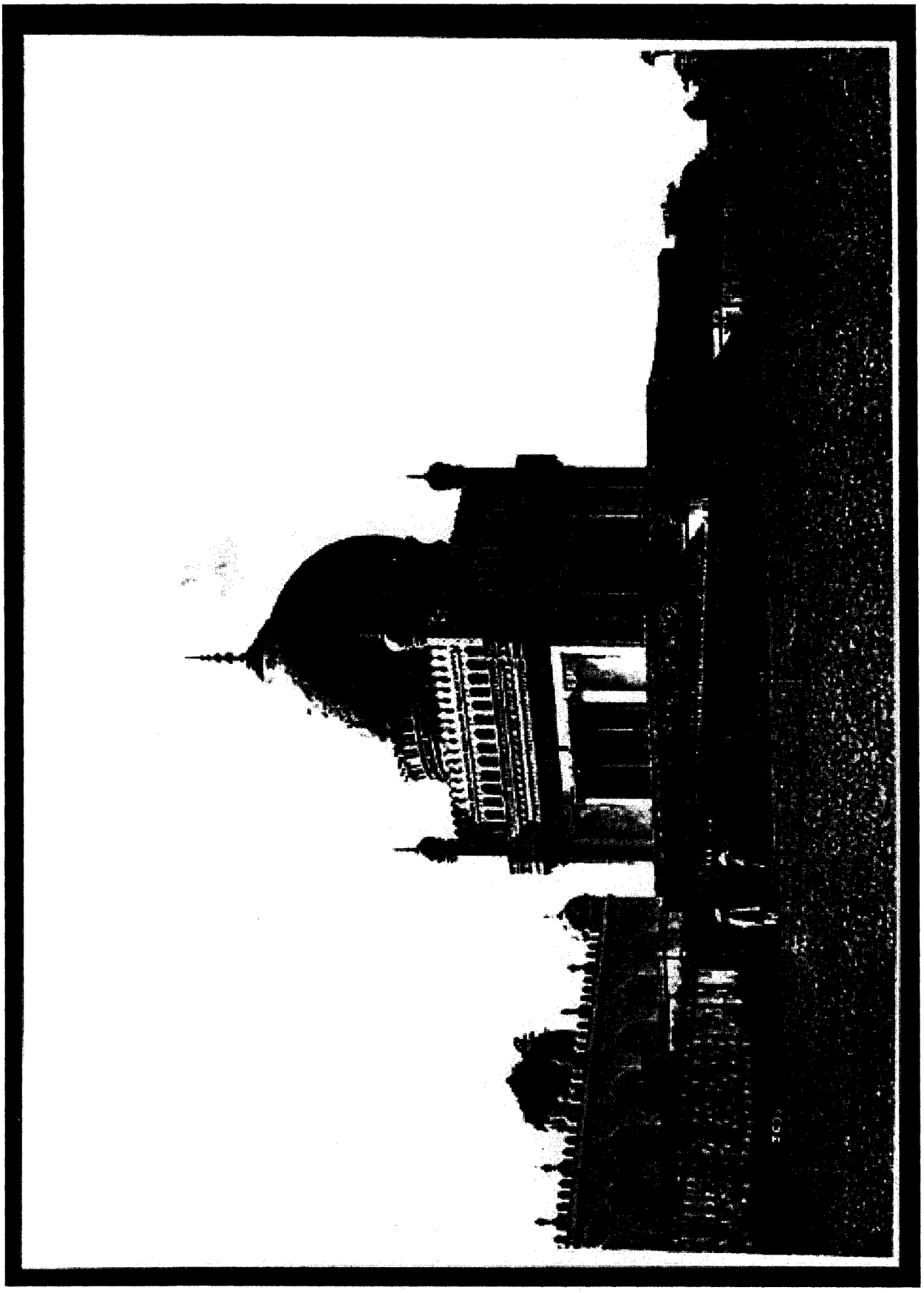

Photo 4.4.5. *Mausoleum: Tomb at Golconda*
British Library

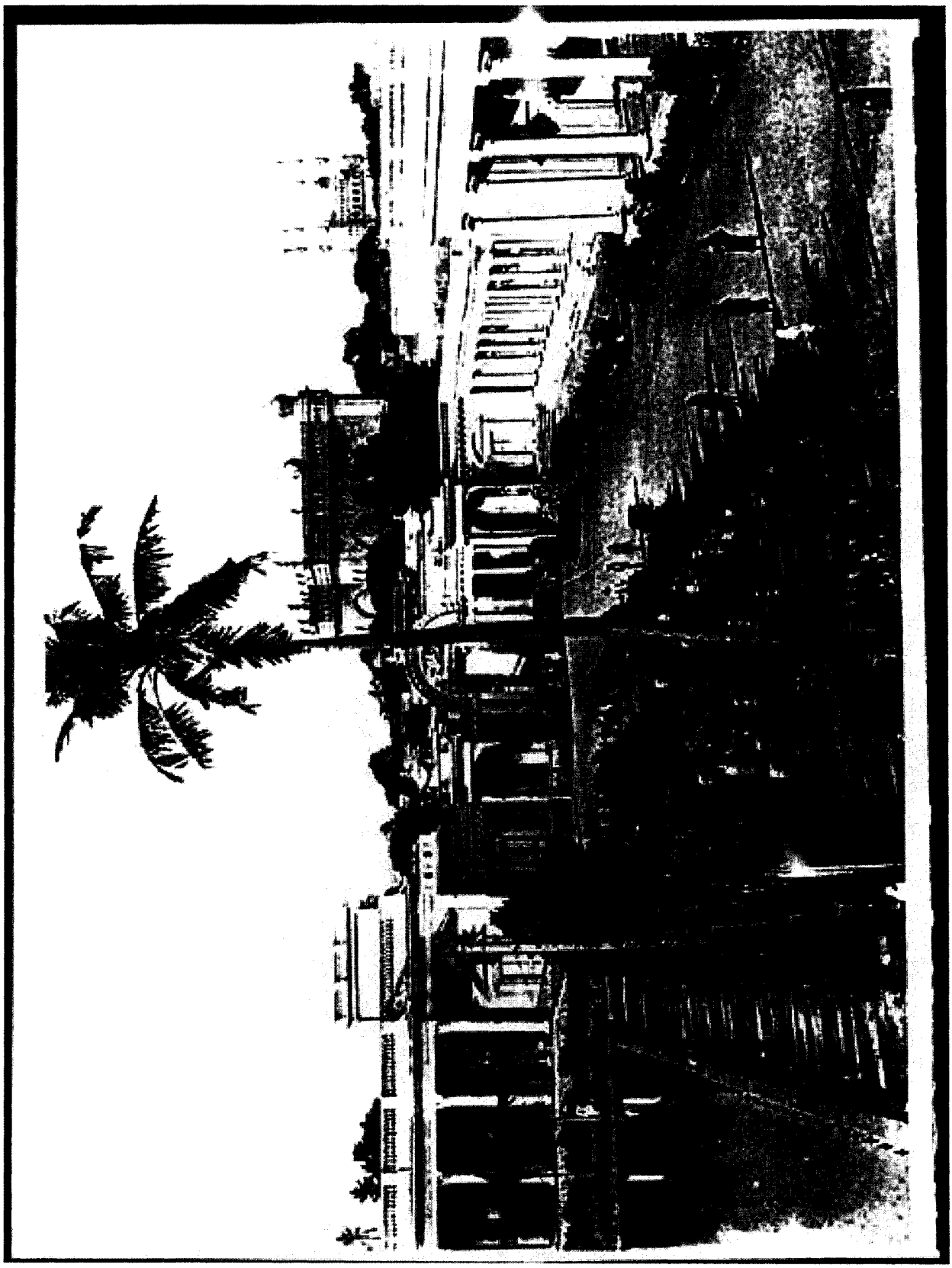

Photo 4.4.6. *Chowmahala Palace, Hyderabad*
British Library

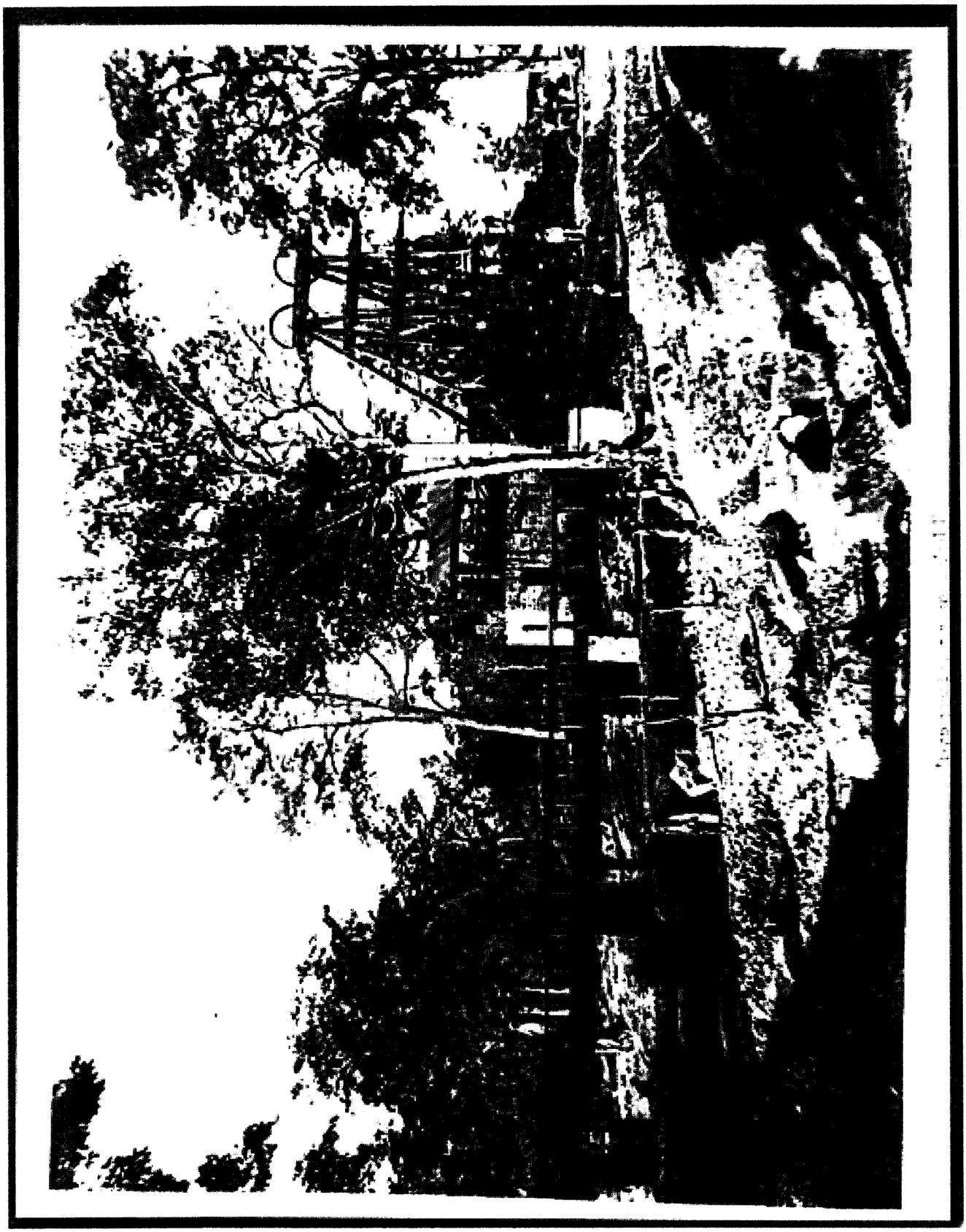

Photo 4.4.7. *Singaneri Coal Fields Heap Stead, industry*
British Library

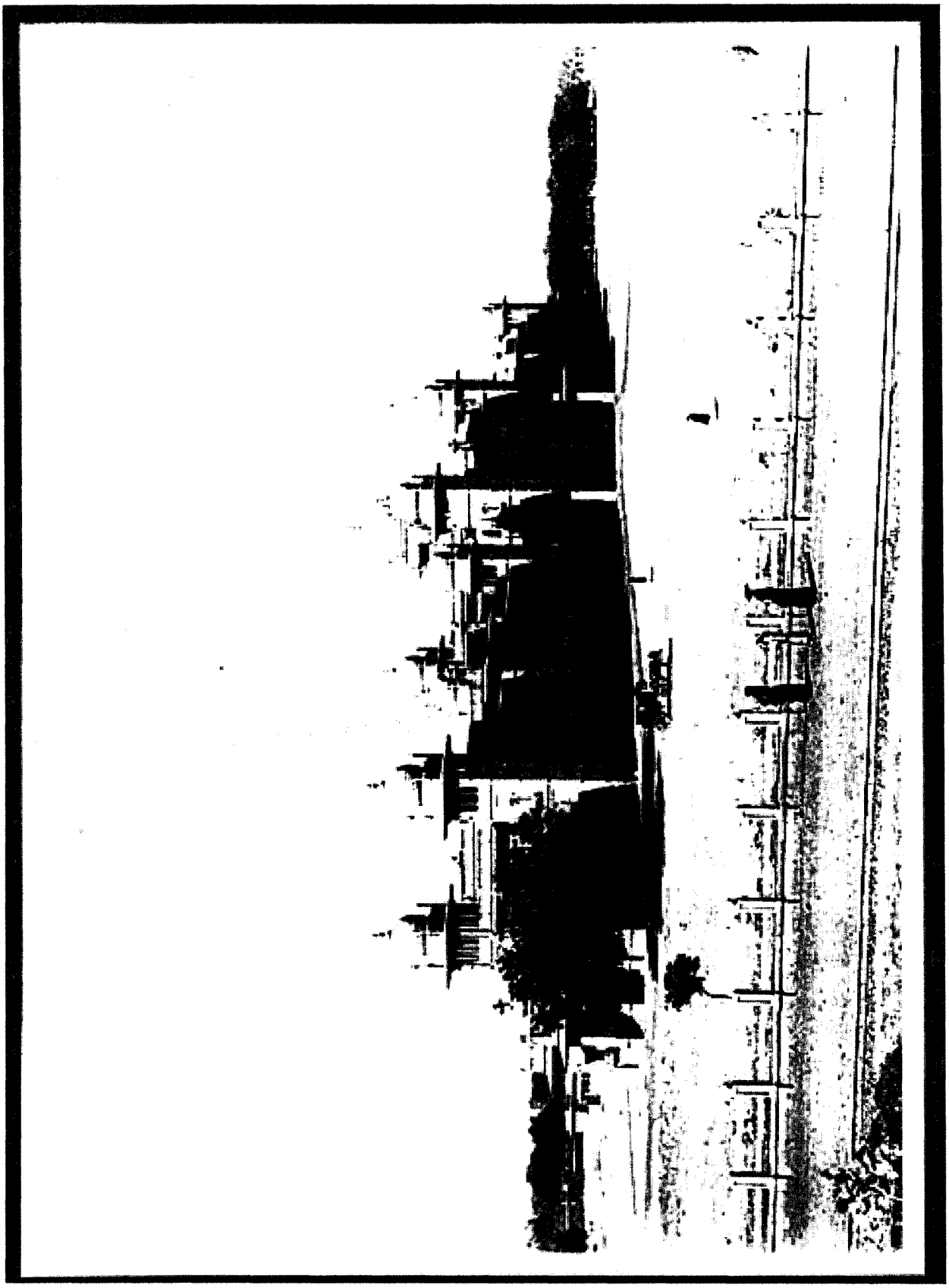

Photo 4.4.8. *Victoria Hospital, Gwalior*
British Library

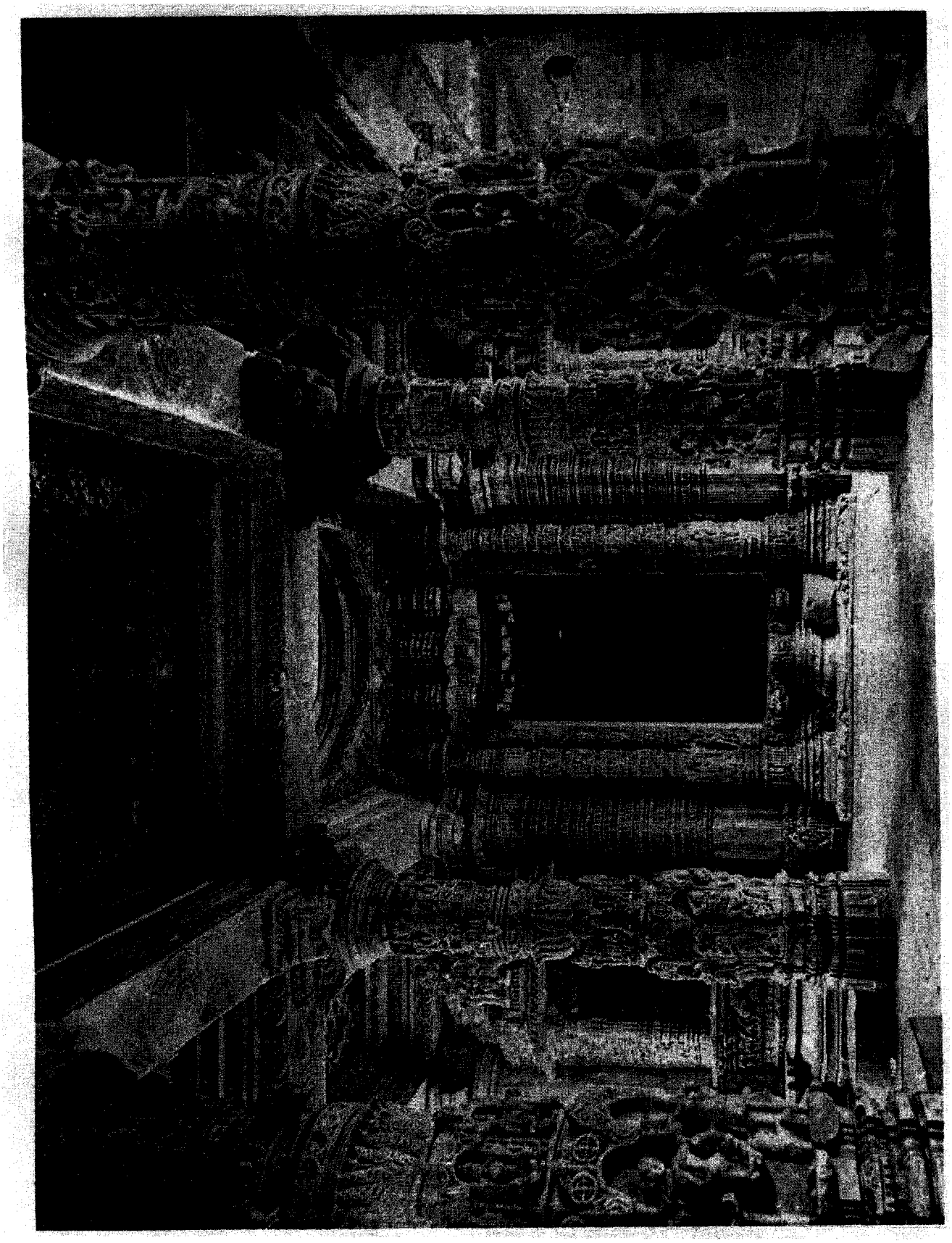

Photo 4.4.9. *Jain Temple on the Sacred Mount Abu, Rajputana*
Desmond's

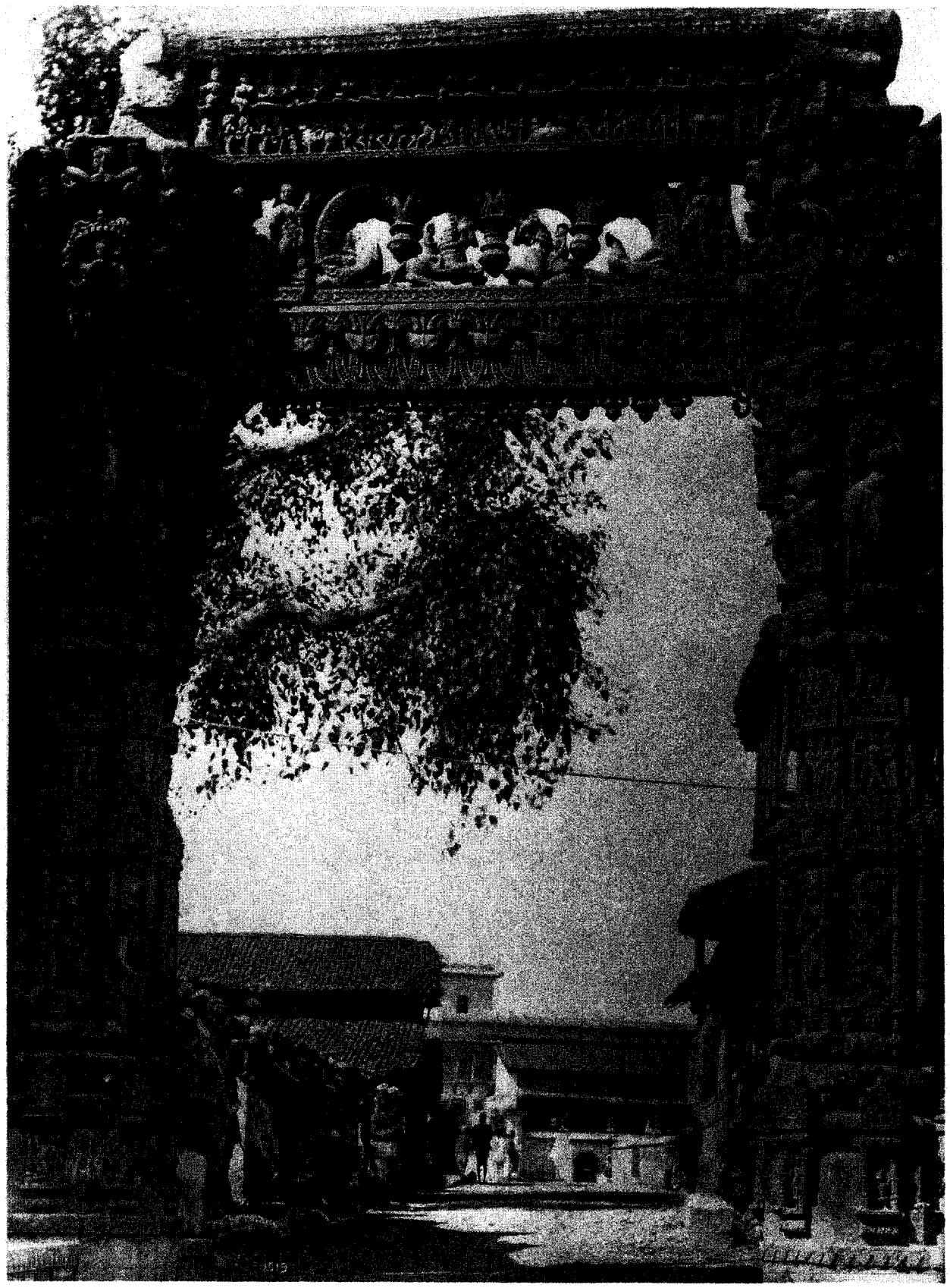

Photo 4.4.10. *Torana at Rewa, Madhya Pradesh*
Rogers'

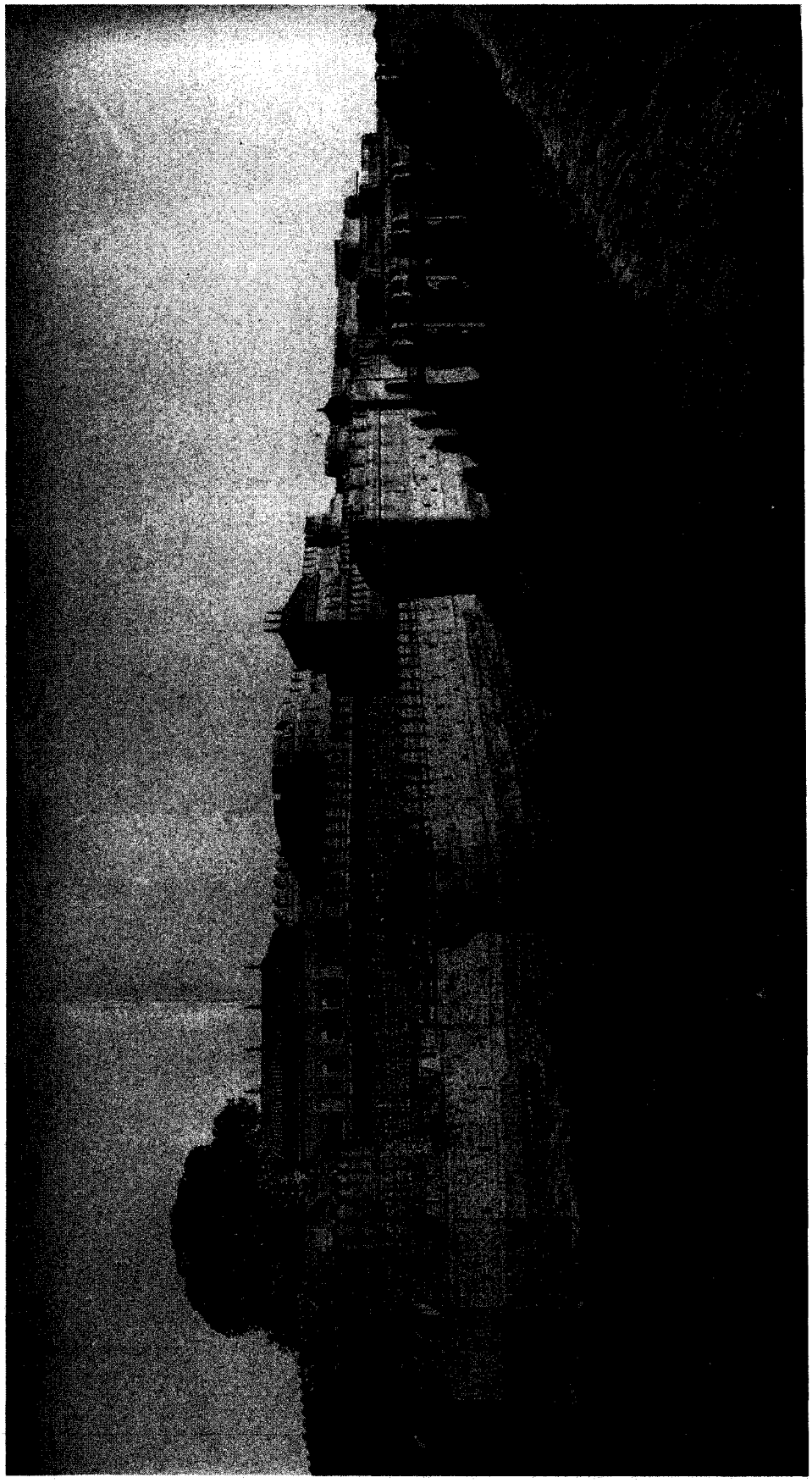

Photo 4.4.11. *Panoramic view of the Fort at Samthar, Central India*
Rogers'

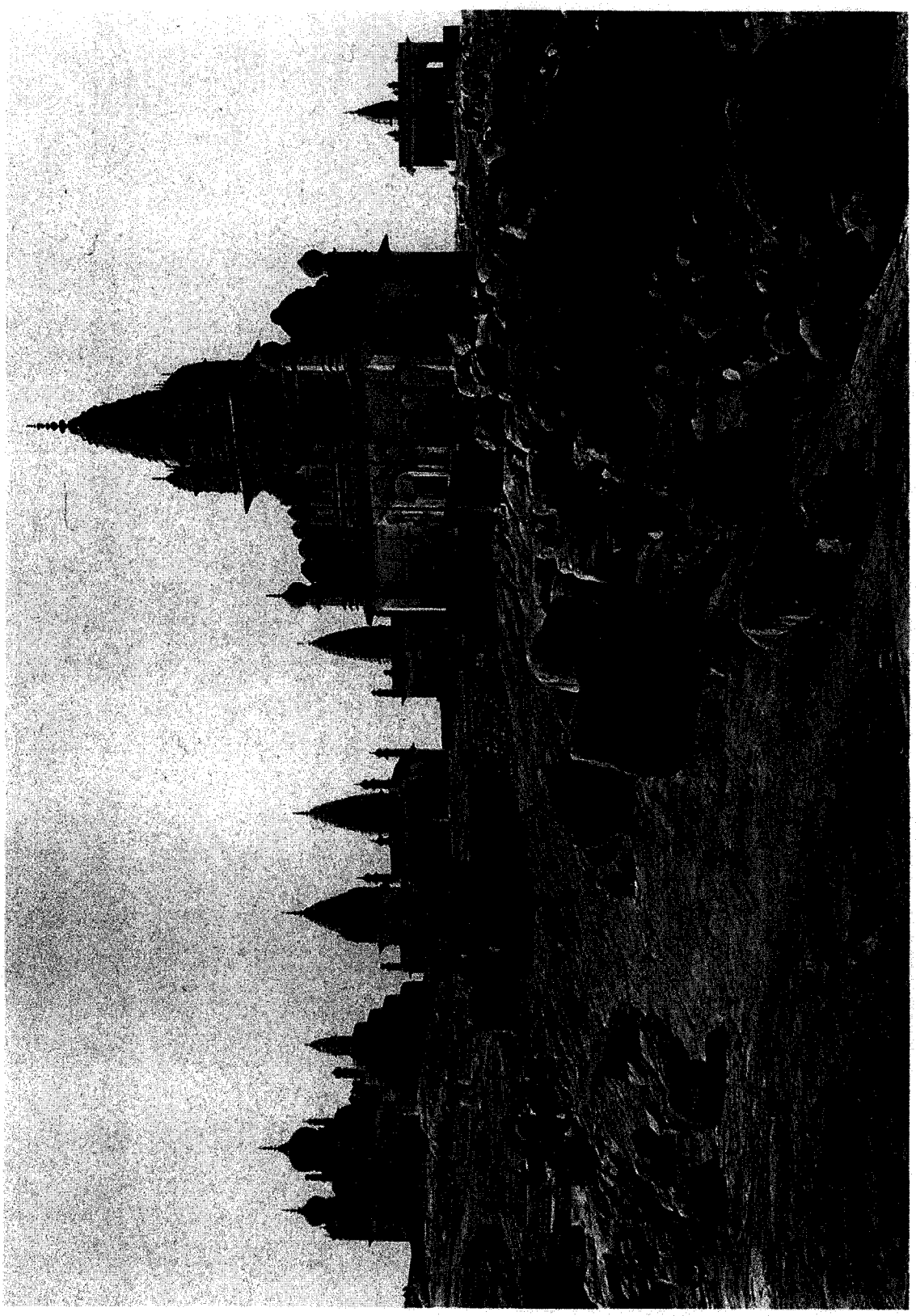

Photo 4.4.12. *The middle group of Jain temples at Sonagir near Datia*
Rogers'

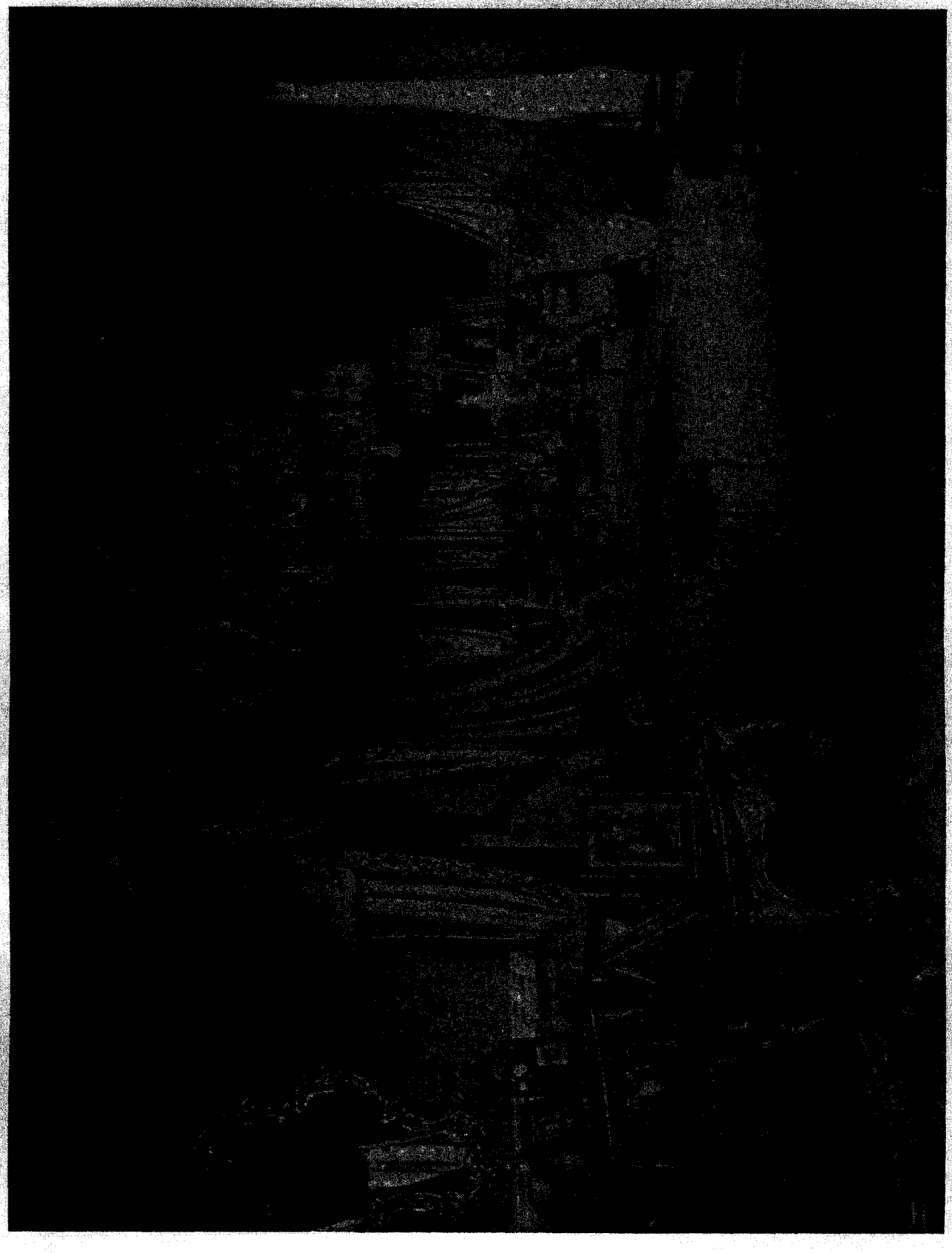

Photo 4.4.13. *Drawing Room, Falukituma Palace, Hyderabad*
Worswick & Embree's

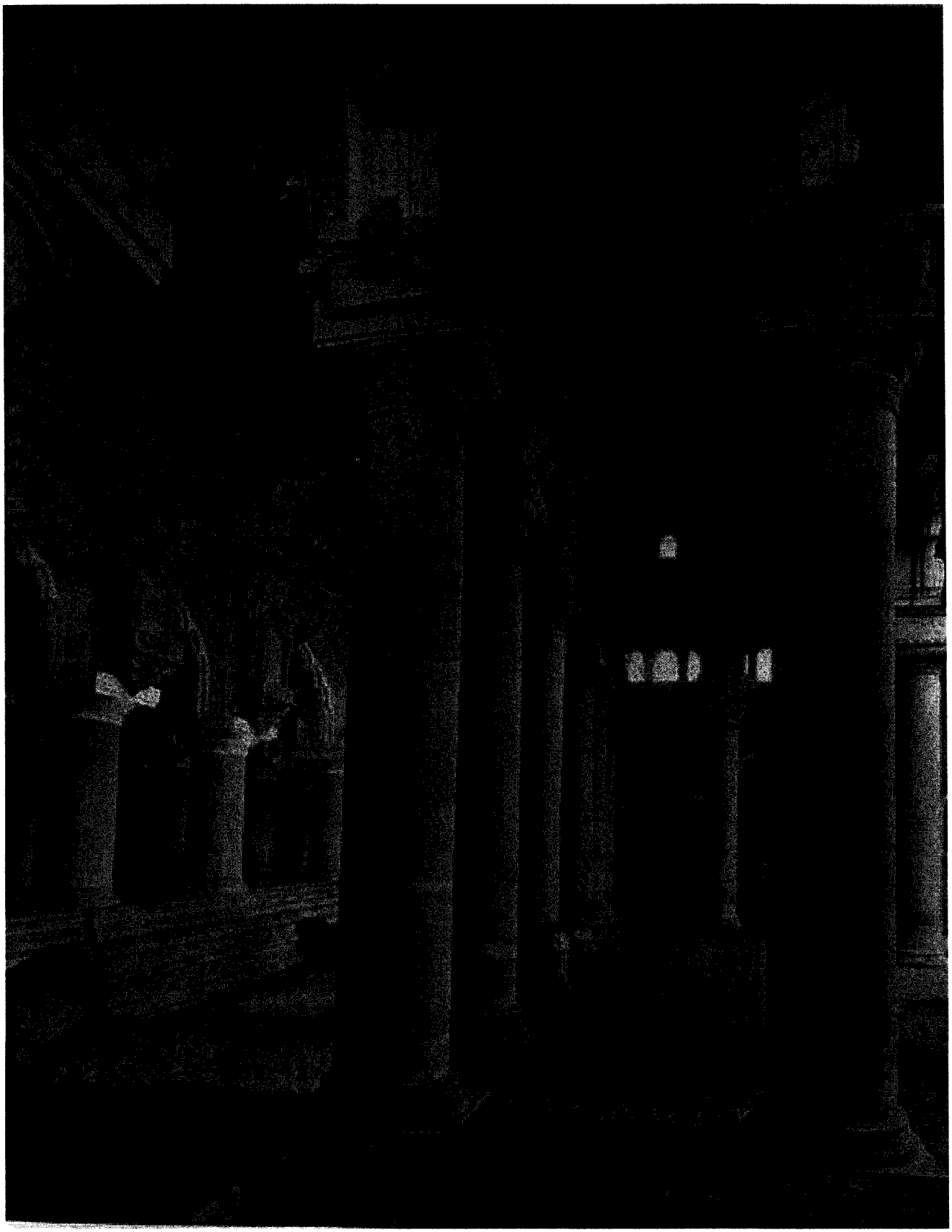

Photo 4.4.14. *Chiniklana, Hyderabad*
Worswick & Embree's

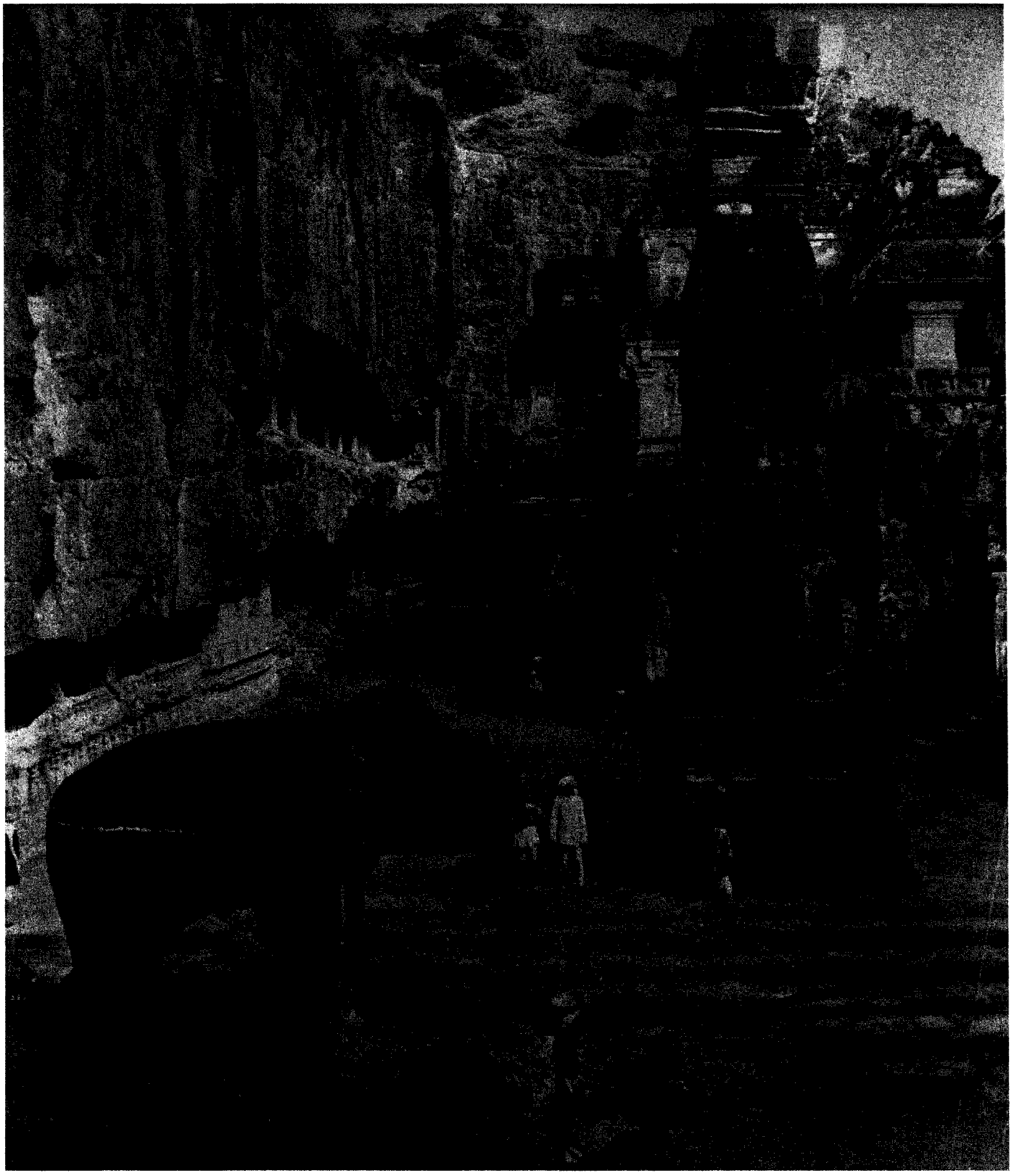

Photo 4.4.15. *Ellora, the Kailasa Temple*
Worswick & Embree's

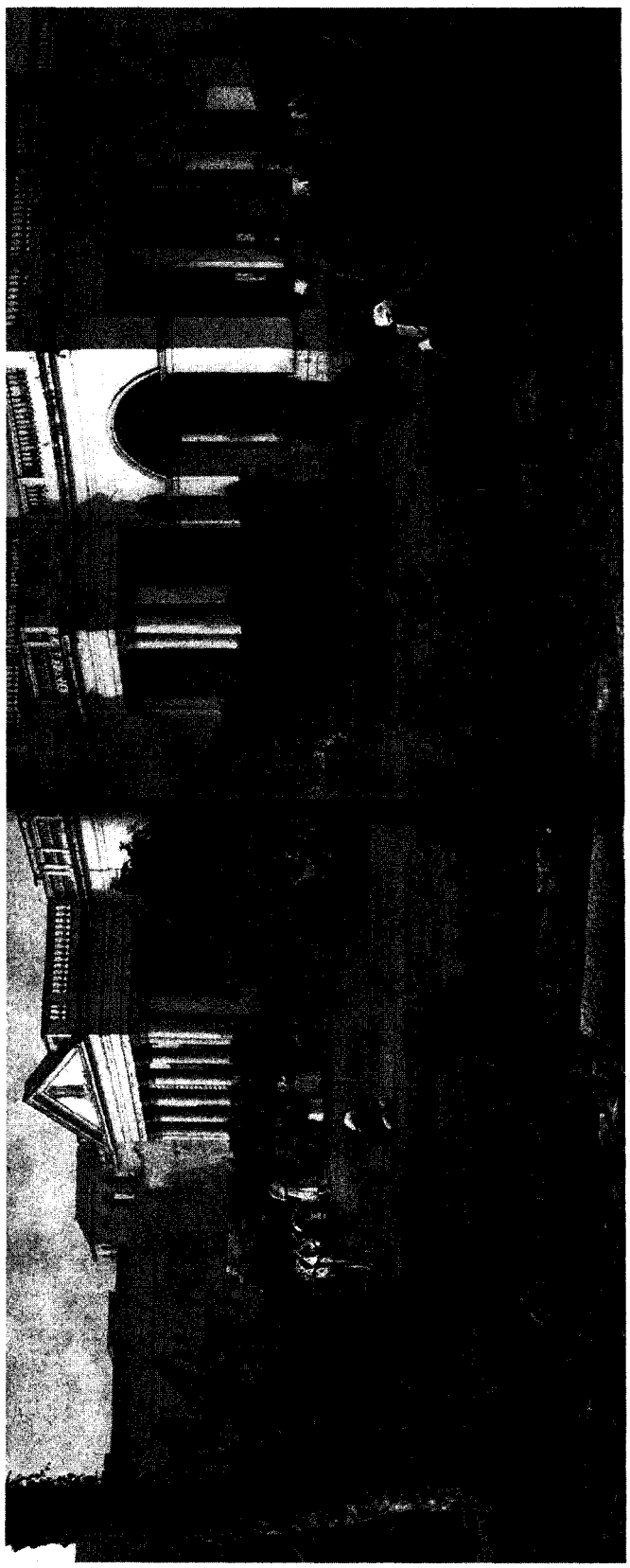

Photo 4.4.16. *The Khana Bagh Palace of Nawab Asman Jah, Hyderabad*
Worswick's

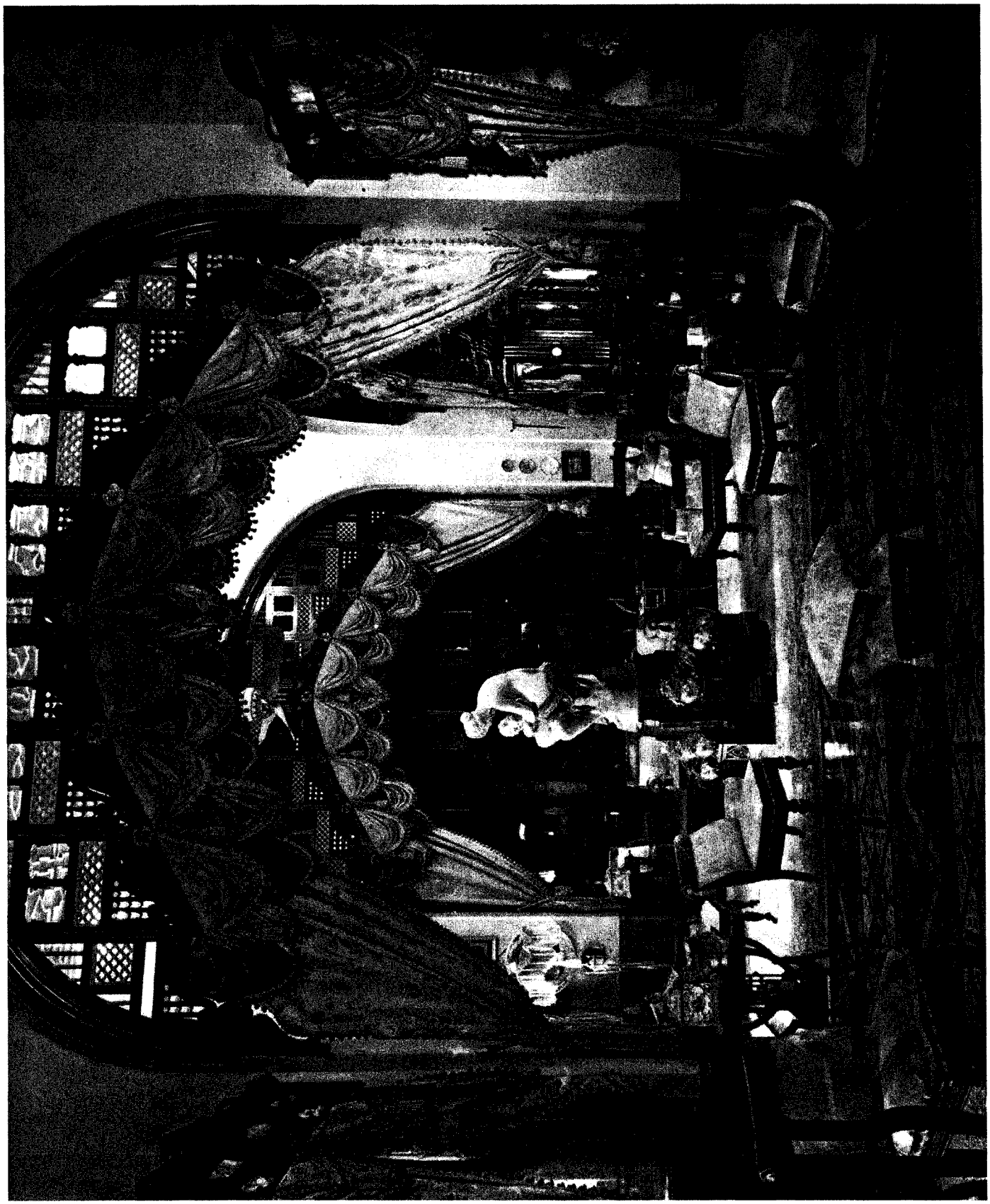

Photo 4.4.17. *H.H. the Nizam's drawing room*
(where he received important visitors)
Worswick's

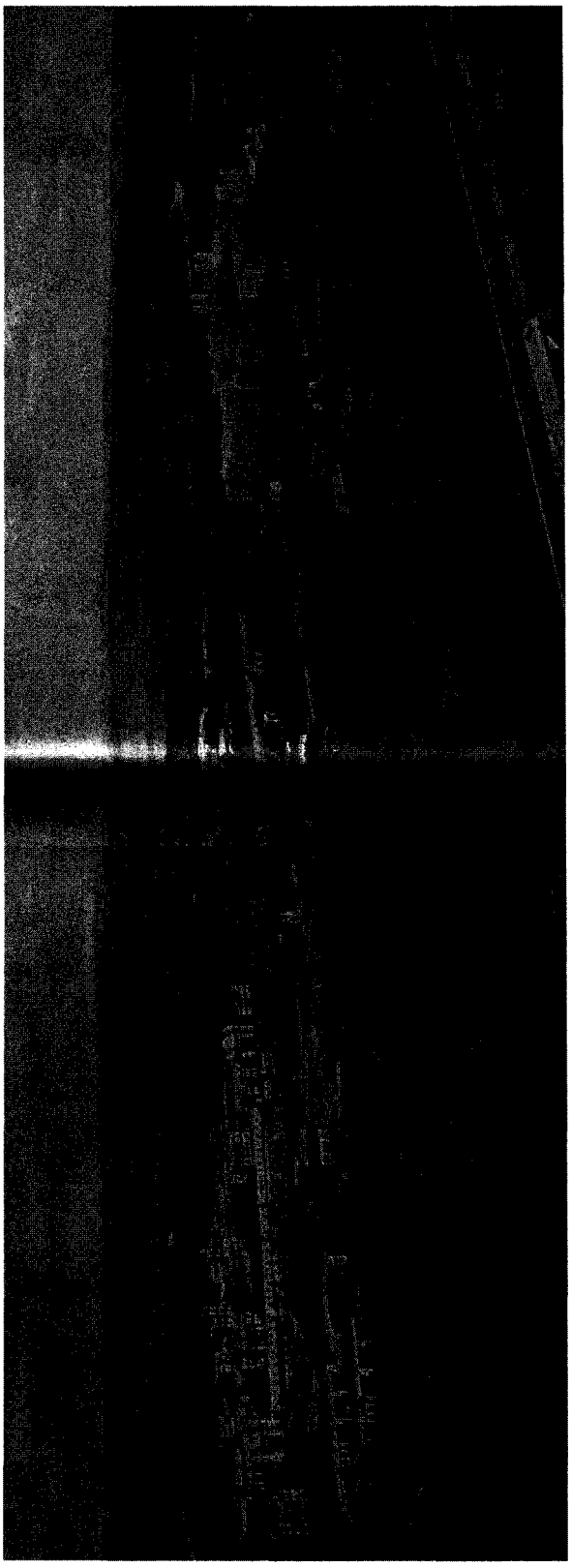

Photo 4.4.18. *The palaces at Gwalior, Central India*
(Gwalior was noteworthy for housing the largest crystal chandelier in Asia, as well as an elaborate electric train mounted on the main banquet table, which transported food to the guests.)
Worswick's

Photo 4.4.19. *Sally Port Gate, Seringapatam*
(On this spot, Tipu Sabib, Sultan of Mysore, the last Muslim ruler to challenge British power in India, was killed in the battle of Seringapatam on May 4, 1799. Commanding the British reserve force was Colonel Arthur Wellesley, who later was created Duke of Wellington.)
Worswick's

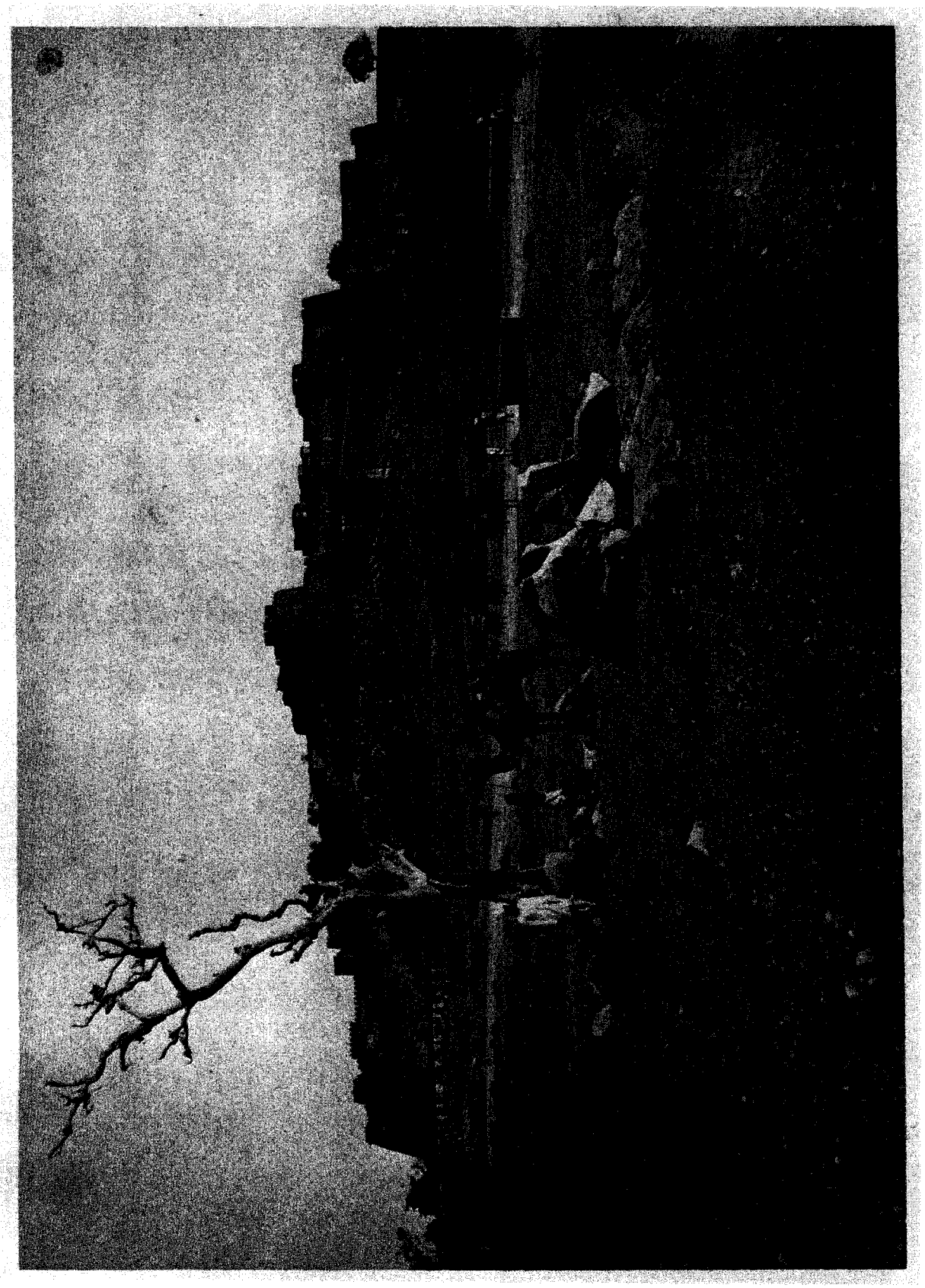

Photo 4.4.20. *Jhansi Fort*
Worswick's

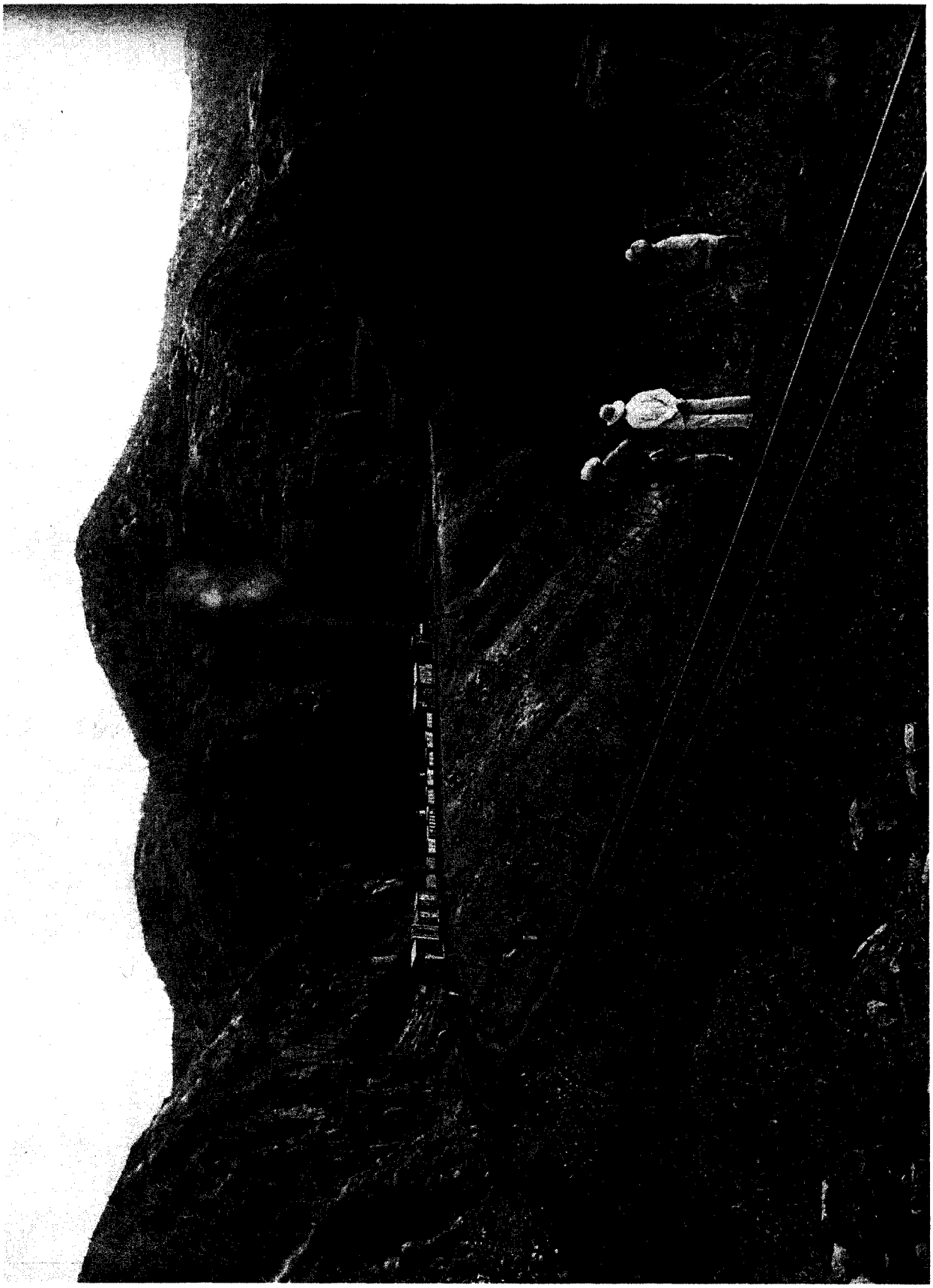

Photo 4.4.21. *Tunnel No.2, the Indore State Railway*
Worswick's

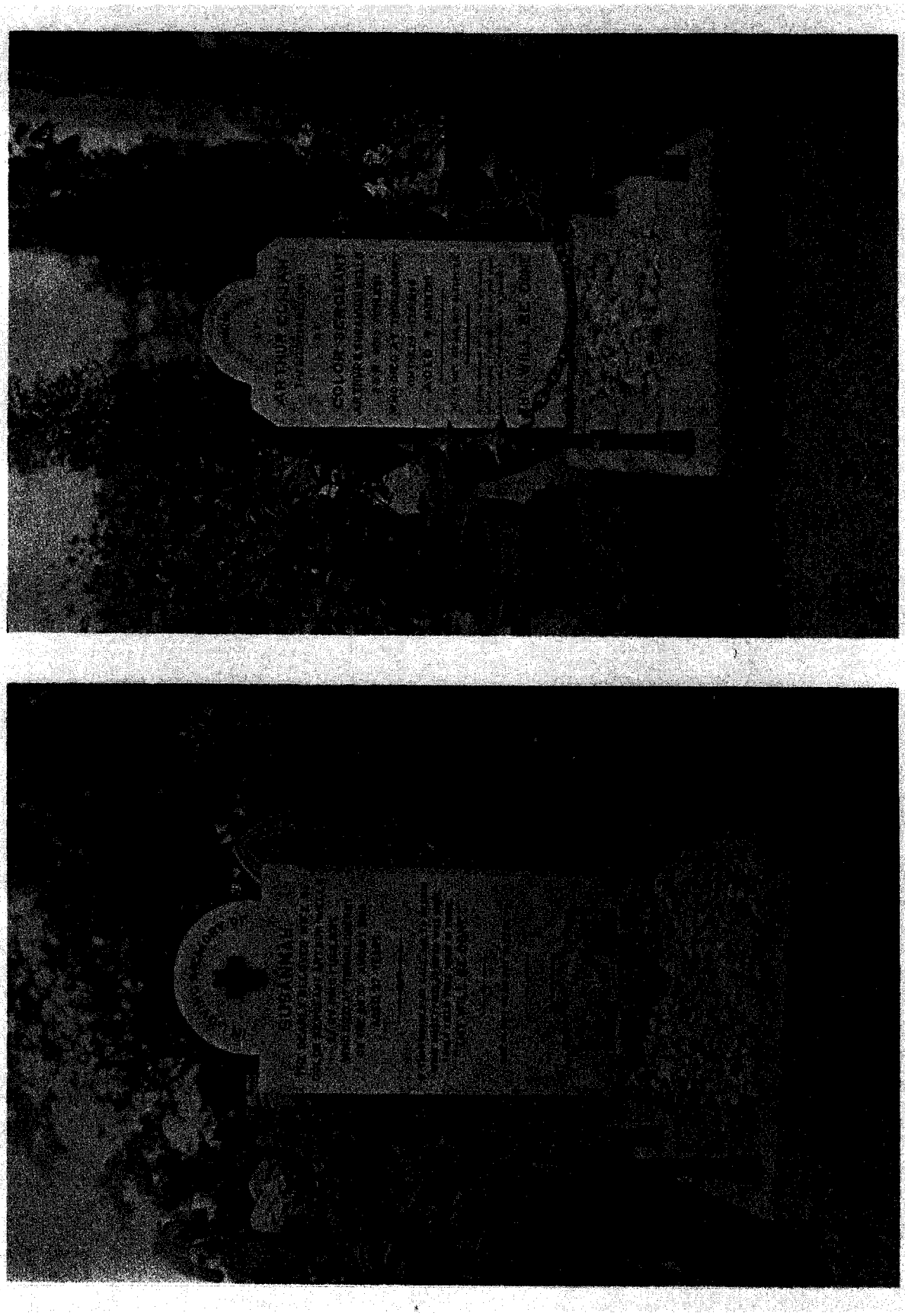

Photo 4.4.22. *Graves of the wife and son of Arthur Wells*
Worswick's

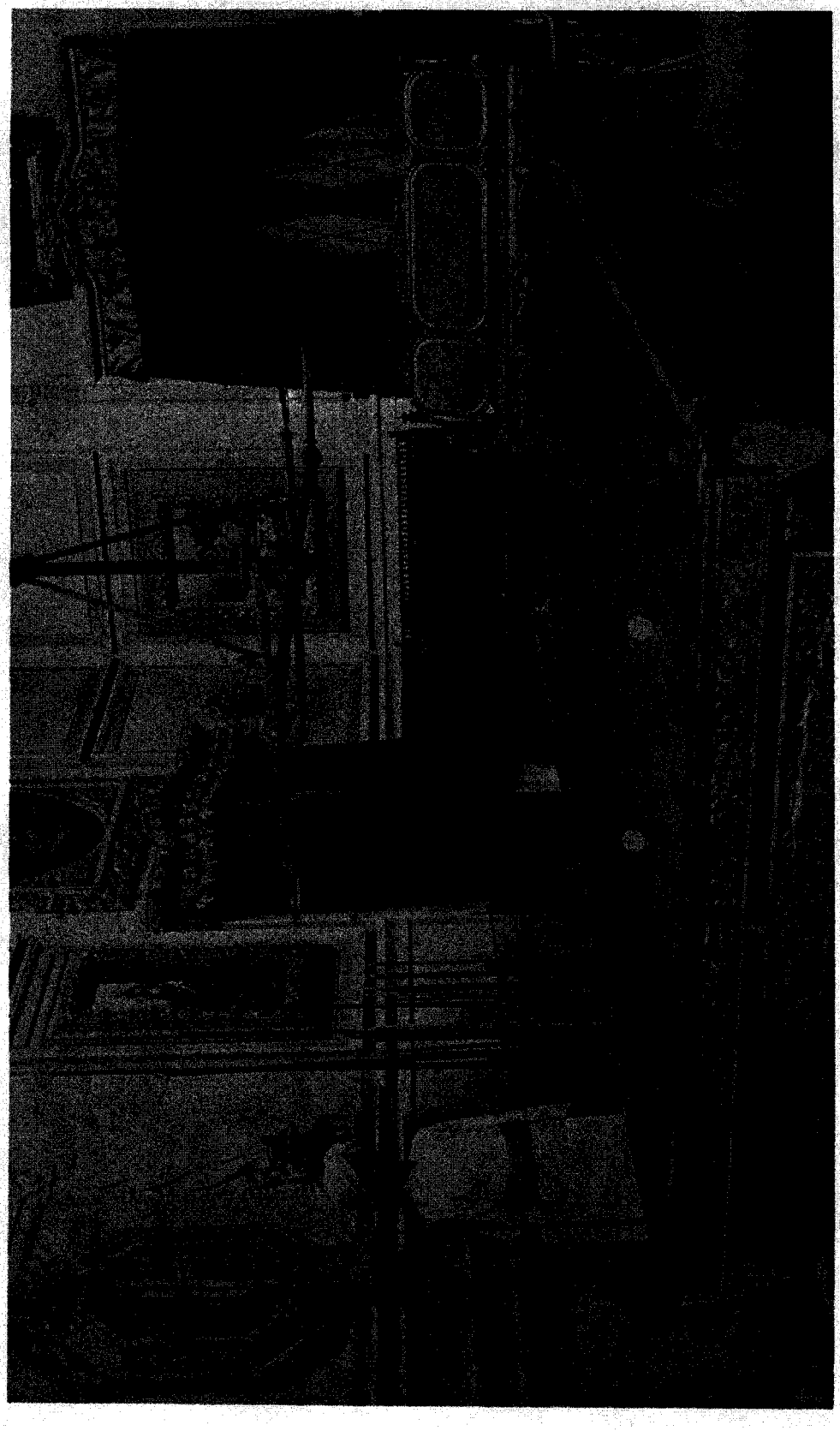

Photo 4.4.23. *Interior, British Club, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

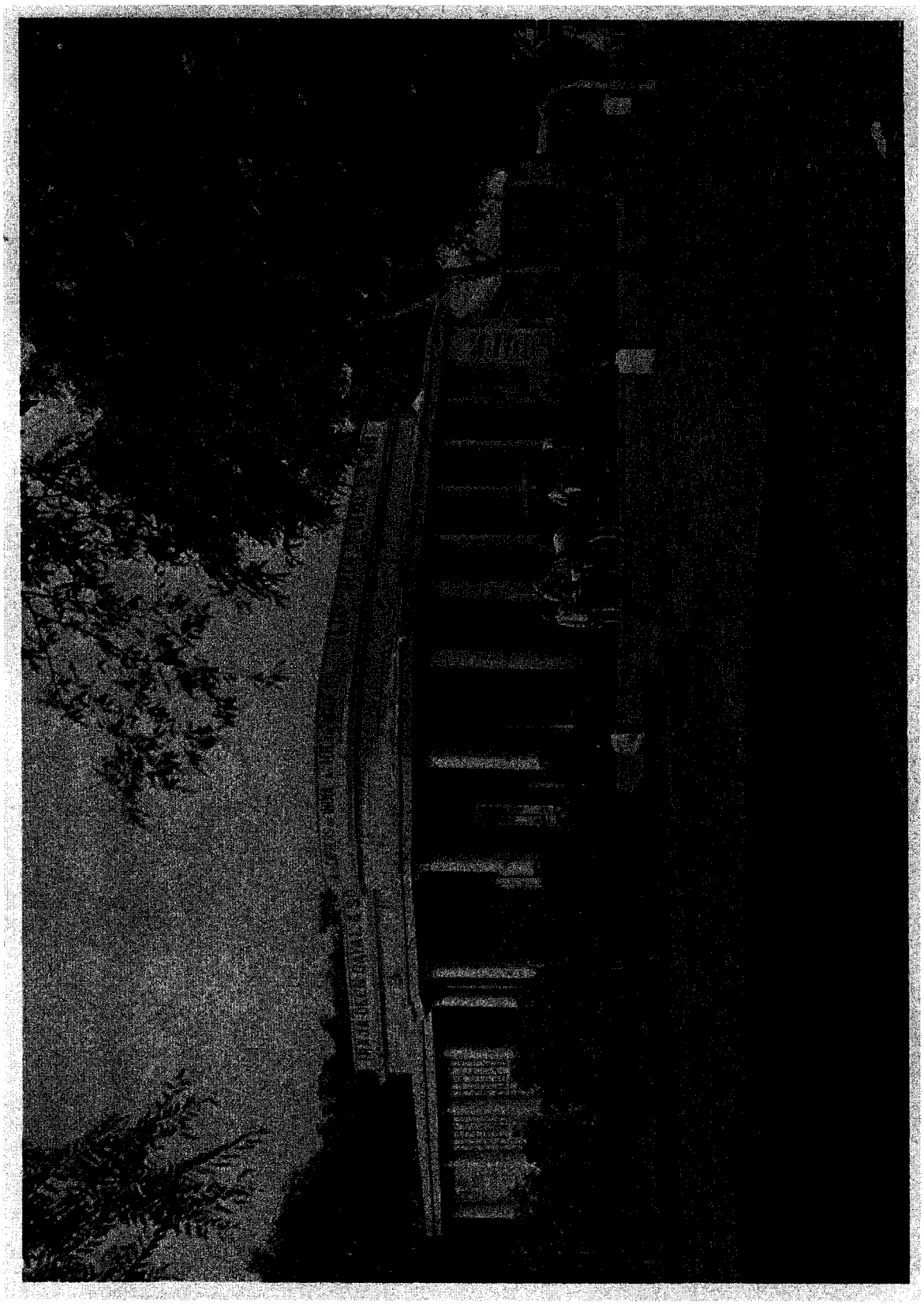

Photo 4.4.24. *Studio of Raja Deen Dayal & Sons, Secunderabad*
Worswick's

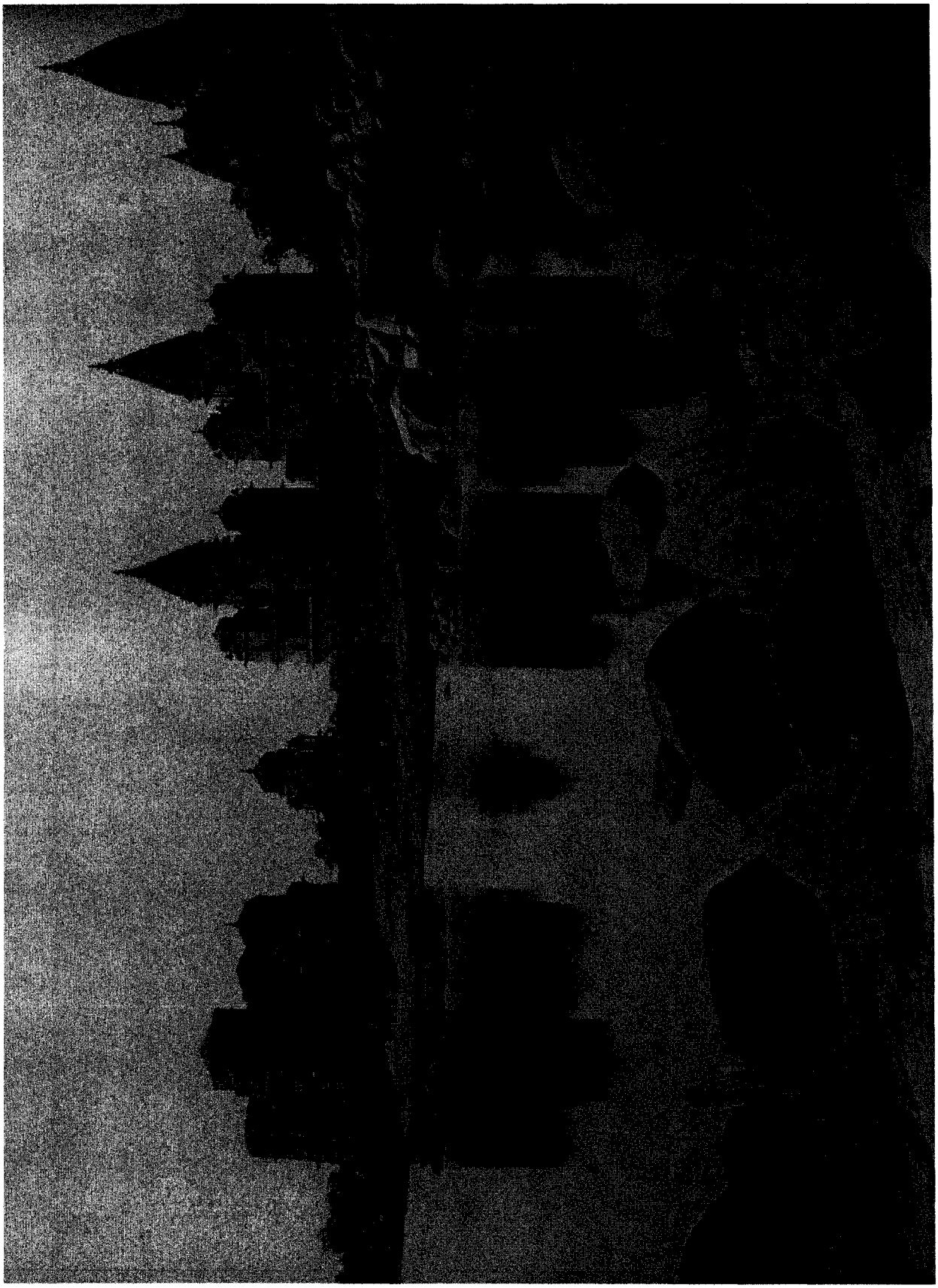

Photo 4.4.25. *Mausoleums of the Bundela chiefs, Orchha*
Worswick's

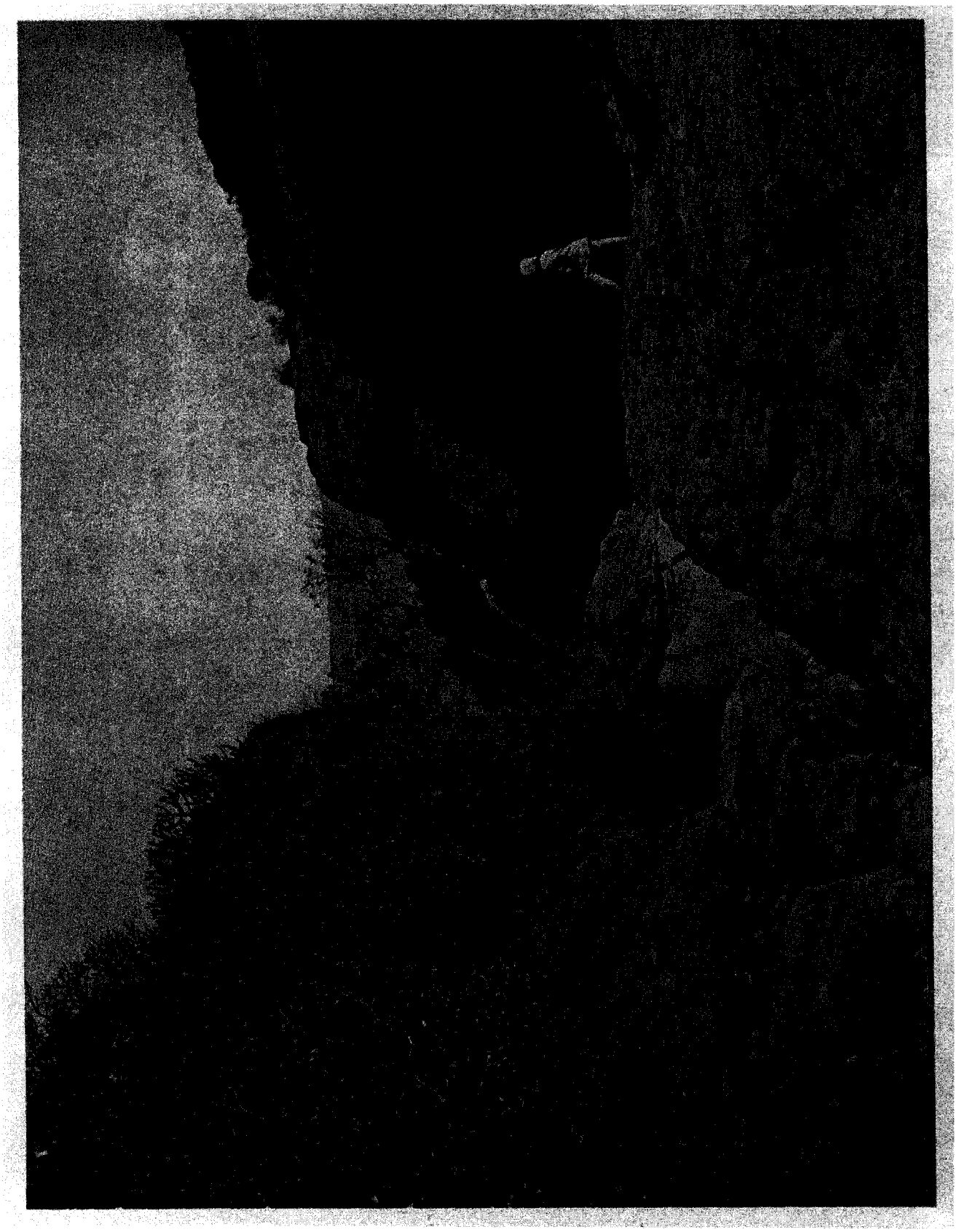

Photo 4.4.26. *Mount Elphinstone, Mahabaleshwar*
Worswick's

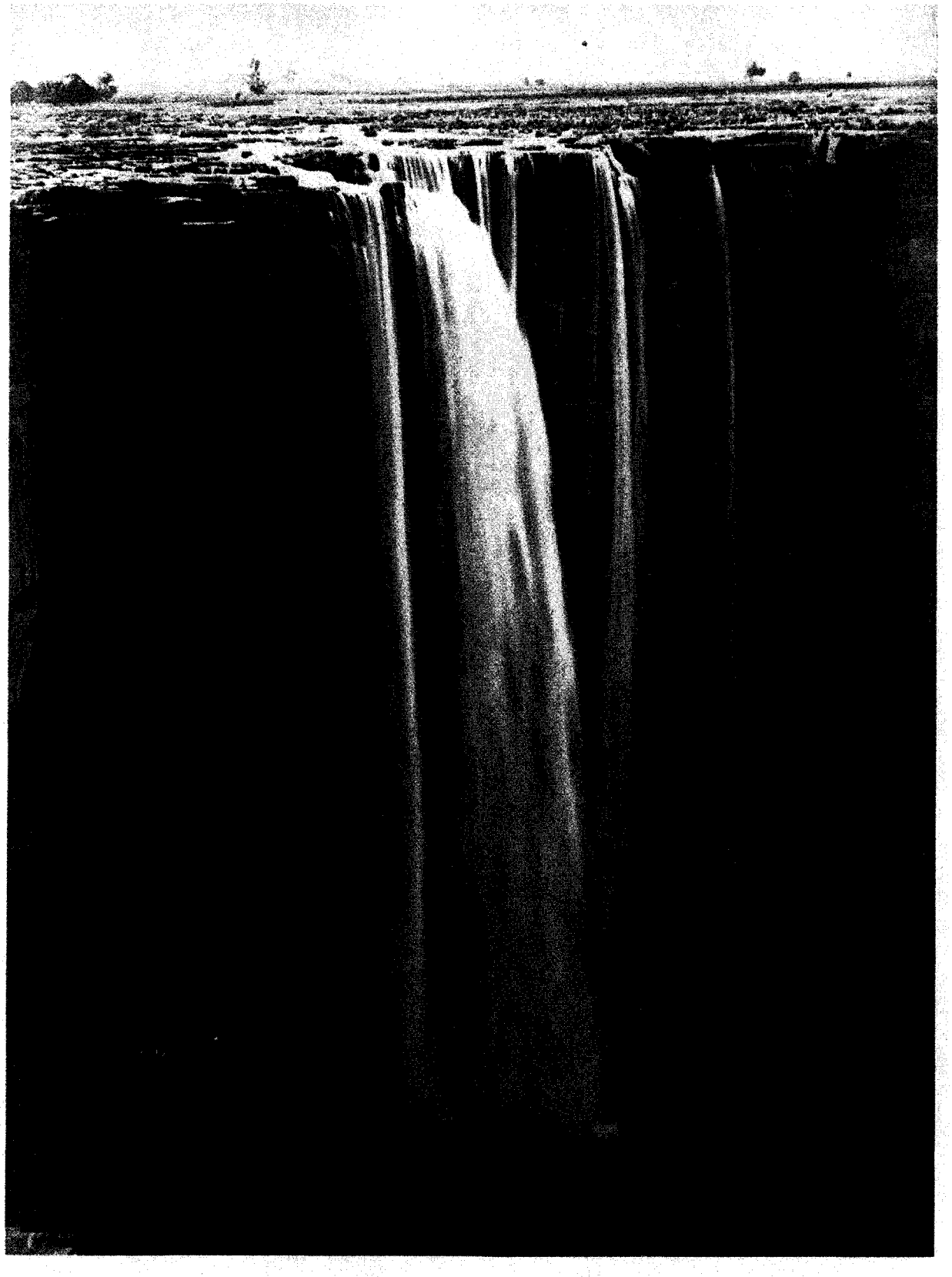

Photo 4.4.27. *The Chichai waterfall, near Rewa*
Worswick's

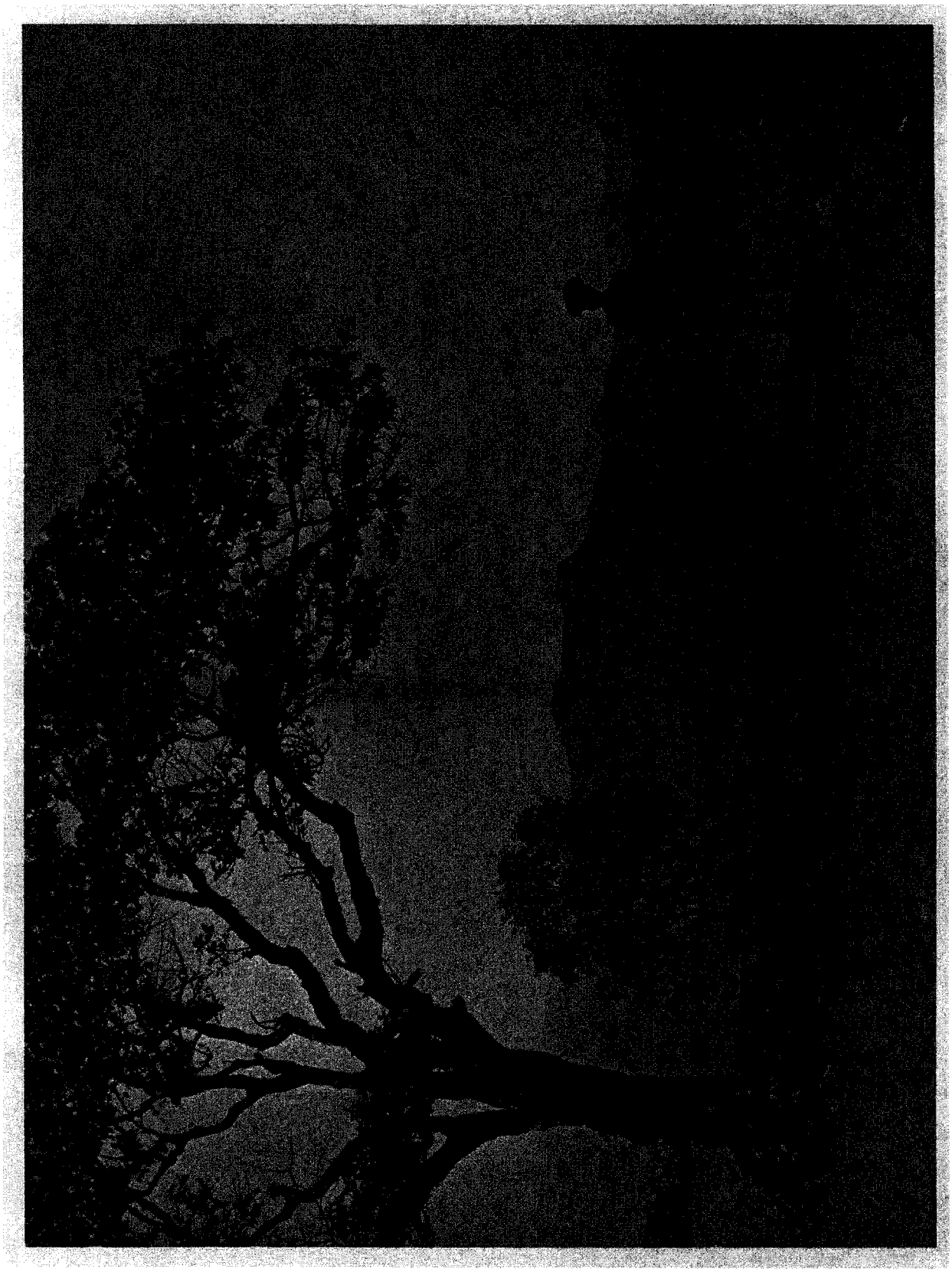

Photo 4.4.28. *Mahabaleshwar*
Worswick's

Appendix G: A selection from other British photographers' works in India and other countries in the world

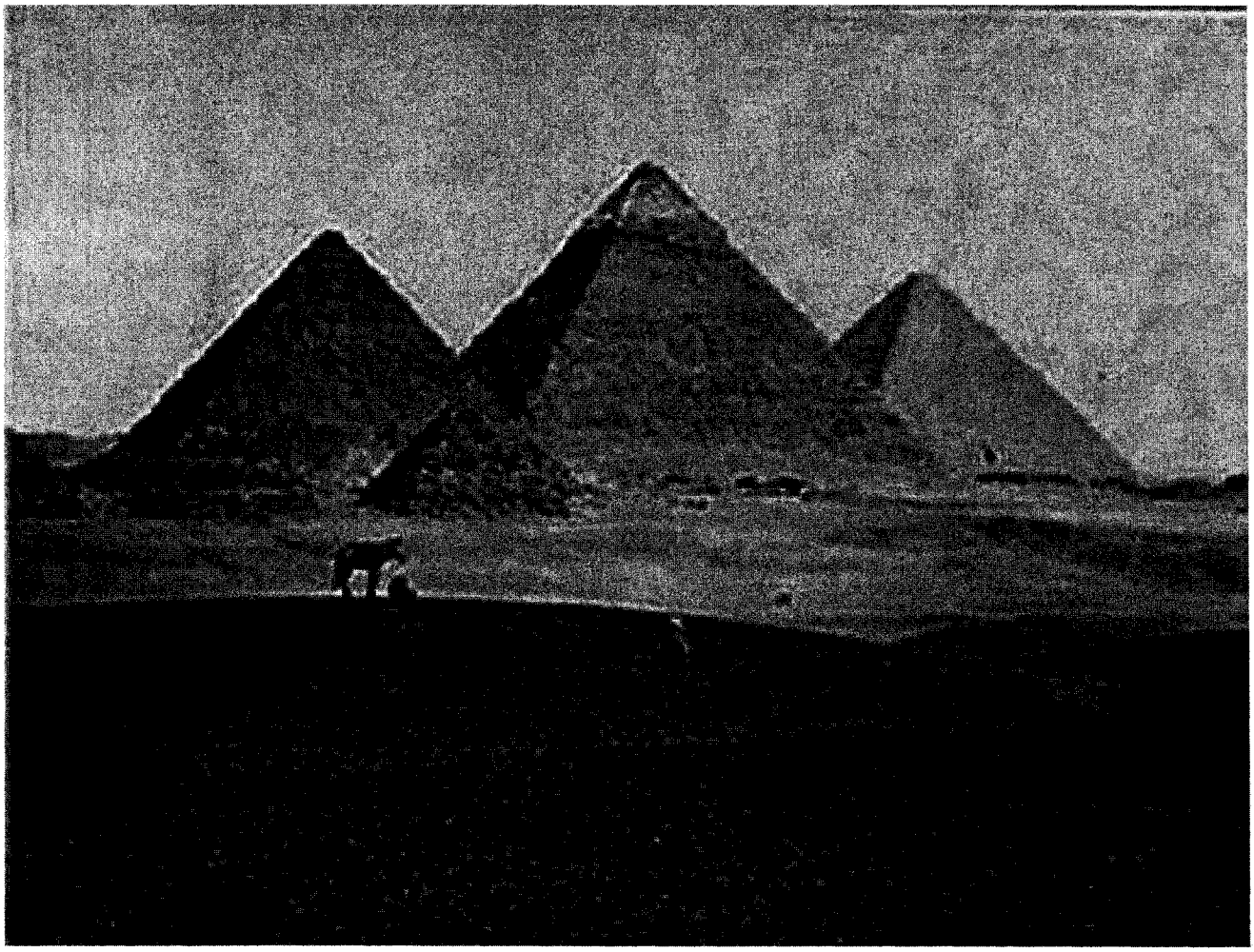

Photo 5.1. *The Pyramids of Girgeh, Egypt*
(Francis Frith)

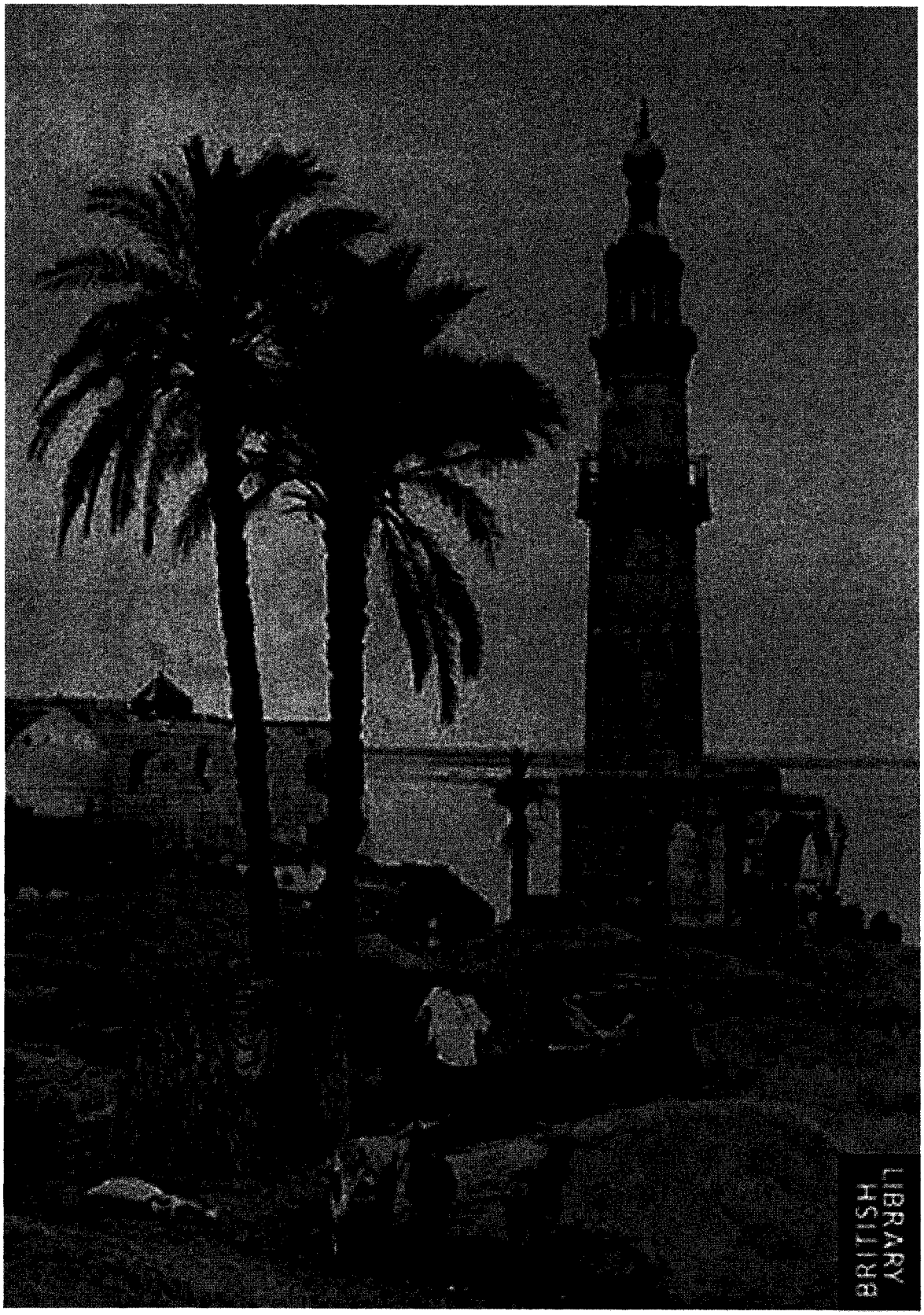

Photo 5.2. ***View of Girgeh, Upper Egypt***
(Francis Frith)

Photo 5.3. ***Cairo, from the East***
(Francis Frith)

Photo 5.4. *The Ezbekeeyeh, Cairo*
(Francis Frith)

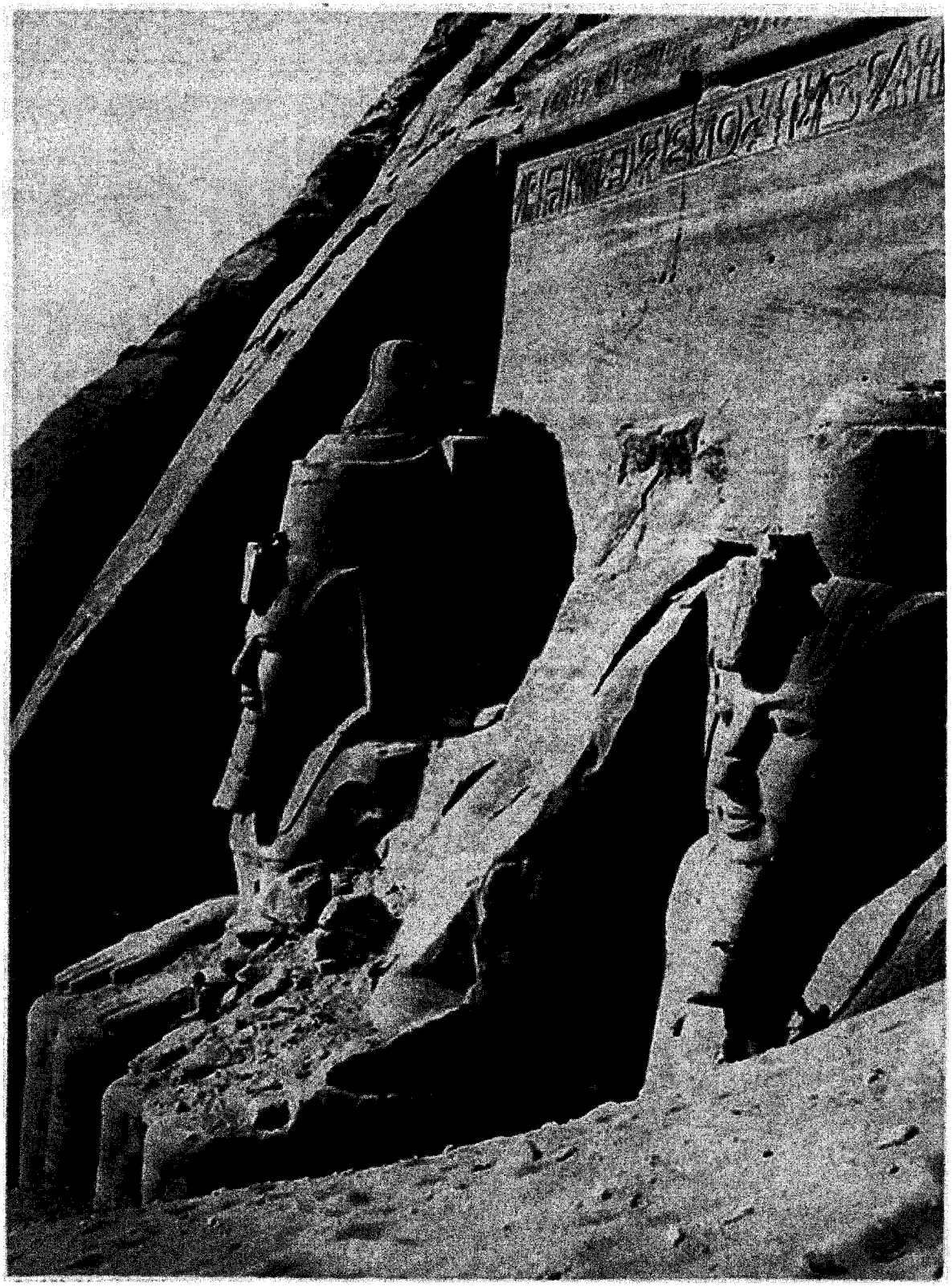

Photo 5.5. *Abou Simbel, Nubia - from the West*
(Francis Frith)

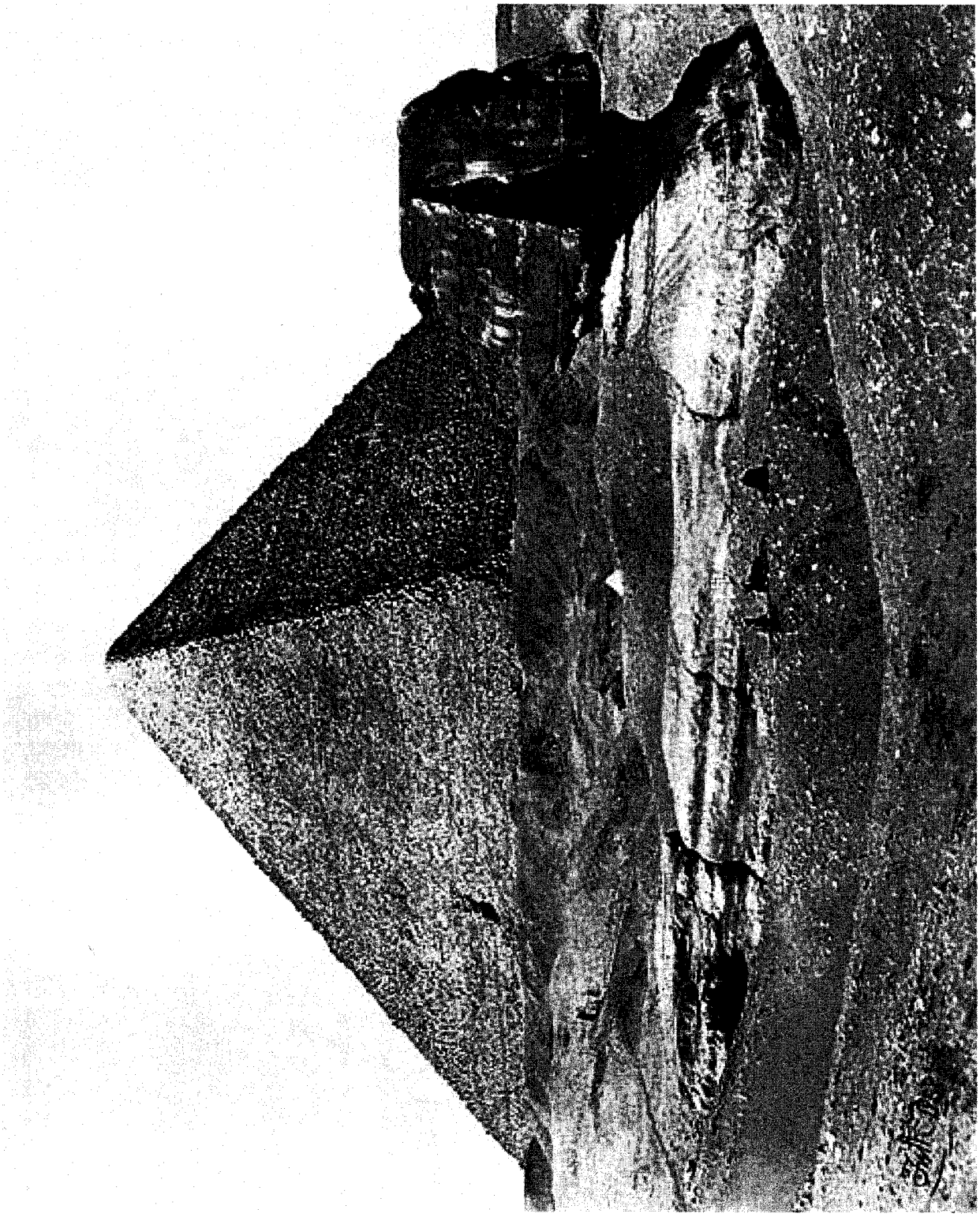

Photo 5.6. *Sphinx*
(Francis Frith)

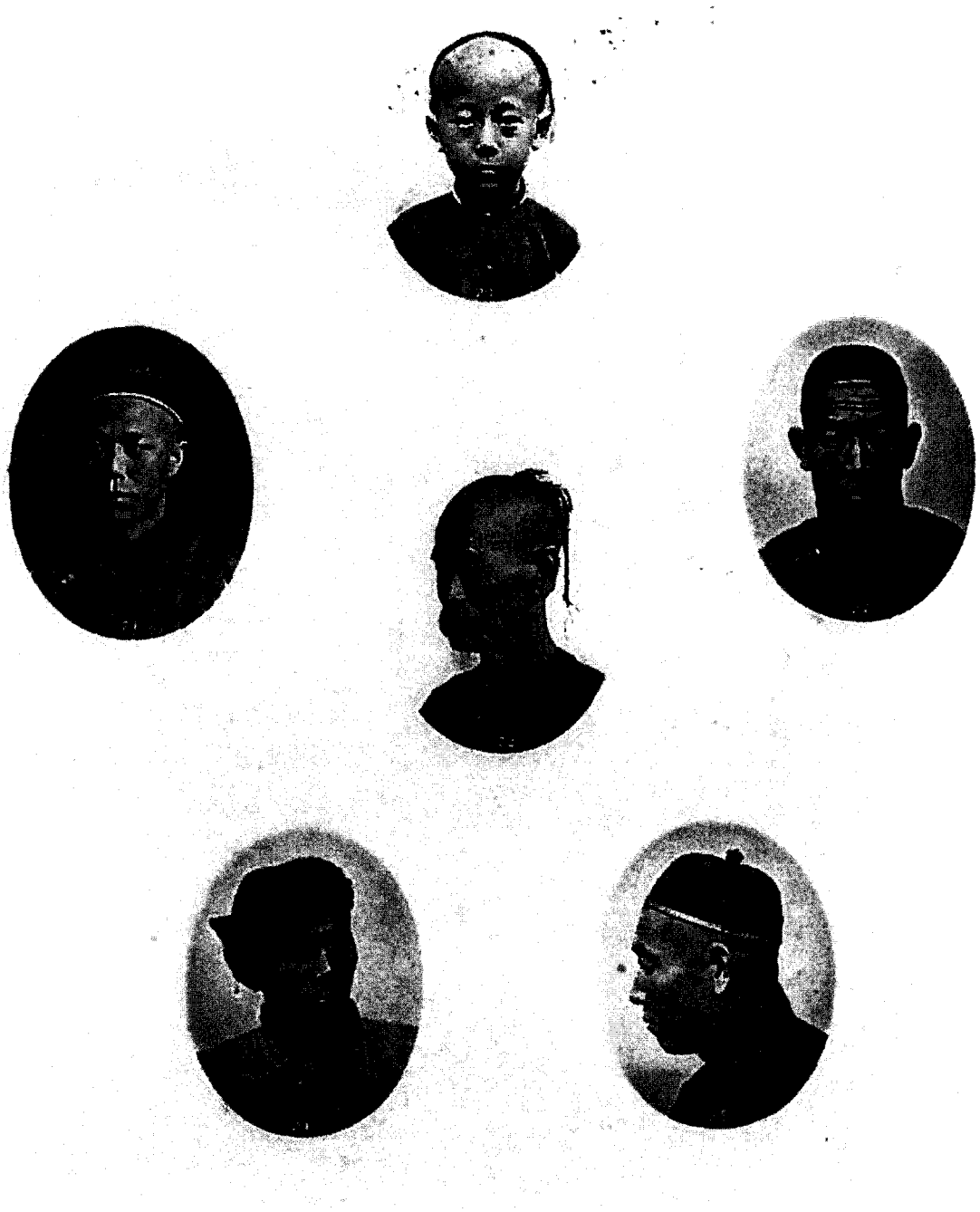

Photo 5.7. *Male Heads, Chinese and Mongolian*
(John Thomson)

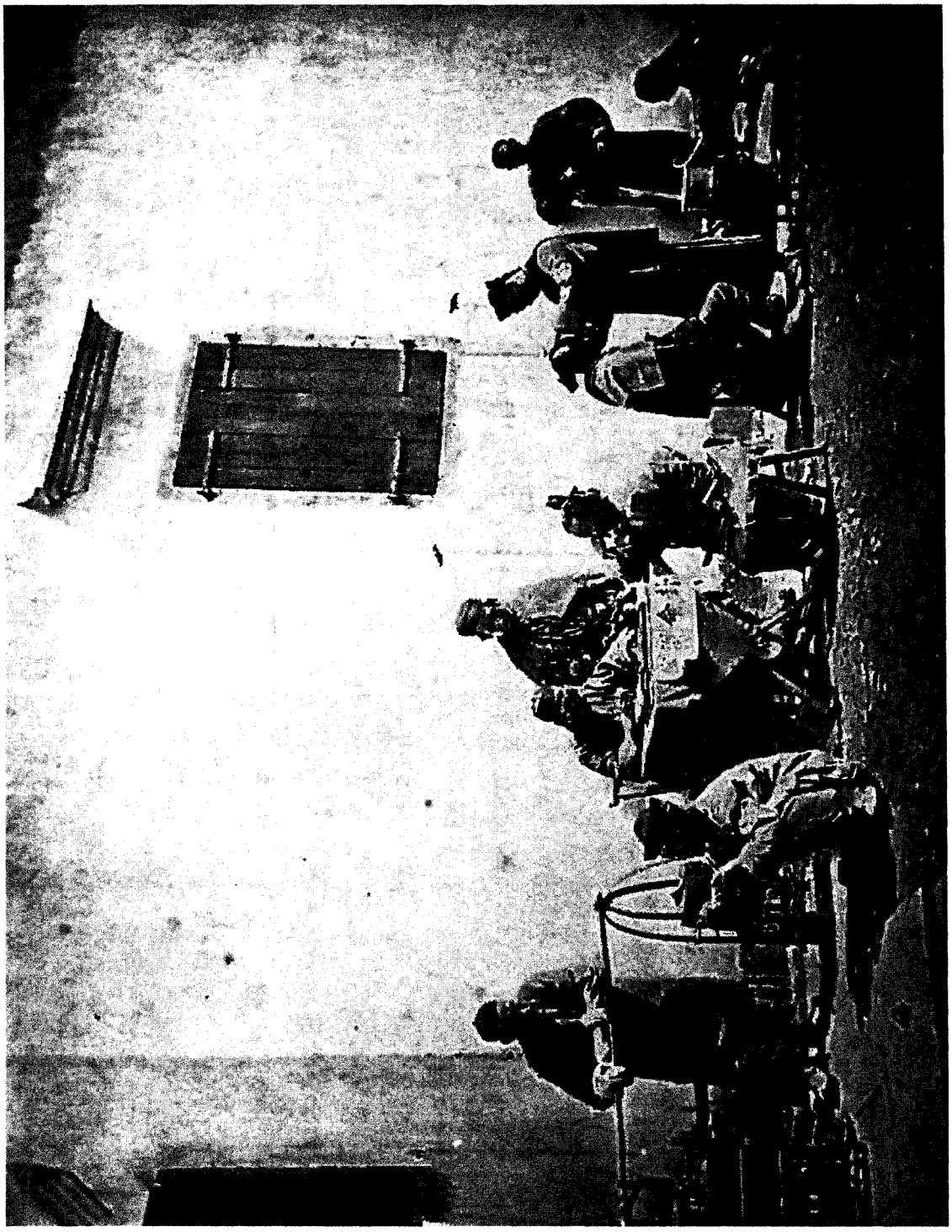

Photo 5.8. *Street Groups, Kiu-Kiang*
(John Thomson)

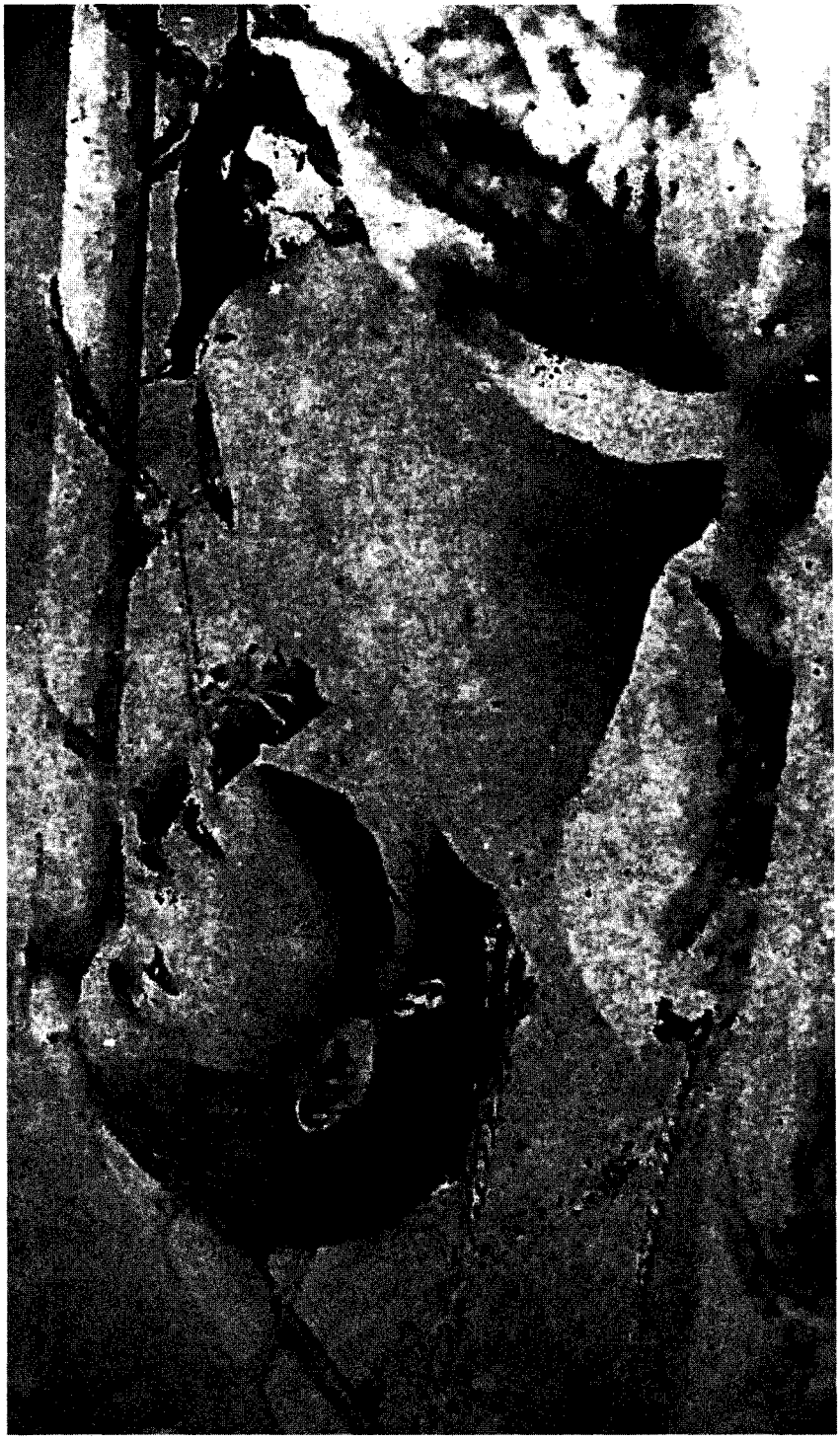

Photo 5.9. *Photograph by means of which the victim of "Amherst Street Murder" was identified*
(Norman Chevers)

Photo 5.10. *Portraits of Indian convicts from the Punjab*
(photographer unknown)

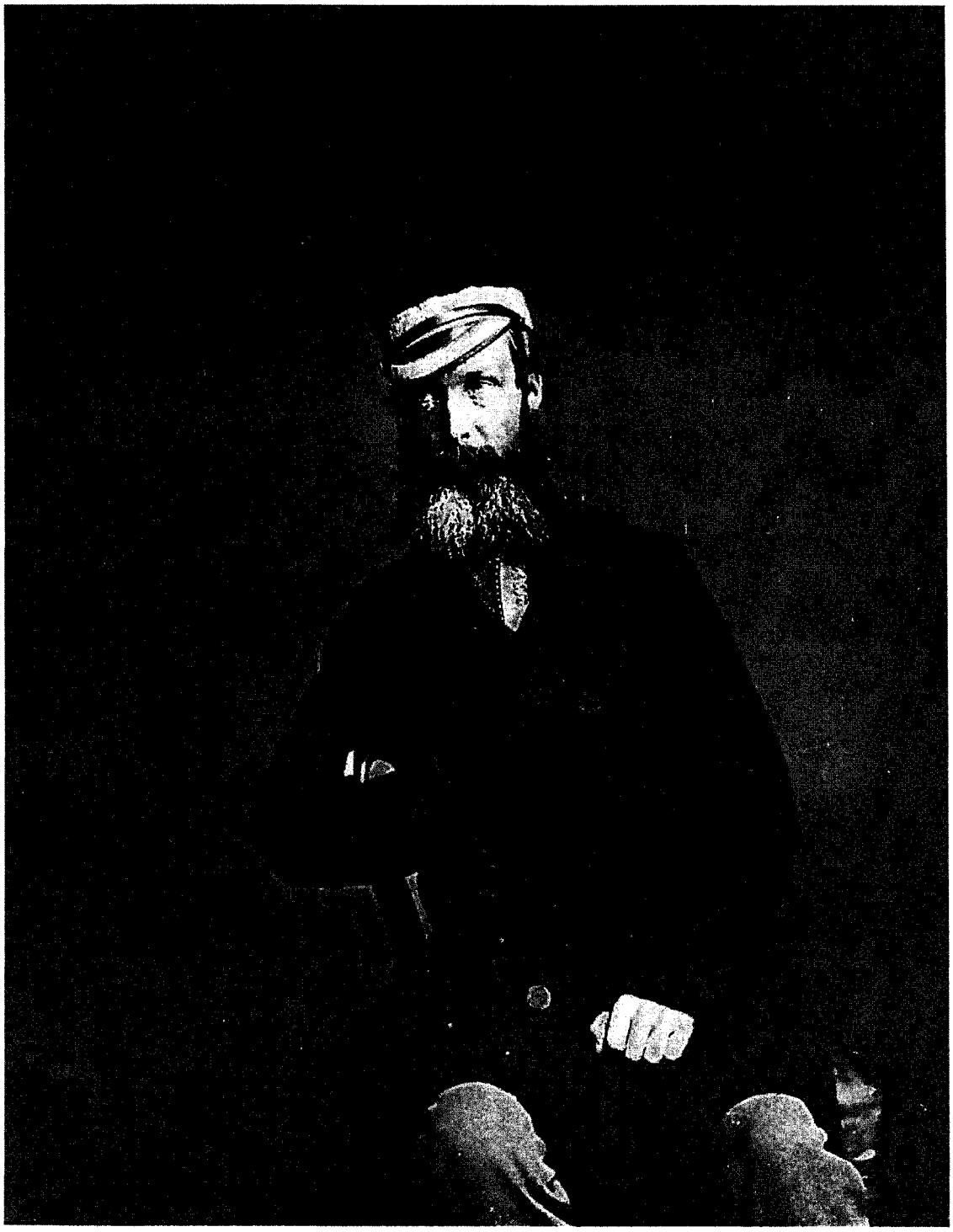

Photo 5.11. *Captain Halford*
(Roger Fenton)

Photo 5.12. *Lt. Col. Hallewell, his days' work over*
(Roger Fenton)

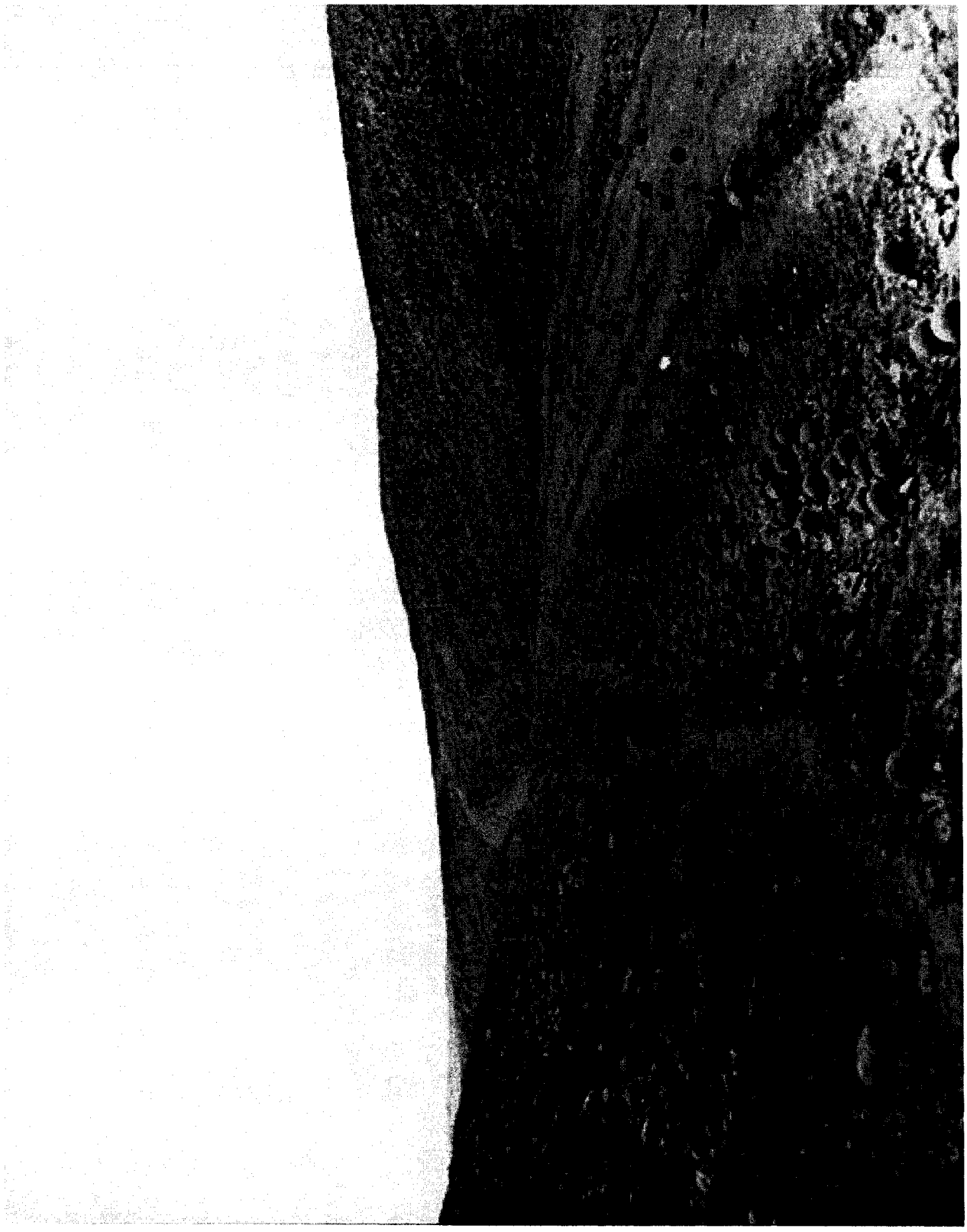

Photo 5.13. *Valley of the Shadow of Death*
(Roger Fenton)

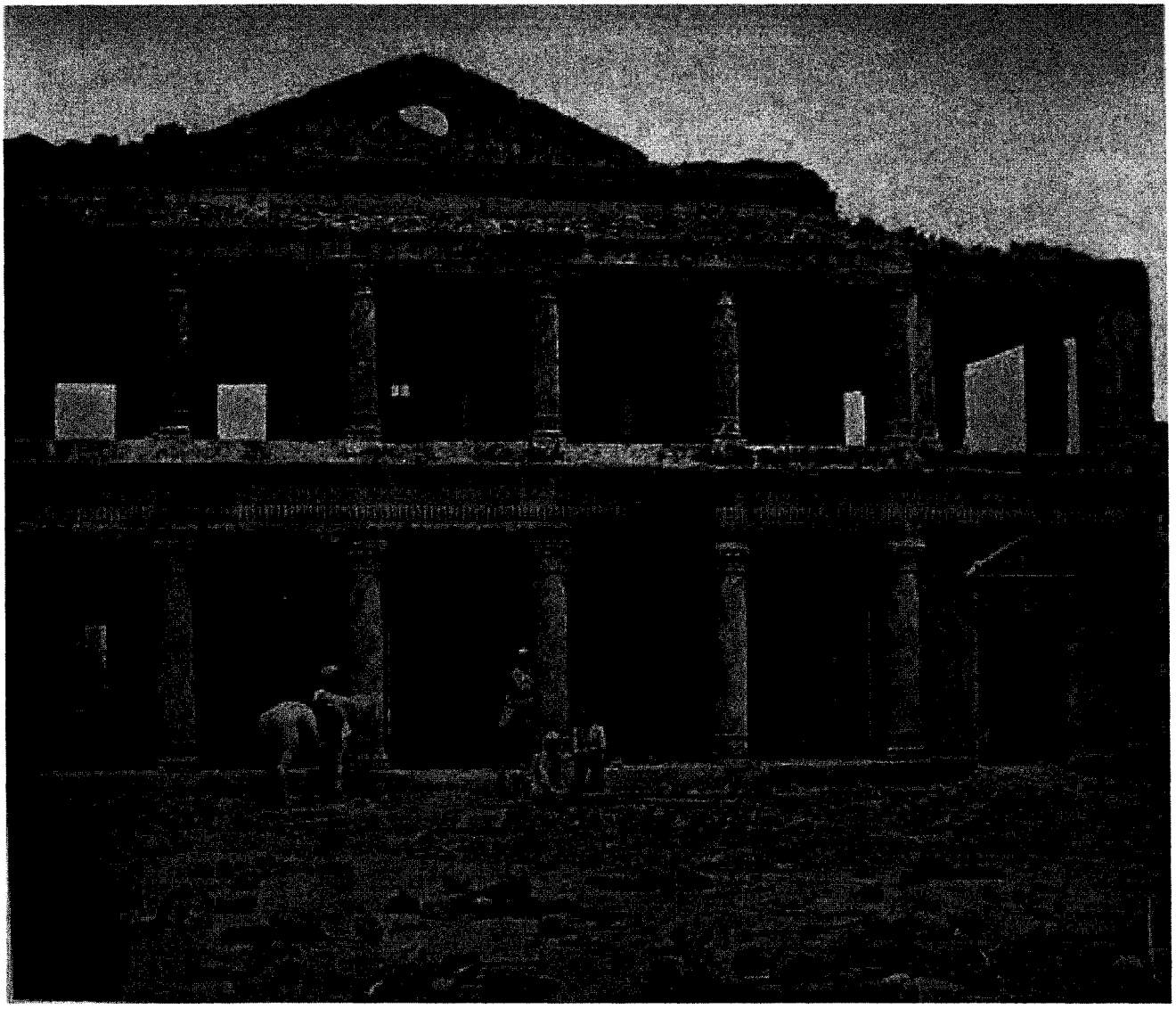

Photo 5.14. *Interior of the Sikanderbagh after the Slaughter of 2,000 Rebels by the 93rd Highlanders and 4th Punjab Regiment*
(Felice Beato)

Photo 5.15. *The Hanging of Two Rebels*
(Felice Beato)

Photo 5.16. ***The Ruins of Sammy House surrounded by Scattered Bones of Sepoys killed in Action***
(Felice Beato)

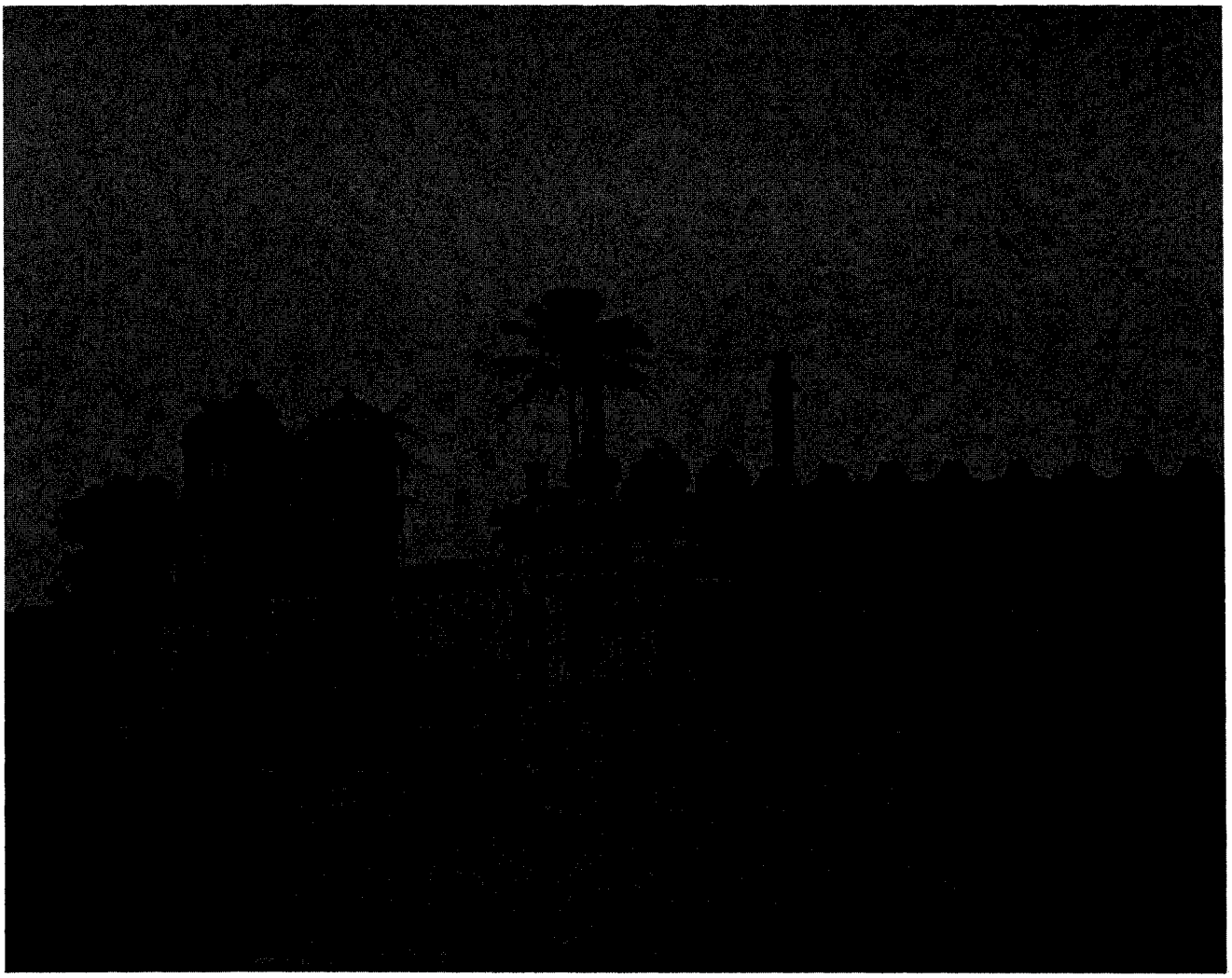

Photo 5.17. *The Sikanderbagh, showing the Gateway, and the Breech made by Sir Colin Campbell's troops, Lucknow*
(Felice Beato)

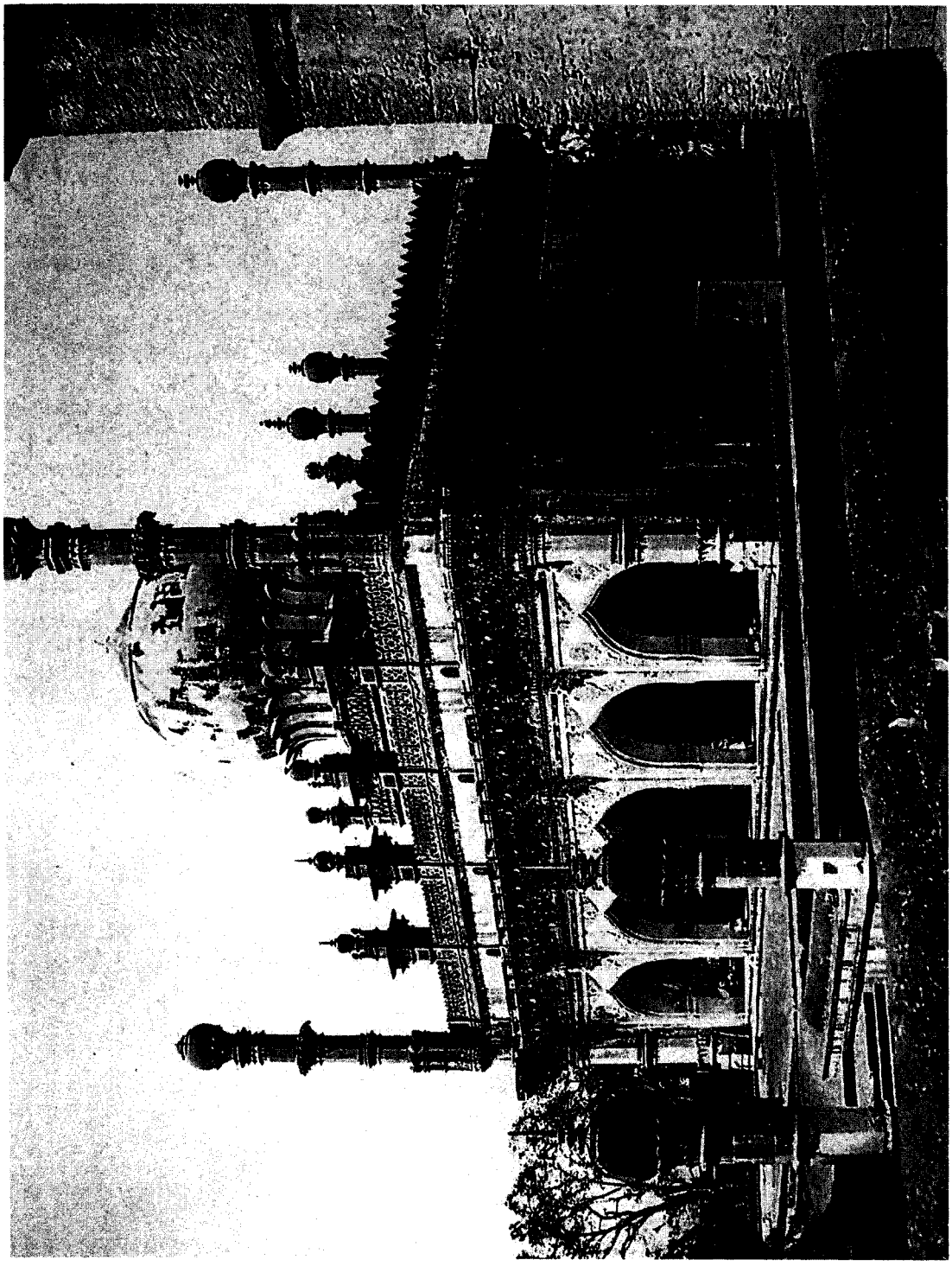

Photo 5.18. *Mosque of Ibrahim Rauza, Bijapur*
(Thomas Biggs)

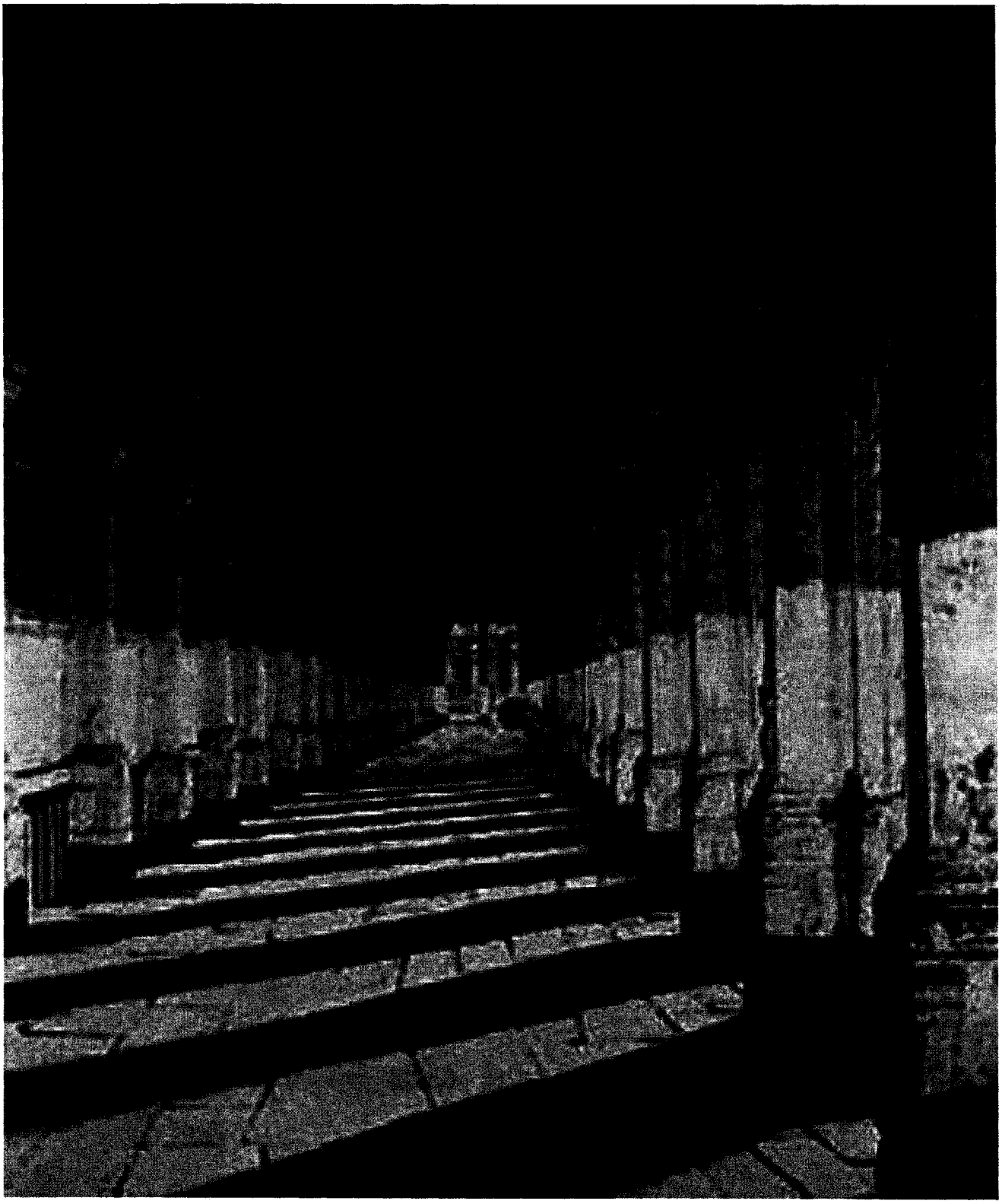

Photo 5.19. ***The Puthu Mundapum, Madura***
(Linnaeus Tripe)

Photo 5.20. *Entrance to the Temple of Minashi in the Great Pagoda*
(Linnaeus Tripe)

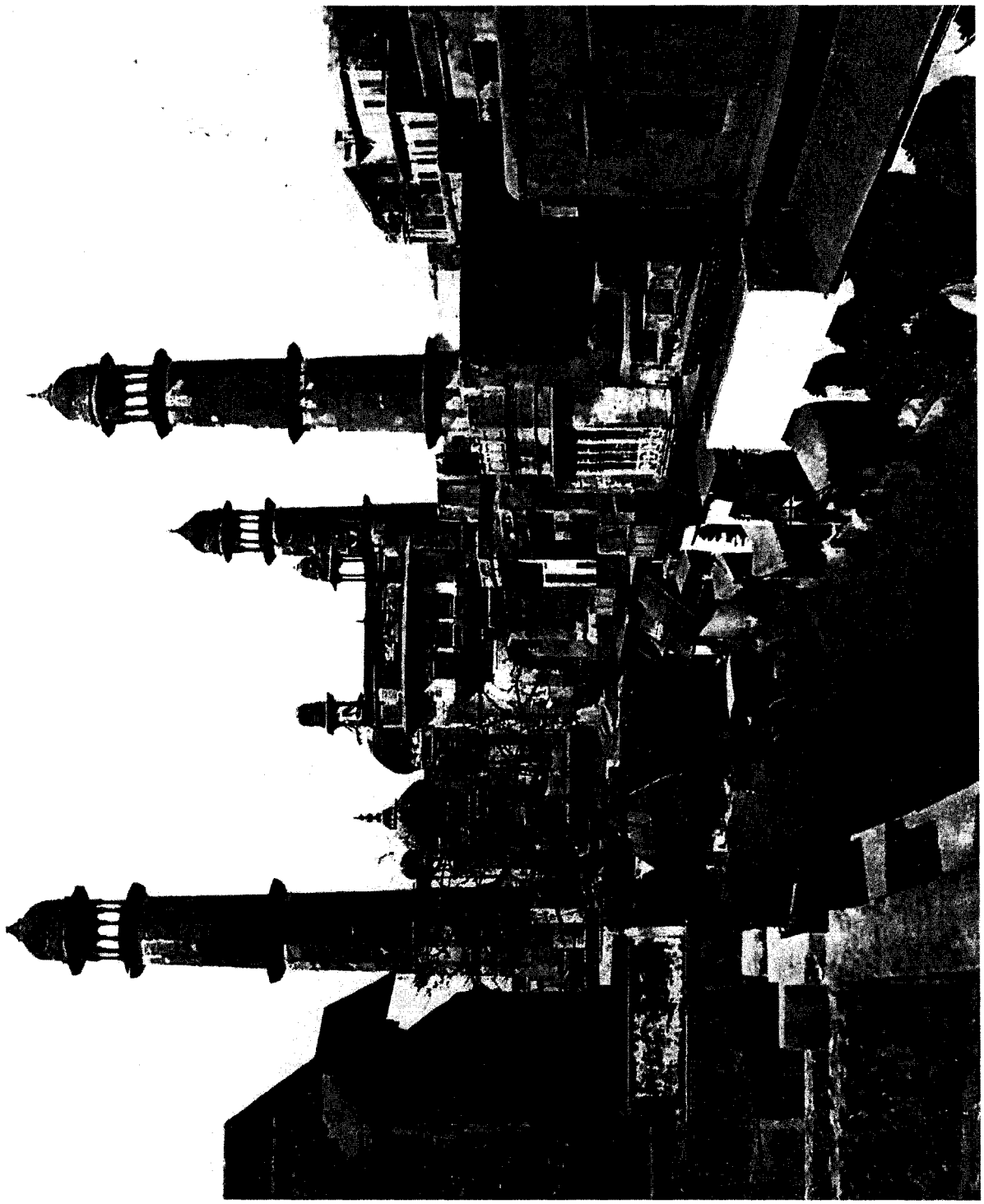

Photo 5.21. *Street scene in Muttra, with the Jami Masjid in the background*
(John Murray)

Photo 5.22. *Right-hand section of Arjuna's Penance, Mamallapuram*
(E.D. Lyon)

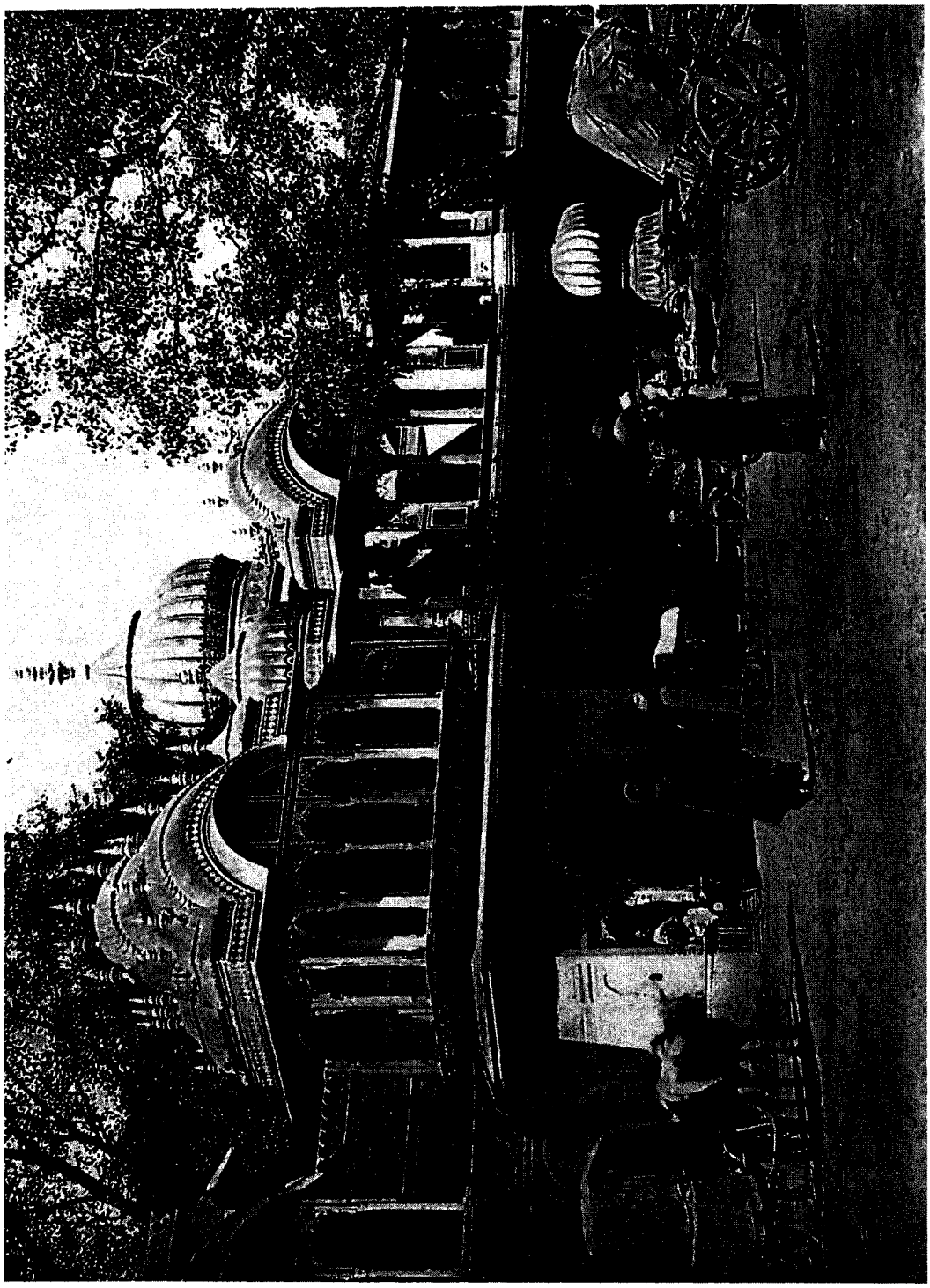

Photo 5.23. *Chhatri at Rajgarh, Rajasthan*
(E.C. Impey)

Photo 5.24. *Bagged*
(W.W. Hooper and V.S.G. Western)

Photo 5.25. *Ghur-Baree (Householding) Gosaees*
(William Johnson)

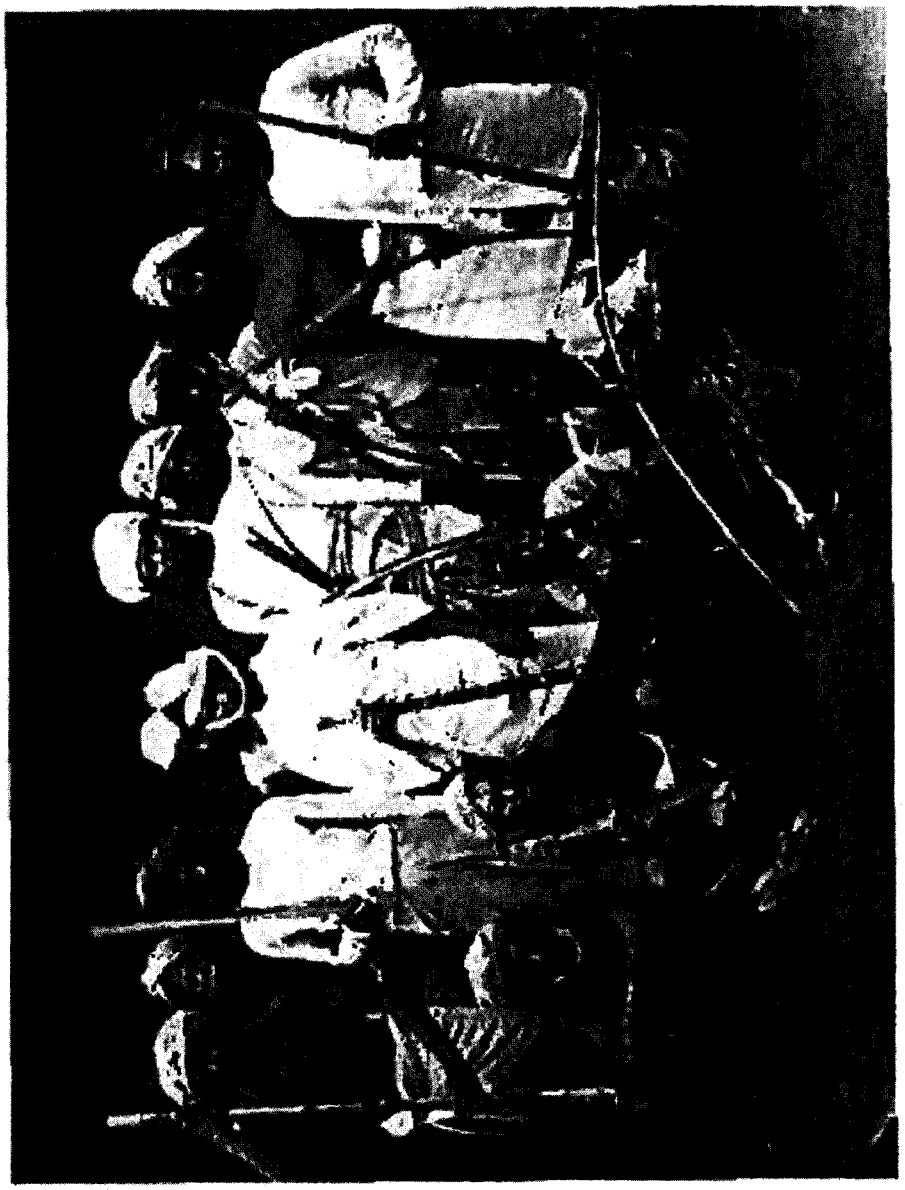

Photo 5.26. *Bheels of the Vindhyas, Sardarpur*
(James Waterhouse)

Photo 5.27. *Mishmi, Hill Tribe, Assam*
(Benjamin Simpson)

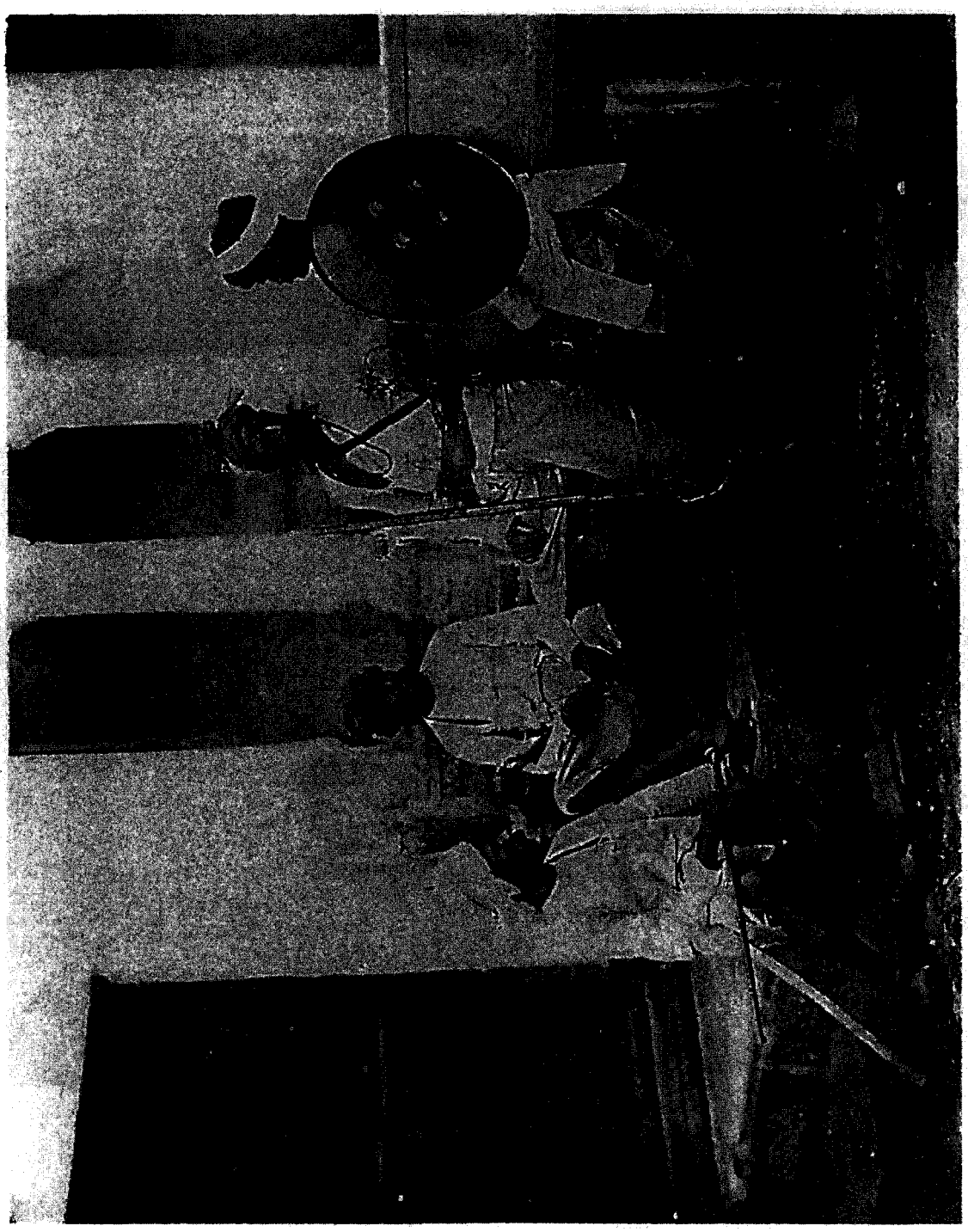

Photo 5.28. *Hindu Rajput group at Delhi*
(Shepherd & Robertson)

Photo 5.29. *Bunnea, Hindoo Tradesman*
(photographer unknown)

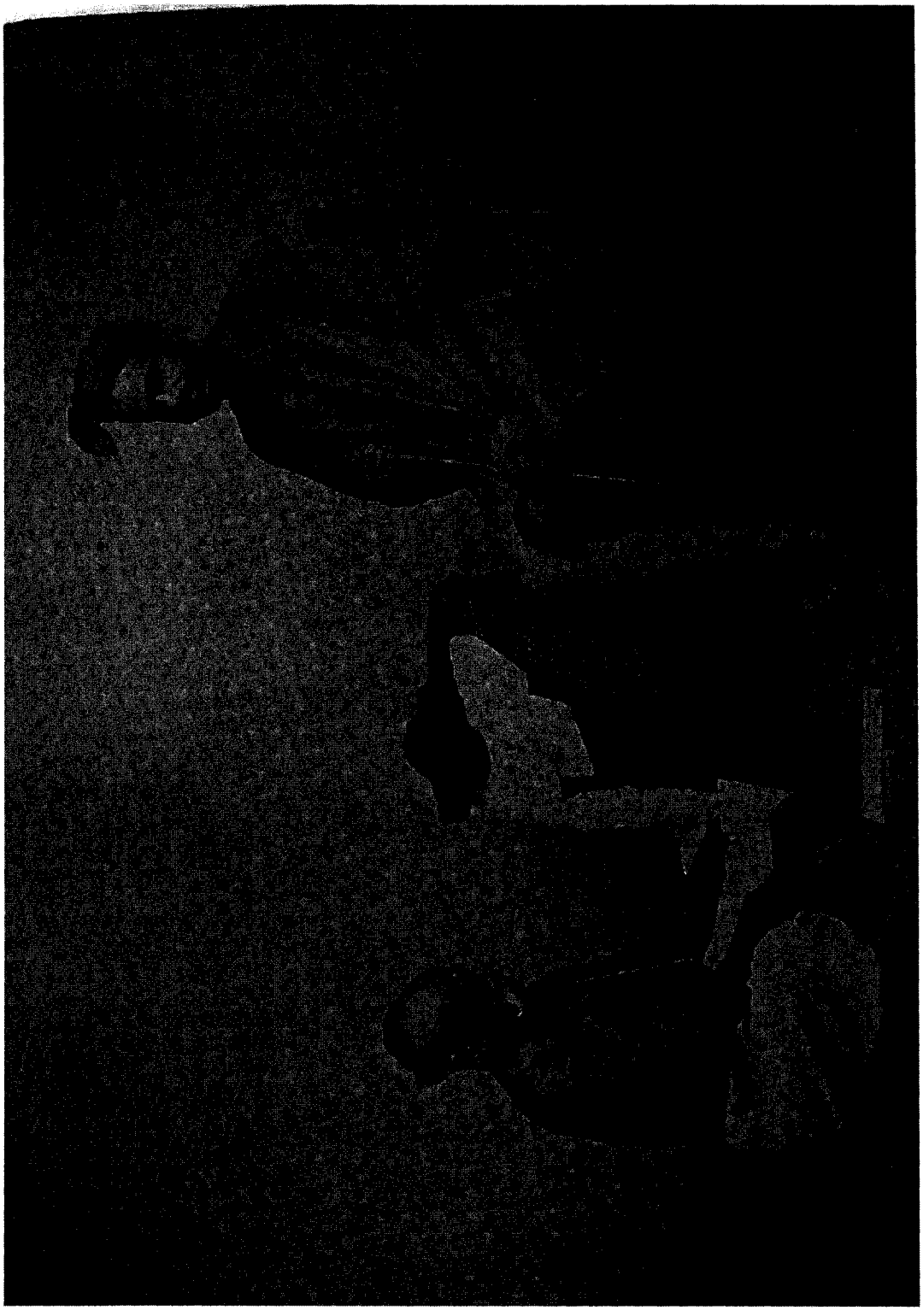

Photo 5.30. *Beni-Israel Teachers, Bombay*
(W. Johnston)

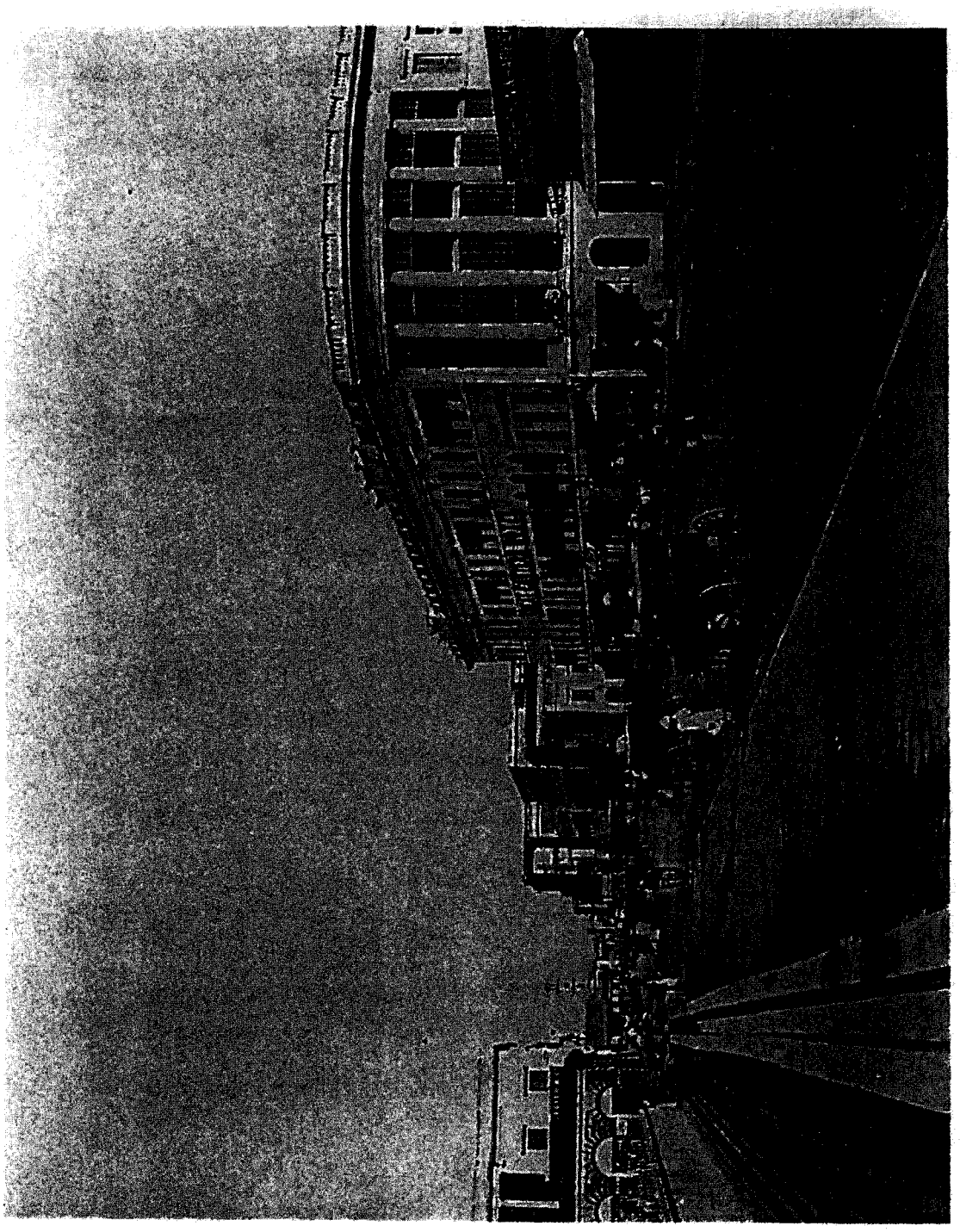

Photo 5.31. *Old Court House Street, Calcutta*
(J.E. Sache)

Photo 5.32. ***Toda family, Nilgiri Hills***
(A.T.W. Penn)

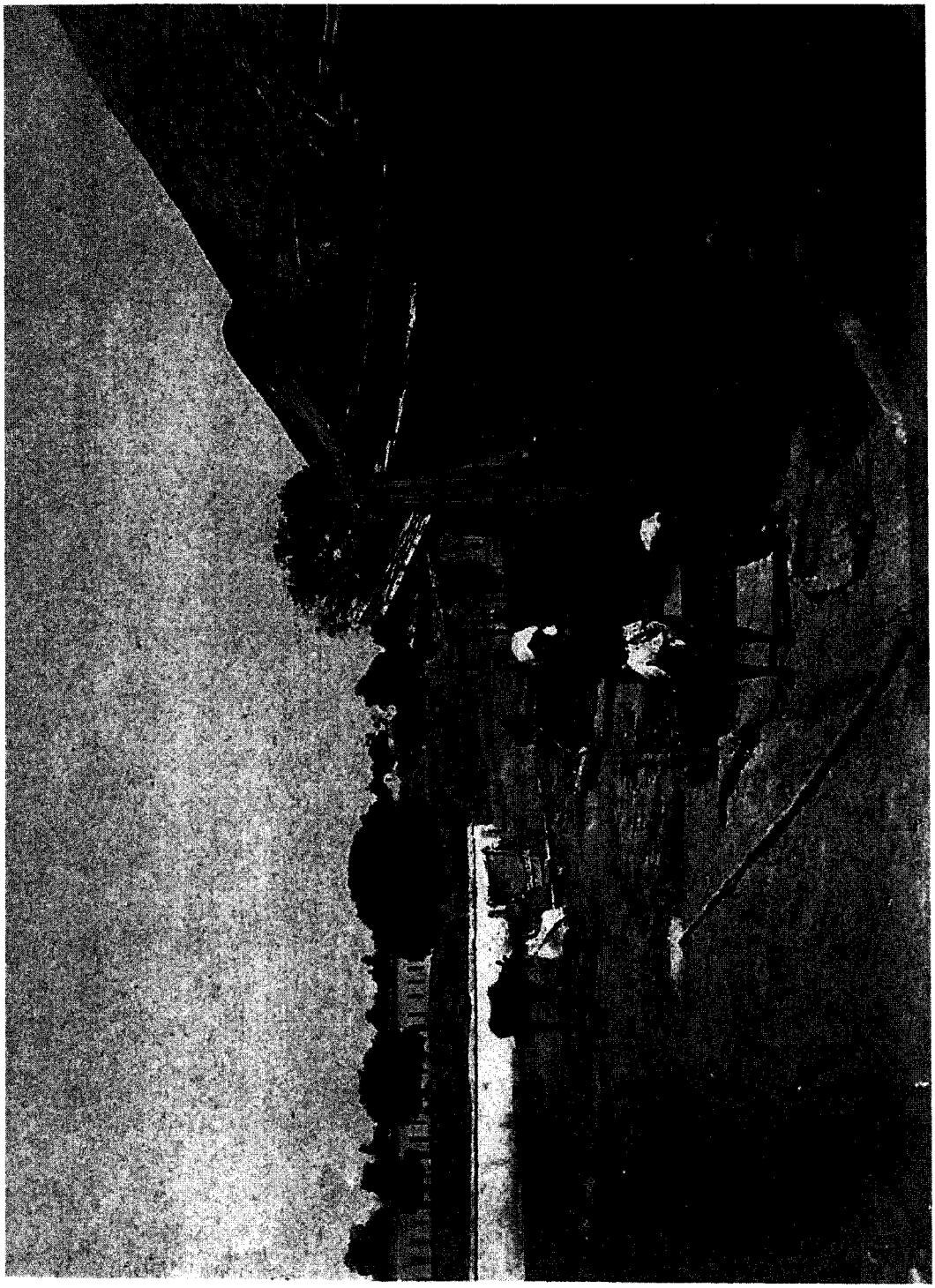

Photo 5.33. *Grain bazaar on the Chitpore Road, Calcutta*
(Frederick Fiebig)

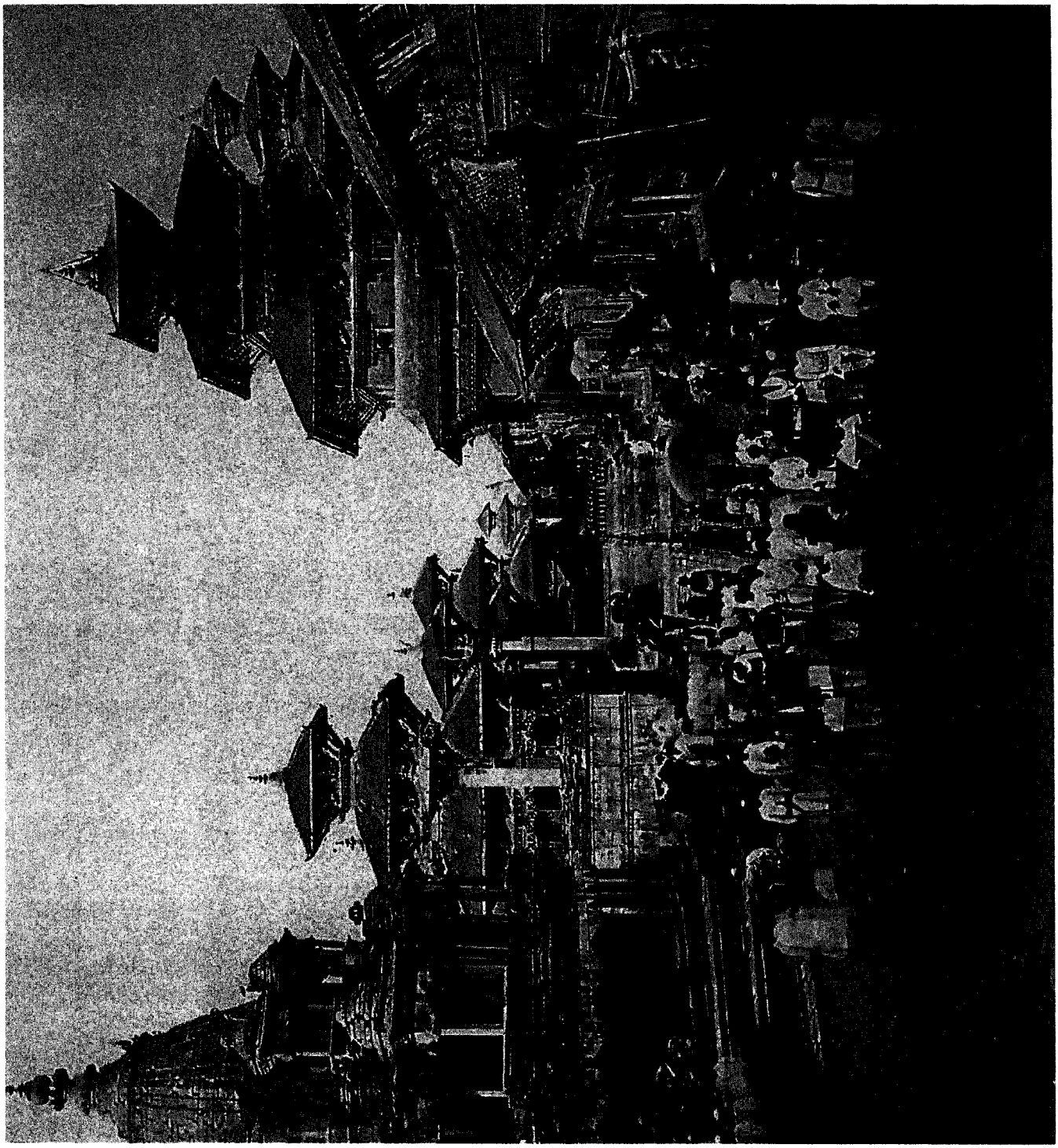

Photo 5.34. *The Durbar Square at Patan, Nepal, from the south*
(C.C. Taylor)

Photo 5.35. *Bunjara and Wife*
(photographer unknown)

Appendix H: Illustrations

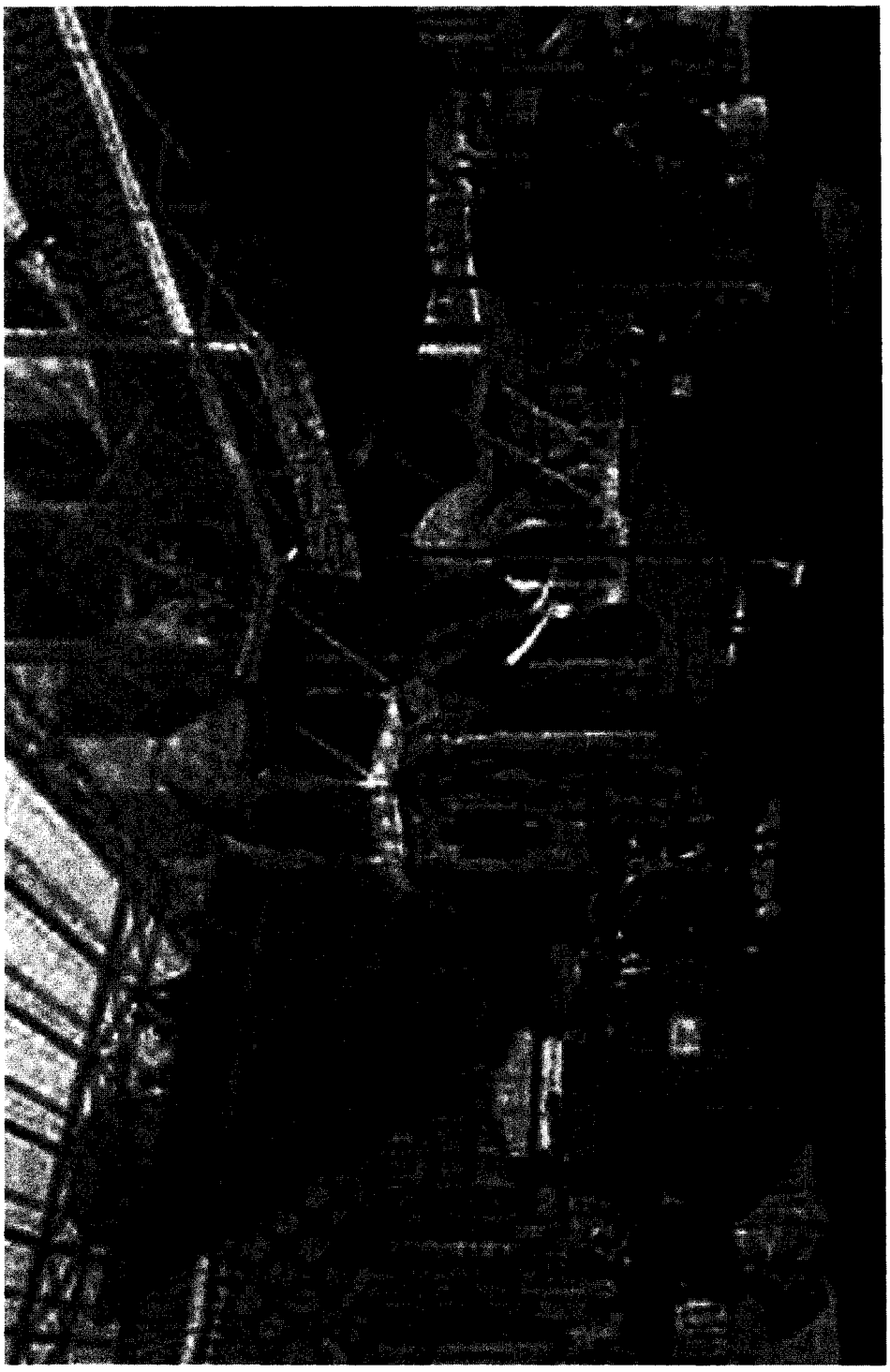

Illustration 1. ***The Great Exhibition, India No.4***
(Dickinson)

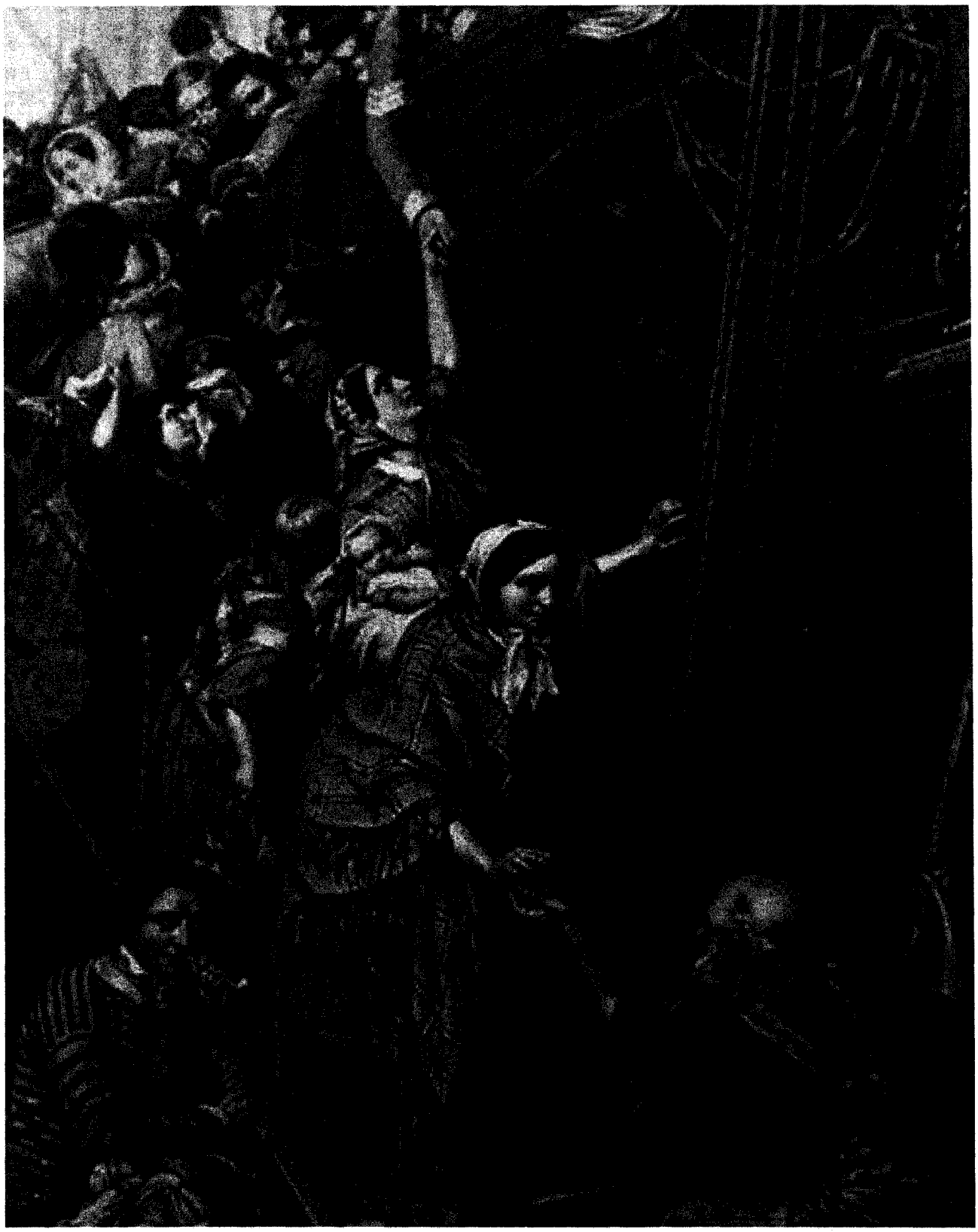

Illustration 2. ***Eastward, Ho!***
(H.N. O'Neil)

Illustration 3. *Home Again*
(H.N. O'Neil)

Illustration 4. *Sepoy Indian troops dividing the spoils after their mutiny against British rule*
(artist unknown, engraving)

Illustration 5. *The School Children's Fete, Bombay*
(*The Illustrated London news,* 8 January 1876)

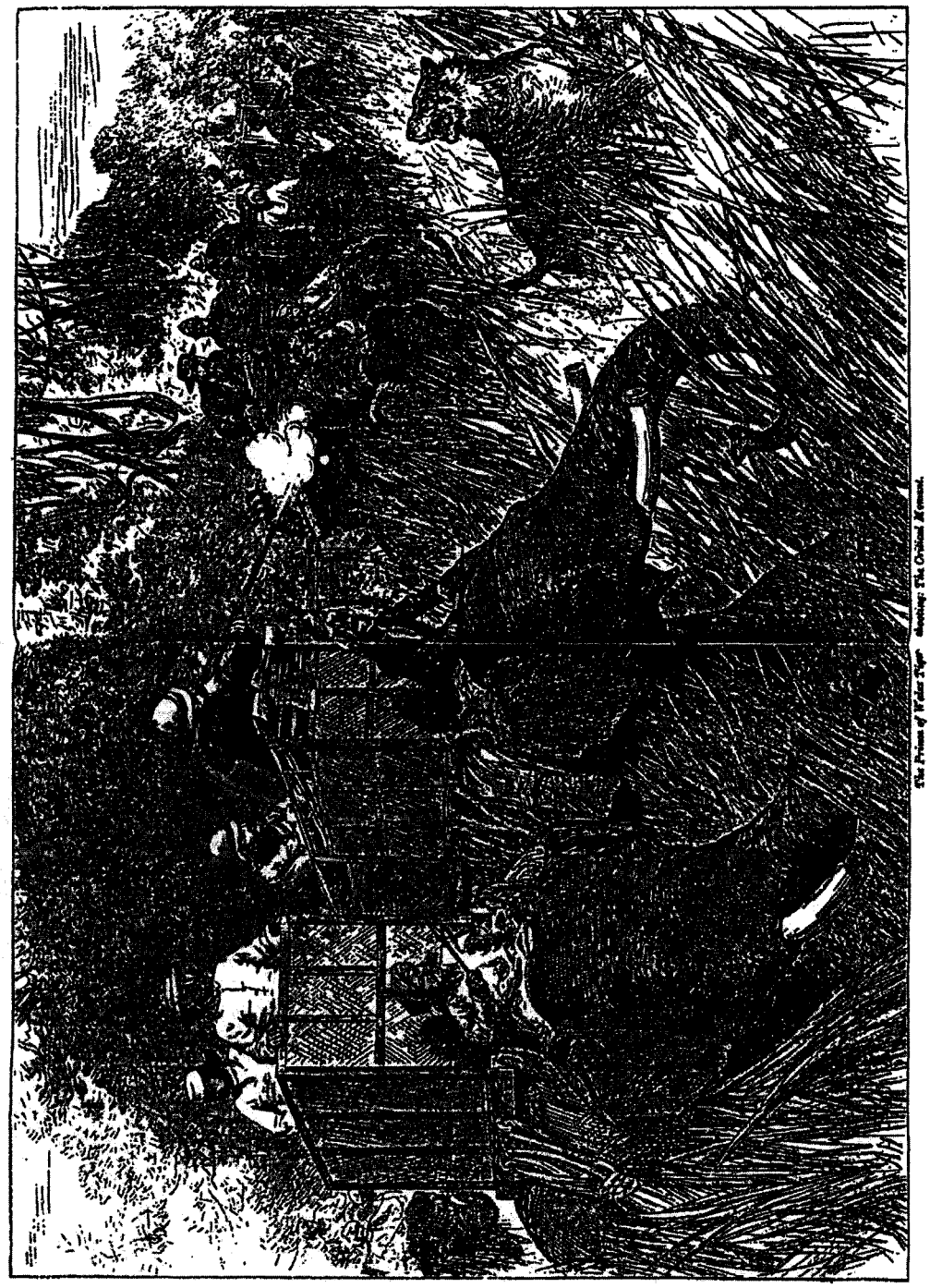

Illustration 6. *The Prince of Wales Tiger-shooting: The Critical Moment*
(*The Illustrated London News* 8 January 1876)

Illustration 7. *Famine in India*
(*The Illustrated London News* 20 October 1877)

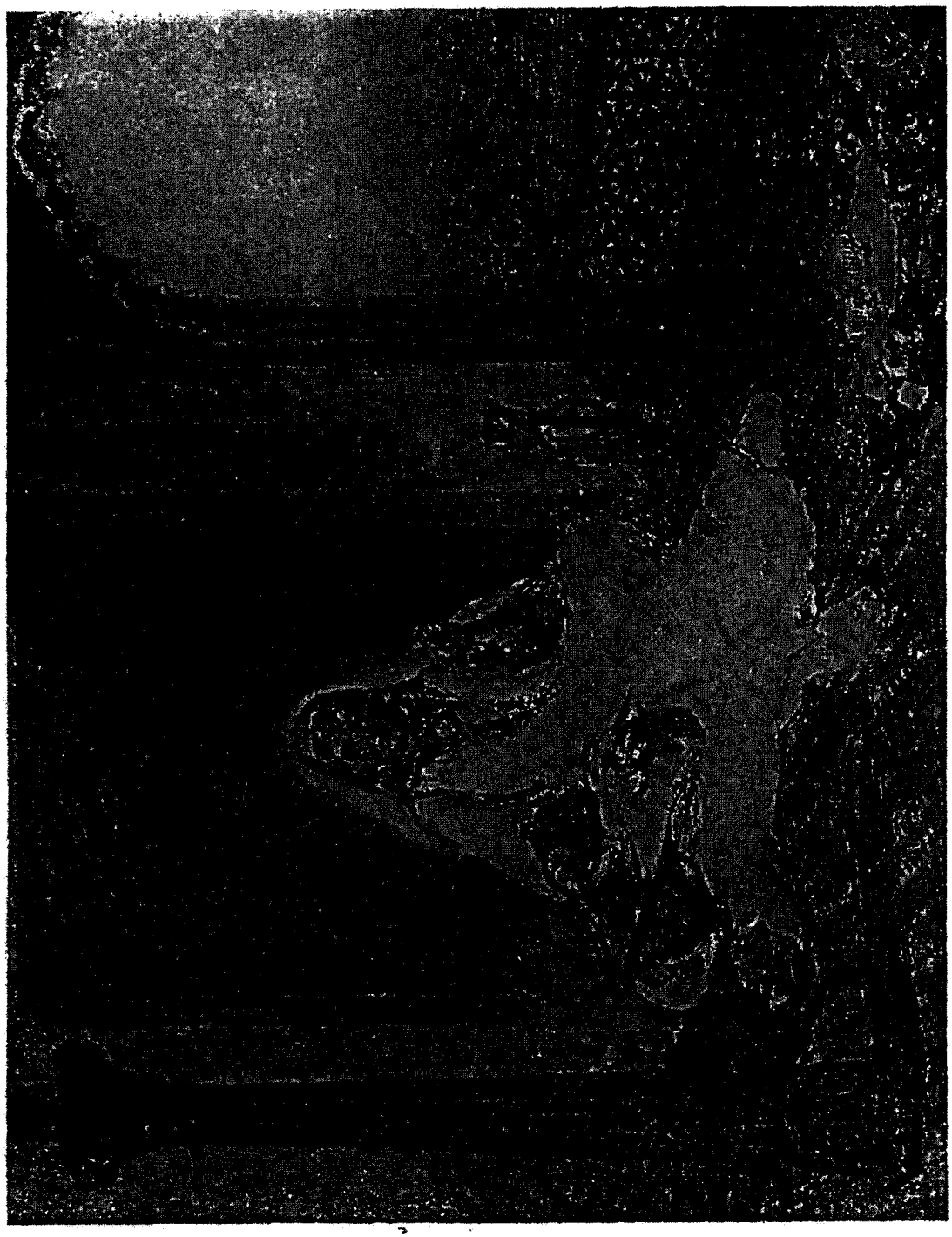

Illustration 8. *Nautch Girls in Kashmir*
(William Carpenter)

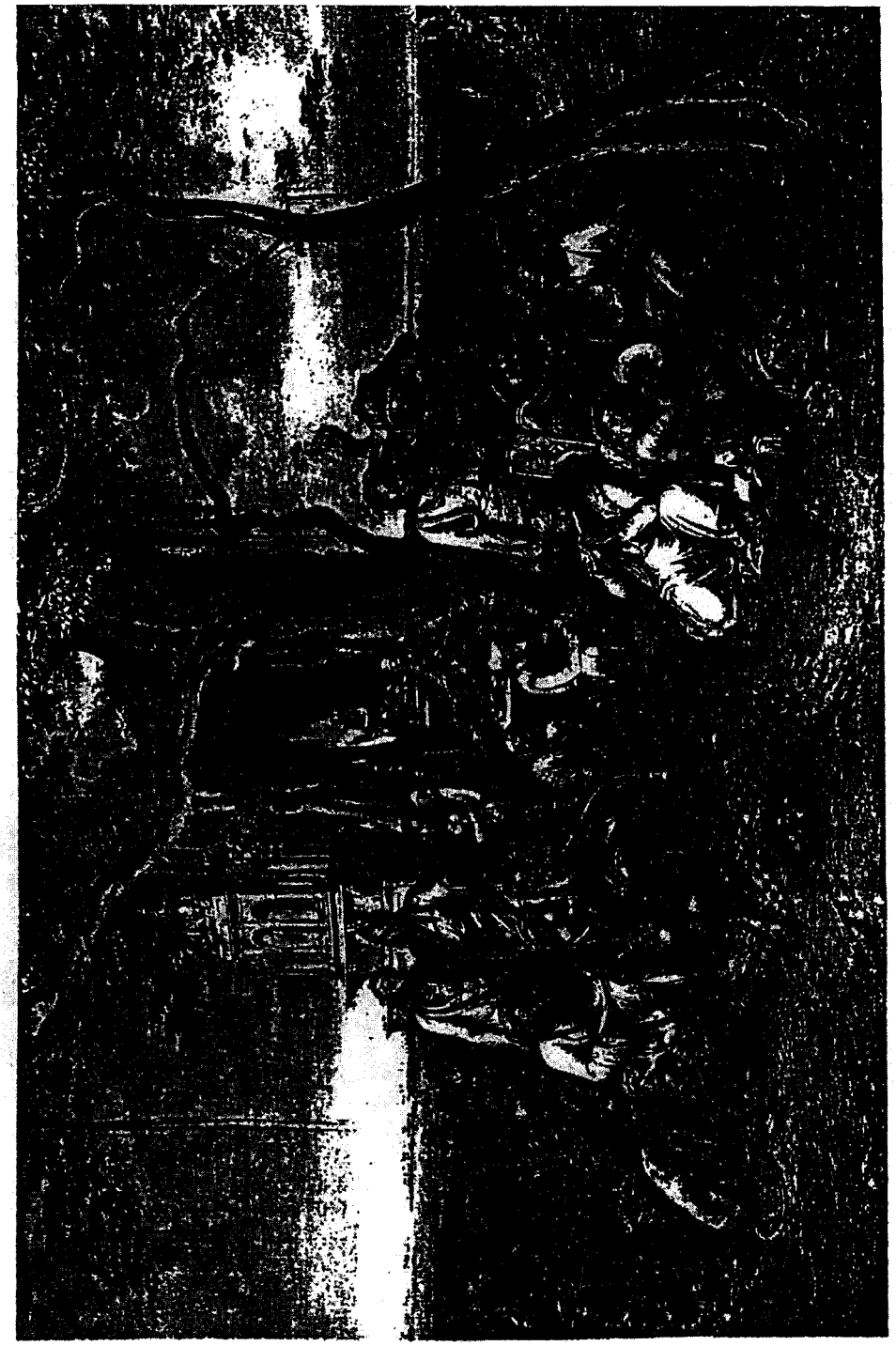

Illustration 9. *Halt at the Sanctuary of Ganesh*
(F.C. Lewis)

Illustration 10. *Frontispiece* to Henry Harkness's *A description of a singular aboriginal race inhabiting the summit of the Neilgherry Hills*

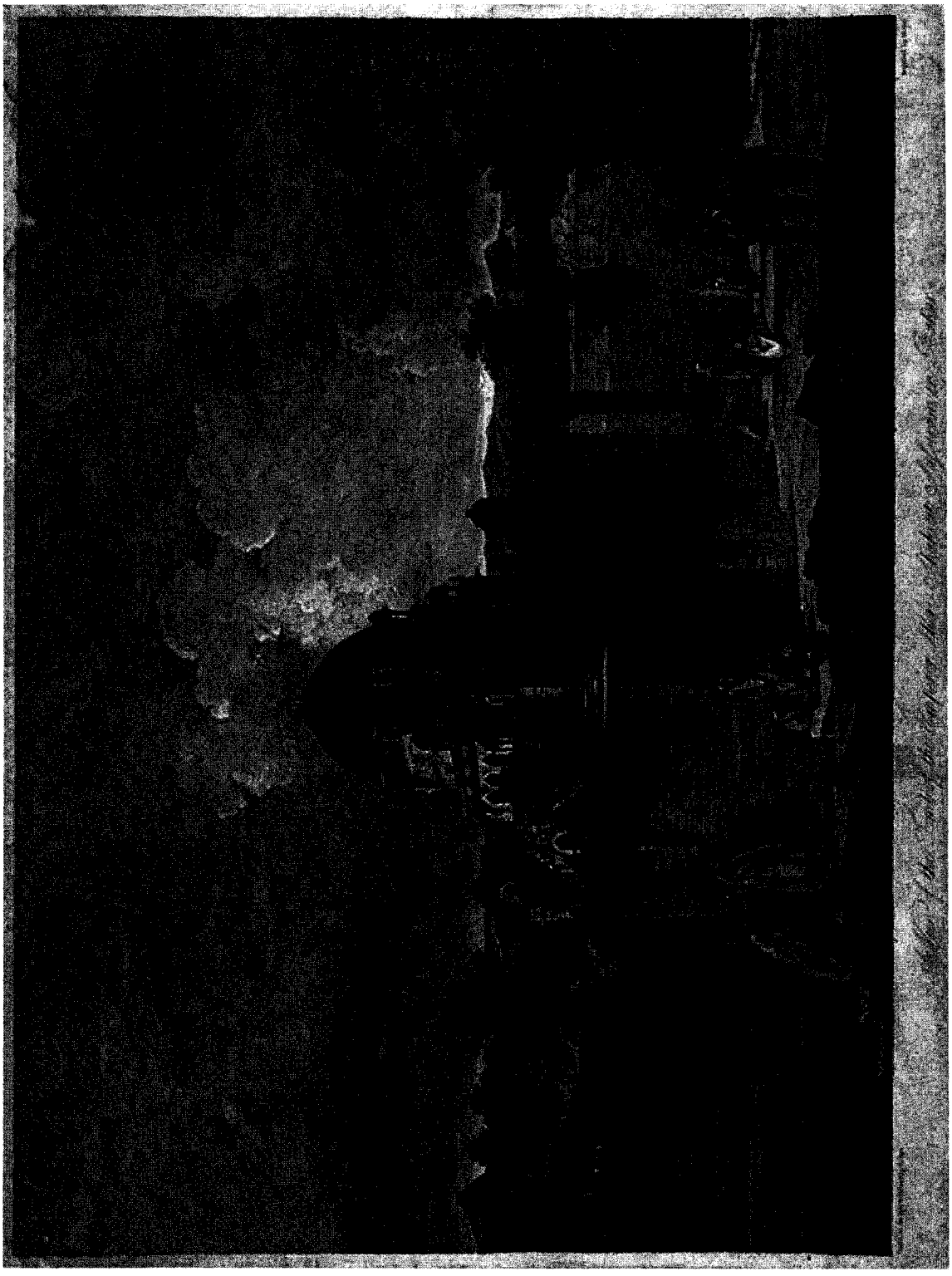

Illustration 11. *A view of the Tomb of the Emperor Shere Shah at Sasseram in Bahar*
(William Hodges)

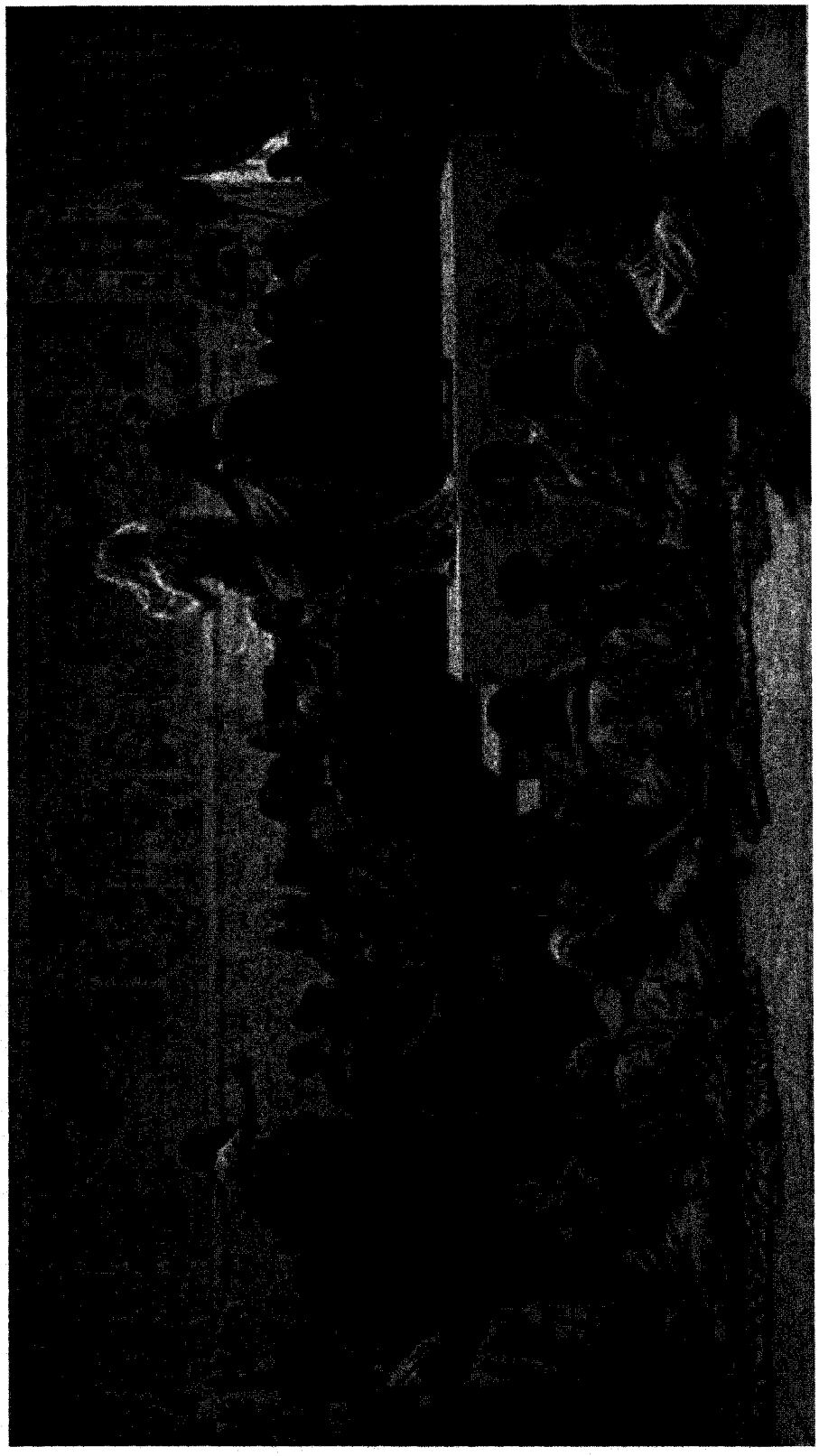

Illustration 12. *Babylonian Marriage Market*
(Edwin Long)